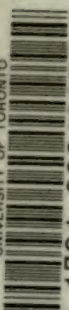


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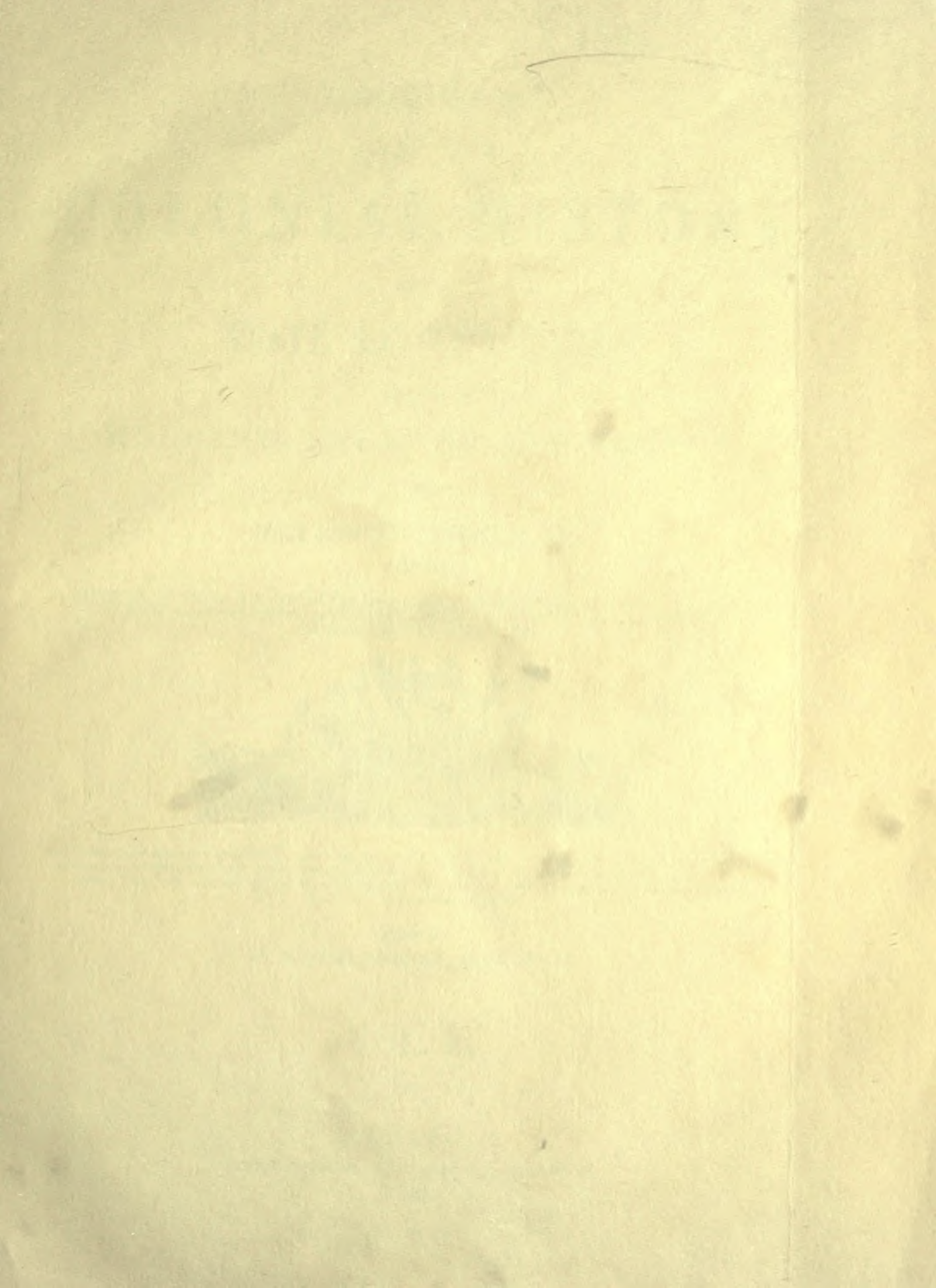


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DOCUMENTS  
RELATIVE TO THE  
COLONIAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
STATE OF NEW-YORK;

PROCURED IN  
HOLLAND, ENGLAND AND FRANCE,

BY  
JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD, ESQ.,  
AGENT,

UNDER AND BY VIRTUE OF AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE, ENTITLED "AN ACT TO APPOINT AN AGENT TO  
PROCURE AND TRANSCRIBE DOCUMENTS IN EUROPE RELATIVE TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY  
OF THE STATE," PASSED MAY 2, 1839.



PUBLISHED UNDER AND BY VIRTUE OF AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE, ENTITLED "AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE PUBLISHING OF  
CERTAIN DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE," PASSED MARCH 30, 1849, AND AN ACT EN-  
TITLED "AN ACT IN RELATION TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE, AND THE PUBLICATION AND DISTRIBUTION  
THEREOF," PASSED APRIL 12, 1856.

EDITED BY  
E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D., LL. D.

VOL. X.

ALBANY:  
WEED, PARSONS AND COMPANY, PRINTERS.  
1858.



*Wm. H. (1856)*

DOCUMENTS  
OF THE  
COLONIAL HISTORY  
OF THE  
STATE OF NEW-YORK;  
PUBLISHED BY  
HOLLAND, ENGLISH, AND LANGE  
AT  
JOHN WILEY'S BOOKSELLER, ETC.

Volumes III., IV., V., VI., VII. and IX. of this work were published under the direction of the GOVERNOR, SECRETARY OF STATE and COMPTROLLER of the State of New-York; and the publication has been completed under the authority of the REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY, in virtue of the Act of the Legislature to that effect, passed April 12<sup>th</sup> 1856.

The Documents in Dutch and French were translated by E. B. O'CALLAGHAN, M. D., LL. D., who was employed for that purpose, and to superintend the publication generally.

*Wm. H. (1856)*

ALBANY  
HOLLAND, ENGLISH, AND LANGE  
PRINTERS



14

LIST OF THE FIRST MINISTERS OF STATE, 1720-1721

MINISTERS OF STATE

TRANSCRIPTS OF DOCUMENTS

IN THE

ARCHIVES OF THE "MINISTÈRE DE LA MARINE ET DES COLONIES;" OF THE "MINISTÈRE DE LA  
GUERRE," AND IN THE "BIBLIOTHÈQUE DU ROI," AT PARIS.

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## LIST OF THE FRENCH MINISTERS OF STATE: 1655—1774.

[ *Annuaire Historique de la Société de l'Histoire de France pour l'année, 1844. pp. 83-112.* ]

### MINISTERS OF JUSTICE.

[ The Minister of this Department bore the titles of Chancellor, Keeper of the Seals, and Chief Judge. The names of those who were Chancellors are preceded by a \*; those who acted only provisionally are in *Italic*. ]

From	To.	
1656, .....	1672, 28 January, .....	* SEGUIER. <i>Louis XIV. is himself Keeper of the Seals.</i>
1672, 24 April, .....	1677, 25 October, .....	* D'ALIGRE, Chancellor in 1674.
1677, 29 October, .....	1685, 30 October, .....	* LE TELLIER.
1685, 1 November, ....	1699, 2 September, ....	* BOUCHERAT.
1699, .....	1714, .....	* PHELIPPEAUX, de Pontchartrain.
1714, 2 July, .....	1717, 2 February, ....	* VOISIN.
1717, 2 February, ....	1718, .....	* D'AGUESSEAU.
1718, January, ....	1720, 7 June, .....	DE VOYER DE PAULMY, Marquis d'Argenson.
1720, .....	1722, .....	* D'AGUESSEAU.
1722, 28 February, ....	1727, 15 August, .....	FLEURIEAU D'ARMENONVILLE.
1727, 17 August, .....	1737, .....	DE CHAUVELIN,
1737, .....	1750, December, ....	* D'AGUESSEAU.
1750, 9 December, ....	1768, .....	* DE LAMOIGNON de Blancmesnil.
1750, 9 December, ....	1757, 2 February, ....	DE MACHAULT d'Arnorville. <i>Louis XV. is himself Keeper of the Seals.</i>
1761, 13 October, .....	1762, 15 August, .....	BERRIER.
1762, 1 October, .....	1763, October, .....	FÉYDEAU de Broul.
1763, .....	1768, .....	* DE MAUPEOU (René-Charles); Chancellor in 1768.
1768, September, ....	1774, 24 August, ....	* DE MAUPEOU (Ren-Nic-Ch-Aug.).

### MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

1663, .....	1671, 1 September, ....	DE LIONNE (Hugues).
1671, .....	1679, .....	DE POMPONNE (Arnaud).
1679, .....	1696, .....	COLBERT DE CROISSY.
1689, .....	1715, .....	COLBERT DE TORCY, son of the preceding.
1715, .....	1718, September, ....	D'UXELLES, Marshal of France.
1718, .....	1723, .....	DUBOIS, Archbishop of Cambrai, afterwards Cardinal.
1723, .....	1727, .....	DE FLEURIEAU D'ARMENONVILLE.
1727, .....	1737, 21 February, ....	DE CHAUVELIN, also Keeper of the Seals.
1737, 22 February, ....	1744, 17 November, ....	AMELOT, de Chaillou.



## LIST OF FRENCH

Ministers of Foreign Affairs : *Continued.*

From	To.	
1744, 15 November, ....	1747, 2 January, .....	DE VOYER DE PAULMY, Marquis d'Argenson.
1747, 3 January, .....	1751, September, ....	BRULART DE SILLERY, Marquis de Puisieux.
1751, 11 September, ....	1754, 24 July, .....	BARBERIE de Saint-Contest.
1754, 28 July, .....	1757, .....	DE ROUILLÉ, de Jouy.
1757, 25 June, .....	1758, .....	DE PIERRE, Cardinal de Bernis.
1758, 1 November, ....	1761, .....	DE CHOISEUL Stainville.
1761, October, .....	1766, .....	DE CHOISEUL Praslin.

## MINISTERS OF THE MARINE AND COLONIES.

1662, 4 February, ....	1669, February, ....	DE LYONNE.
1669, February, .....	1683, 6 September, ....	COLBERT.
1683, 6 September, ....	1690, 6 November, ....	COLBERT DE SEIGNELAY.
1690, 6 November, ....	1699, 5 September, ....	LOUIS PHELIPEAUX, de Pontchartrain.
1699, 6 September, ....	1715, 13 November, ....	PHELIPEAUX (Jerome), Count du Pontchartrain.
1715, 13 September, ....	1718, .....	Minority of Louis XV.; a Council of Marine.
1718, October, .....	1722, 8 April, .....	FLEURIAU D'ARMENONVILLE.
1722, 9 April, .....	1723, 12 November, ....	DE MORVILLE.
1723, 13 November, ....	1749, .....	DE MAUREPAS.
1749, 26 April, .....	1754, 28 July, .....	DE ROUILLÉ.
1754, 28 July, .....	1757, 1 February, ....	DE MACHAULT.
1757, 1 February, ....	1758, 1 June, .....	PEIRENNE DE MORAS.
1758, 1 June, .....	1758, 1 November, ....	DE MASSIAC.
1758, 1 June, .....	1758, 1 November, ....	<i>Lenormand de Mezy</i> , adjoined.
1758, 1 November, ....	1761, 13 October, .....	BERRYER.
1761, 13 October, .....	1766, 7 April, .....	DE CHOISEUL STAINVILLE.
1766, 8 April, .....	1770, 24 December, ....	DE CHOISEUL PRASLIN.

## MINISTERS OF WAR.

[ Thus \* marked, died in office. ]

1655, 14 December, ....	1691, 16 July, .....	LETELLIER (Louis-Michel), Marquis de Louvois.* <sup>1</sup>
1681, 5 December, .....	1701, 7 January, .....	LETELLIER DE BARBESIEUX.* <sup>2</sup>
1701, 8 January, .....	1709, 9 June, .....	CHAMILLART de Cany.
		DE CHAMILLART, Junior (Michel), by right of succession ( <i>en survivance</i> ).
1709, 17 June, .....	1715, 15 September, ....	VOISIN (Daniel-François).
A Council of War is formed, composed of:		
1715, 26 November, .....		DE VILLARS (Louis-Claude-Hect).
1715, 14 October, .....	1716, 4 February, ....	<i>Phelippeaux de la Vrilliere</i> (Louis).
1716, 4 February, ....	1718, 24 September, ....	<i>D'Armenonville</i> , replaces M. de la Vrilliere.

<sup>1</sup> Obtained the right to succeed his father in 1655, but did not enter on the exercise of the duties until 24th January, 1662.<sup>2</sup> Having obtained the right of succeeding his father in 1681, he was then adjoined, but held the title only on the 16th July, 1691.



# MINISTERS OF STATE.

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## Ministers of War: *Reappointed.*

From	To.	
1718, 24 September, ....	1723, 1 July, .....	LEBLANC ( Claude ).*
1723, 4 July, .....	1726, 10 June, .....	LE TONNELIER DE BRETEUIL ( François-Vict. ), par interim.
1726, 19 June, .....	1728, 19 May, .....	LEBLANC ( Claude ).*
1728, 23 May, .....	1740, 15 February, ....	D'ANGERVILLIERS.*
1740, 20 February, ....	1743, 7 January, ....	DE BRETEUIL.*
1743, 9 January, ....	1757, 1 February, ....	DE VOYER D'ARGENSON.
1757, 1 February, ....	1758, 25 February, ....	DE VOYER D'ARGENSON ( Antoine-René ), Marquis de Paulmy.
1758, 3 March, .....	1761, 26 January, .....	FOUQUET DE BELLE-ÎLE ( Louis-Charles-Auguste ). <sup>1</sup>
1758, 9 April, .....	.....	<i>De Cremille</i> , adjoined.
1761, 26 January, ....	1770, 24 December, .....	DE CHOISEUL-STAINVILLE.

## CONTROLLERS-GENERAL.

1666, .....	1683, .....	COLBERT ( Jean-Baptiste ).
1683, .....	1689, September, ....	LE PELLETIER ( Claude ).
1689, 20 September, ....	1699, .....	PHÉLIPPEAUX DE PONTCHARTRAIN ( Louis ).
1699, 5 September, ....	1708, 14 February, ....	DE CHAMILLART ( Michel ).
1708, 22 February, .....	1715, September, ....	DES MARETZ ( Nicolas ).
A Council of Finance created, presided by		
1715, 15 September, ....	1718, January, .....	DE NOAILLE ( Duke ).
Controllers-General reappointed.		
1718, January, .....	1720, 4 January, .....	<i>De Paulmy d'Argenson</i> , par interim.
1720, 4 January, .....	1720, 29 May, .....	LAW ( John ).
1720, June, .....	1720, December, .....	LE PELLETIER DES FORTS.
1720, 10 December, ....	1722, 10 April, .....	LE PELLETIER DE LA HOUSSEY.
1722, April, .....	1726, 12 June, .....	DODUN ( Charles Gaspard ).
1726, 14 June, .....	1730, 19 March, .....	LE PELLETIER DES FORTS ( Michel-Robert ).
1730, 20 March, ....	1745, 5 December, ....	ORRY ( Philibert ).
1745, 6 December, .....	1754, 29 July, .....	DE MACHAULT d'Arnonville.
1754, 29 July, .....	1756, 25 August, .....	DES SEHELLES ( Jean-Moreau ).
1756, 25 August, ....	1757, 1 February, ....	PEIRENNE DE MORAS ( François-Marie ).
1757, 25 August, ....	1759, 4 March, .....	DE BULLOGNE ( Jean Nicolas ).
1759, March, .....	1759, November, ....	DE SILHOUETTE.
1759, November, ....	1763, December, ....	BERTIN ( Henri-Leonard-Jean-Baptiste ).
1763, December, ....	1768, .....	DE L'AVERTY ( Clément-Charles-François ).

<sup>1</sup> M. de Cremille signed with him.





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## PARIS DOCUMENTS:

### IX—XVII.

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*Mr. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.*

My Lord,

This despatch was originally in cipher with the exception of the words in *Italie*.

We have just received a letter from Messrs. du Chambon and Bigot on the subject of the revolt which occurred at Isle Royale, in the month of December last, among the Swiss and soldiers of the garrison. *Although* they have signified us *that they* had the honor to inform you, by two vessels, they were proposing to dispatch in the beginning of May, of the importance of the affair, our uncertainty as to whether that garrison will *not* have opposed the departure of those ships, joined to the risk *these are* exposed to in consequence of the number of privateers *which* were to leave Boston to cruize in the latitude of Isle Royale, has caused us to determine on sending a vessel hence to advise you of this news, so *that you* may issue your orders for changing that *entire* garrison, according to the request of those gentlemen, and whatever other instructions you will deem proper to be sent for its disposal, as its continuance in that quarter is not advisable, as *it* has, according to those gentlemen's despatch of the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, pushed matters so as to *cause* every apprehension to be entertained up to the present moment. We have the honor to transmit you the particulars of the revolt, *but as* the captain of the vessel has orders to throw the despatches into the sea, in case he be hard pressed, M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart is *to* inform him of the subject of his voyage, so as to enable him to have the honor to render you an account thereof, should he escape the enemy.

News has reached here both by the domiciliated Indians *and* those of Acadia, that forty to fifty ships were to leave Boston for the purpose of blockading Isle Royale, or coming to Quebec. The first would be feasible, *but* I can scarcely believe the other. However, I have done all in my power to receive them; but Isle Royale appears to me in *some* danger, unless his Majesty send a fleet sufficient both for the conquest of Acadia and for driving off the English privateers who would assuredly annoy our merchantmen.



The party I have sent to Acadia is waiting at Minas, by Mr du Chambon's orders, for *those* he is to send by *your* commands, which he is expecting in answer to what he has had the honor to address you, and the *more* impatiently, as he feels as much uneasiness from his garrison as from the enemy.

In other respects everything is quiet on this side. I am on my guard, and merely on the defensive, not being able to act offensively, as I had the honor to inform you, either against New England or the posts on Hudson's bay, in consequence of the want in the King's stores and even in those of the merchants, of the supplies necessary for such expeditions, a circumstance I was not informed of last autumn. *Besides*, the preservation of our possessions and forts, in the interior of the Colony, being my principal object, I considered it more prudent *not* to divest ourselves of our small means of resistance in case of attack, and to suspend the *other* projects, until I be in a condition to execute them.

I am in daily expectation of the Five Nations, *who* sent me word early this winter, *that they* would come and see me this spring, with the exception of the Mohawks, who, I am told, have accepted the hatchet from the English. They continue disposed to remain neutral as they have promised me. The Mohawks, however, are to come down with *the rest*, *but* the few there are of that tribe are not to be feared.

It has been very difficult to derive any profit from the Posts this spring, and there have been fewer licenses than last year. The scarcity, as well as the high price, of goods is the *cause* of this falling off in the trade which may be *also* looked upon as entirely lost for next year; should our ships not arrive in safety, it is to be feared that *even* this year *the* Indians will be disgusted on account of the few goods sent up to Niagara and the other posts, and be thereby induced to take sides with the English, in order to obtain their necessities. I observe all these things with very considerable pain, in consequence of my inability to apply a remedy, and I see no other means of correction, except in the particular attention you will have been pleased to pay to the procuring for us *the* supplies I have taken the liberty to ask of you for the defence of the country, and in favoring, at this critical juncture, the trade the merchant vessels are prosecuting.

*Reflecting, my Lord, that* Isle Royale may be invested or besieged, those gentlemen will not be able to [dispatch] *the* ships *they* proposed, I write to Mr. Hocquart to send you two, if possible; *and as* that requires prompt expedition, he will come to a decision all alone, as the expected arrival of the nations, and my *other* occupations put it out of my power to go down, unless in case the enemy approach Quebec.

I am with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

Montreal, the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, 1745. *BEAUHARNAIS.*

---

*General Duchambon to Count d'Argenson.*

Belle Isle Road, 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 1745.

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform you that I was obliged, on the twenty-seventh of June, to surrender Louisbourg and its dependencies to the English, after having sustained a siege of

forty-seven days. I employed every means to save that Colony for the King, but it was impossible for me to do it, being in want of powder and people for its defence, as you will see by the decision of the Councils of War I have held previous to the surrender of that place. The enemy was greatly superior in number to us, having about thirteen thousand sea and land forces, and I had, at the commencement of the siege, including good and bad, but twelve to thirteen hundred men, who have been reduced to eleven hundred.

Mr Bigot has informed me that he was sending you a copy of the capitulation, and of all the letters that have passed between the English generals and me. As he is about to repair to you as soon as possible, I shall give him the originals, in order that he may have the honor to present them to you, as I consider them more secure in his hands than if I had placed them in the post.

The troops are, for the most part, embarked in the *Launceston*, an English man of war, on board of which I went; another portion is in two vessels we have spoken at sea; the remainder, consisting of three French companies and that of artillery, were to leave Louisbourg a few days after our departure. I left Mr D'aillebout to attend to their departure.

I shall await at Rochefort whatever orders you will be pleased to give me respecting the troops and myself.

I flatter myself, My Lord, that you will condescend to examine the defence I have made, and I hope that whilst doing me justice in your opinion, it will assure me the continuation of your protection, with which I pray you to be pleased to honor me.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed,) DUCHAMBON.



*Messrs. de Beauharnois and Hocquart to Count de Maurepas.*

Quebec, 12 September, 1745.

My Lord,

You will have been informed, long before this reaches you, of our loss of Louisbourg. The officers of the garrison, and particularly those who may be deserving of your confidence, will have rendered you an account of all the circumstances which have accompanied the blockade, the siege and the surrender of that place. We have not been able to learn any particulars thereof, except from some seamen who made their escape, from time to time, from the different harbors of Ile royale, and have arrived at Quebec, the major portion of them in *Biscayennes* (long boats;) among the rest one Lacroix Girard, ship master, a native of St. Malo. This individual was in the place during the whole of the siege; his journal of it has appeared to us true, because of its simplicity, and this circumstance induces us to address you a copy of it. According to what M. Duchambon has communicated to Sieur Marin, in his letter of the 29th of June last, that commandant was obliged to capitulate, on account of want of men and powder. It is not for us, my Lord, to examine his conduct, nor that of the officers of the garrison, in the defence of the place; 'tis for his Majesty to judge of it; we shall confine ourselves merely on the occasion of this unfortunate affair, to submitting to you the different



means that might be employed to recover Louisbourg, and conquer Acadia; the preservation of Canada depends thereon.

The English, by the situation of their Colonies, have had facilities which we do not possess. Boston is only 160 @ 180 leagues distant from Louisbourg; the passage is usually made in 3 or 4 days; therefore, after landing at Gabarus, they are within reach of supplies for their troops, and are able to replace whatever ammunition they might consume in the progress of the siege; they have made an entrepôt at the island of Canso, which they have commenced fortifying; the details of their arrangements, and the motives of the expedition, are fully set forth in their Boston gazettes; we annex them hereunto: Their diligence, and the success of the measures they adopted to obtain from Antigua and Old England the naval forces that have been employed in the blockade, are truly surprising. They have, moreover, been extremely favored by the fair weather and calms which have prevailed on the coast of Ile Royale, during the months of April, May and June last. The latest intelligence we have from that country is of the 17<sup>th</sup> July. The same Girard, who left Louisbourg on the 15<sup>th</sup>, told us that the English had begun to remove to the ramparts the artillery they had taken out of the *Vigilant*. We are to expect that the English will use all possible care to preserve that place; they regard it as of the greatest importance for the security of their coasts and fisheries; these views may the more reasonably be ascribed to them as, in order to rid themselves of all future uneasiness, they have not been willing to annul the severe condition of quitting the island which they imposed on the settlers; they even refused permission to them and the troops of the garrison to remove to Canada, doubtless in order not to strengthen a Colony they designed to invade; this they did not conceal; it constitutes the topic of the every day conversation of the people of New England, and particularly of those of Boston, Fort St. George, Chouaguin, &c. What is there, in fact, of more interest to them, than to occupy the entire of this continent? They would thereby become sole masters of the fisheries, and of the whole of the trade of this country, without any apprehension of being troubled by France, who would no longer possess any establishment in this part of America.

The English being now masters of Ile Royale, will become still more jealous, and more careful than ever to secure Acadia to themselves. That beautiful and fertile Province is essential to the maintenance of their new conquest, in which the English have not made any establishment, of importance, since the peace. 'Twas only last fall, and particularly during the present autumn, that they have put Port Royal into a state of defence, and have a garrison of about 300 men in it. All the rest of Acadia is inhabited exclusively by French people, and according to the information we have received of their numbers there may be about 2500 men, capable of bearing arms at Beaubassin, Minas and Port Royal, the three most populous places. As regards the dispositions of the inhabitants towards us, all, with the exception of a very small portion, are desirous of returning under the French dominion; Sieur Marin, and the officers of his detachment, as well as the missionaries, have assured us of this; they will not hesitate to take up arms as soon as they see themselves at liberty to do so; that is, as soon as we shall become masters of Port Royal, or they have powder, and other munitions of war, and will be backed by some sedentary troops for their protection against the resentment of the English. If, notwithstanding this preliminary, any settlers should still be found to hesitate declaring themselves, all difficulties would be overcome by the employment of menaces and force. The reduction of Louisbourg has, meanwhile, disconcerted them. M. Marin has reported to us that the day he left Port Royal all the inhabitants were overpowered with grief;



this arose only from the apprehension of remaining at the disposition of the enemy; of losing their property, and of being deprived of their missionaries. The English might probably have recourse to such policy, or at least adopt measures to keep them in a strict and severe subjection. They will not experience any great difficulty in that, and consequently will not have to observe any delicacy, because the supplies of powder and lead, and other munitions, which the Acadians and Micmacs of the country were in the habit of drawing from Louisbourg, will be no longer forthcoming. These Indians, irreconcilable enemies of the English, cannot have any other place of refuge than Canada, or Ristigouche and Miramichi. This is what we have now to fear, and with a view to retain them, have thought of remedying it by transmitting to Miramichi some powder and lead, to which we add some provisions and other supplies.

We have just explained the conduct the English will probably observe towards the Acadians. We cannot imagine that they could entertain the idea of removing those people, in order to substitute Englishmen in their stead, unless the desertion of the Indians would embolden them to adopt such a course, utterly inhuman as it may be. The evacuation, exacted and agreed to by the capitulation of Louisbourg, excites a prejudice which must increase our distrust. The Acadians have not extended their plantations since they have come under English dominion; their houses are wretched wooden boxes, without conveniences, and without ornaments, and scarcely containing the most necessary furniture; but they are extremely covetous of specie. Since the settlement of Ile Royale they have drawn from Louisbourg, by means of their trade in cattle, and all the other provisions, almost all the specie the King annually sent out; it never makes its appearance again, they are particularly careful to conceal it. What object can they have, except to secure for themselves a resource for an evil day? Already many of them have caused inquiries to be made whether they could find lands here to settle on, and whether they would be admitted to enter on them. We have avoided all answer.

These reflections will not be without their use in throwing light on the principal object of retaking Louisbourg, or procuring for us an equivalent. But before entering into any detail, permit us again to submit some reflections in case the affairs of Europe happen to change their aspect in the course of this year, or a peace be concluded. The restoration of Louisbourg will, doubtless, be one of the articles to be discussed. The English are greatly interested that France should not possess a place of such consequence in their vicinity; their northern Colonies have heretofore regarded it as another Dunkirk which would keep them always in check. That harbor, fortified, would afford an asylum for our fleets and privateers, which would thereby be at hand to cut off their fisheries, the branch of trade of the greatest interest to New England and the Province of Piscataqua; Canso seemed to them a fishing post of such importance, that its capture by the French particularly led to the expedition against Louisbourg. It can hardly be expected that the English will give up their conquest, unless the King have gained advantages over them in Europe, which would induce them so to do; these will have to be considerable, otherwise we do not believe that they will surrender it, unless on condition that its fortifications be razed. This clause, and its execution would relieve them of all uneasiness; the battery or fort of L'Ilet would have, nevertheless, to remain.

The other maritime powers are interested that the benefit of the cod fishery do not fall exclusively into the hands of the English. Were these the sole masters of it, Spain, Holland, and even France would become, so to speak, their tributaries. 'Tis true, we would still



possess the Gulf of St. Lawrence towards Gaspé, Labrador or Petit Nord, and the portion of the Island of Newfoundland ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht for purposes of fishing only. But all these put together do not amount to anything of sufficient consideration in regard to the consumption and trade of the Kingdom. We make no mention, my Lord, of the interest of this Colony. He Royale furnished it with a market for its provisions; that being no longer in existence, our products will necessarily fall in price. We already feel the inconveniences of this. Last summer flour kept up to 10 @ 12<sup>li</sup> the quintal; no sooner did we receive the news from Louisbourg than it fell to 6 and 7<sup>li</sup>. We have, according to all appearances, a fine harvest; wheat will not be worth 30 *sous* the minot, consequently there will be no more encouragement for the farmer. In fine, the two Colonies supported each other; ours, now, has no longer any support. A post could indeed be established at Gaspé. At the head of the bay of that name, is a fine harbor called Penouil bay, where the largest ships would ride in safety: its mouth is not difficult and may be about a quarter of a league in width. Gaspé bay is a secluded roadstead; its anchorage is good, and up to this time we have not heard of any ships having been wrecked there.

As many as 40 @ 50 fishing vessels have been seen at Gaspé and in its vicinity. Fishing commences there ordinarily between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of June, and closes from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> of November, and even later; but there are not enough of fish-flukes (*galet*) for drying; the fishermen supply the want by *vignaux*. The climate is nearly the same as that of Quebec. The lands at the head of Penouil bay are represented as pretty good. A Canadian, named Harbour, has a farm there, on which he has raised wheat that has come to maturity, also buckwheat and vegetables of every description; a quantity of hay is also raised there. The lands along the river that flows into that bay, are represented as capable of improvement. We mention this matter, my Lord, only incidentally; the Basque and St. Malo captains who visit that quarter every year, will be able to furnish you with more precise information of the advantages to be derived from the settlement in question, and we would have it in our power from this place, to perfect them when necessary. One obstacle, however, will always oppose its execution; that is, the passage of the gulf which is now barred. The English continue the same policy; they wish to occupy all the passages, and do in fact occupy them. In America they possess Antigua and Jamaica, in addition to Louisbourg; in Europe, Gibraltar and Port Mahon. We have learned indirectly that they have organized an expedition against Dunkirk; in the last wars they made an attempt on Cadiz. We ought to counteract and break up their plans. Excuse, my Lord, these digressions. We return to what more particularly interests this Colony.

His Majesty will, perhaps, confine himself simply to the conquest of Louisbourg, and postpone that of Acadia; but that project is as liable to mischance as to success; whatever measures are adopted must be very hazardous. We shall suspend the discussion of the matter only to refer to a second project in which Acadia will enter.

The enemy possessed, for his expedition, facilities we shall not have; Boston has been the first rendezvous; Canso, which they first established and fortified, was the second; this formed for them a place of retreat in all events, and from these two points they have been masters to choose their time for proceeding to Gabarus and landing their troops and ammunition there; they have had their vessels cruising before Louisbourg, according as the season and the ice permitted. It is to be observed that their first privateers were doubled and strengthened like the ships that go to the north, whale fishing; they have been so fortunate as to find the sea



open on the south coast of Ile Royal as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> of March; a squall from the S. E., which is very usual in the spring, would have thrown some of their ships ashore. Such accidents may reasonably be apprehended, but if the contrary could be expected, we presume that the English will have erected fortifications or retrenchments at Gabarus bay to correct the defects of the Royal battery by constructing a cavalier or some blockhouses on the hill, for the purpose of preventing that work being taken in the rear. This will be an additional difficulty to be surmounted independent of the strong garrison that they will have stationed in the place.

On the east part of the Island are two convenient harbors, Port Dauphin<sup>1</sup> and Spaniards' bay;<sup>2</sup> the one or the other might serve as an entrepôt for the ships, troops and munitions of war which his Majesty would send from France. We should prefer Spaniards' bay; it is  $\frac{1}{2}$ th of a league wide at the mouth; vessels would be secure in that bay by means of some gun batteries that could be erected thereabout. It is only 18 leagues distant by sea, and only 11 by land, from Louisbourg. Its environs abound with hard wood of every description, beech and cherry, some oak and pine. It was from this place particularly the inhabitants of Louisbourg procured their firewood. Some limestone and freestone are found there, and coal is not far off. Quite convenient is the mouth of the river called the Little Brador, which extends twenty leagues into the interior of the island, where it forms several lakes abounding with fish; on the northern borders of these lakes were the hunting grounds of the Micmacs, who reside on the island. The territory on the south abounds in prairies and is, 'tis said, well adapted for the growth of some products such as vegetables. On the coast, outside Spaniards' bay, cod is abundant and the fish good.

It is, then, in this bay that the King's troops, to the number of 2000@2500 men, destined for the expedition, would remain during next summer; we would reinforce them by 2 or 3 hundred Canadians and as many Micmac Indians belonging to the missions of Miramichi and Acadia, and according to this arrangement, we should set out in the course of the following winter. It may be about 5 or 6 leagues from the head of Spaniards' bay to Miré bay. There is no road, but we are assured that one is practicable; from Miré bay to Louisbourg, the road is constructed; it may be about five or six leagues in length. This bay freezes and the ice is always strong enough to bear artillery. In the summer our troops would erect fortifications and provide themselves with quarters. The fall is the proper time to make the road in question; a portion of the soldiery and Canadians would be employed on this work; the remainder would guard the intrenchments. Our ships would protect the mouth of the harbor or cruise in the gulf on the south side of Ile Royale and along the coasts of Acadia and New England. Thus, 'twould not be until the course of the winter, after the ice had taken, that our troops would move towards Louisbourg with a few pieces of light artillery and two or three mortars of 5@6 inch calibre, to be used in case of need. At that season, the place might best be carried by scaling. On the other hand, 'tis to be presumed that the enemy, aware of our preparations, will reinforce the garrison so as to be able to resist all attacks. The general in command of the expedition will be informed of this by the crews of the English coasters, sloops and other of the enemy's vessels which will probably be captured off the coast.

In case there should be, owing to difficulties, too much risk of compromising the King's arms, his Majesty might content himself with, or confine himself to, settling Spaniards' bay

<sup>1</sup> St. Anne's.

<sup>2</sup> Sydney, C. B. — Ed.



by leaving the 2500 troops there with implements, ammunition and provisions necessary for their support during one year. Canada is, however, capable of supplying this new post, from the commencement of next year, with abundance of provisions and the same comforts that Louisbourg was in the habit of drawing formerly from this colony; but in all cases 'tis proper that there should be one year's supplies in advance.

We have, in consequence, prepared the estimate of munitions of war and provisions, merchandise and tools necessary for the execution of the project in question, including a military chest of 3 or 400 m<sup>l</sup>. We suppose that the King will destine ten ships of war, 6 of 60 guns and upwards, and 4 others of 50 guns, 4 frigates of 20 @ 26 guns, two bomb ketches and a sufficient number of transports. 'Twill be proper to cause all these munitions, if possible, to be placed on board the armed ships; if, however, the 14 could not take them all, what remains could be put on board the merchantmen.

We shall not allude, my Lord, to the number of military officers destined for the land forces; we are equally persuaded that you will pay attention to the selection to be made of these, and of the military corps that will be employed in the operations. The staff will require one experienced commissary, one good storekeeper, with two or three intelligent clerks, one treasurer and a clerk, one surgeon-major and two assistants, versed in the composition of remedies, eight ship carpenters and two chaplains. It will be requisite to send, in addition to the 2500 regulars, some house carpenters, 12 or 15 at least, six joiners, six smiths and tool makers, as many locksmiths to act as armorers, 3 or 4 bakers and some masons, one blockmaker and two sailmakers. We add, that even should his Majesty confine himself to settling Spaniards' bay, the uneasiness and expense this new settlement would entail on the Crown of England, would inevitably induce it to surrender Louisbourg to us on the return of peace.

Sieur Dubois, the commander of *Le Castor*, who is well acquainted with Ile Royale, pretends that the expedition against Louisbourg could be undertaken in the month of May of next year; that a fleet could find shelter under Scatari and in its vicinity, and that the landing of the troops and artillery could be effected without much difficulty at the mouth of Miré bay, to proceed thence to the south of the lake of the same name and take up a convenient position for marching to besiege the place. Should his Majesty intend the expedition to proceed in spring, a greater number of vessels and troops would be necessary; 7 or 8 privateers of 20 @ 24 guns would be of essential aid to the squadron; 2 or 3 would be detached to Quebec for provisions and bring back 4 or 500 young Canadians. Messengers should not fail to be sent to notify the Indians of Miramichi and Ristigouche, and to conduct them to the rendezvous; their missionaries will be simply informed, beforehand, that they might receive news in the month of May from France, and of the course to be adopted in relation to Ile Royale and Acadia, in order that their Indians may be employed, if necessary.

In the annexed estimate of munitions of war those that can be drawn from Quebec are entered in the margin; it is not the less necessary to send some from France, say about half, lest the supply should fall short.

Success in the execution of the project will depend particularly on the fitness of the measures and on the diligence that will be used in carrying them out. They all appear to us of consequence; and you will, moreover, have an opportunity, in the examination you will make of them, to perfect them by the information the principal officers of Louisbourg will furnish you. Messrs. Bigot and Morpain ought to be perfectly conversant with everything practicable; but if it be his Majesty's design to carry the place decidedly, and if the English, as they seem,



keep a strong garrison there, 'twill then be proper to double and even to triple the landing force and all the stores, with the exception, however, of the powder, artillery and muskets.

We resume the second project, that against Acadia. It must be considered under a different point of view from last year's; circumstances have changed since the reduction of Louisbourg. It is very probable that the English no longer entertain the same regard and the same complaisance as formerly for the Acadians, and that the latter will eventually be more reserved in favoring our projects against that province. Sieur Marin has informed us that when he was last leaving Beaubassin, he was assured that two English men of war had entered the basin of Port Royal. The enemy will not fail to stock the place abundantly with all the stores necessary for its defence and to strengthen its garrison. This consisted of 300 men when Sieur Marin left the place in the beginning of June. There were, then, six 24 pounders pointed towards the river, one 12 inch mortar and 30 pieces of cannon on the rampart. The fort is a square with 4 bastions, being about 180 *toises*<sup>1</sup> from one point of the bastion to the other; the wall is of earth faced with squared timbers 10 @ 12 inches in width, and 18 feet long, joined together and set up perpendicularly; the embrasures of the parapets are very open; the top of the parapets is set off with round sticks 12 inches in diameter, fastened with rope ends; these sticks being so disposed as to admit of being loosened and slipped over the talus of the parapets with a view to break the ladders which would be employed in scaling. The ditch may be 10 @ 12 *toises* in width, and 5 or 6 in depth; in its centre is a cunette with a palisade; the covertway is nothing else than the counterscarp; the glacis, with well defined, salient and entering angles, may be 15 *toises*. The outworks consist of the three blockhouses; \* one situated between the mouth of the Little river and the fort, and defends the plain; the other two, E. N. E. of said fort, defend the approach of the Lower town. 'Tis to be observed that during M<sup>r</sup> Marin's sojourn, all the houses of the Lower town were abandoned. The most part belong to the officers of the garrison. The English, however, have a large frame house (*maison de colomage*) there, to lodge their Indian allies; this house was defended by 4 guns. In regard to the blockhouses, they are square towers of the annexed figure, wherein their use is explained.

The English were informed, in the month of April, by three Indians whom one of their privateers, sailing under French colors, had surprised at Cape Sable, that M<sup>r</sup> Duvivier was expected at the end of May with several men of war. It was in consequence of this advice, or even of previous information, that M<sup>r</sup> Mascarine,<sup>2</sup> commandant of Port Royal, redoubled his precautions in order to place himself in a state of defence. You will see, my Lord, by the annexed journal, that M<sup>r</sup> Mascarine had commenced, on the 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> of May, to have the north side of Goat island cleared, either with a view to discover, at a greater distance, the ships that enter the narrow mouth of the harbor, the view of which is intercepted by trees, or rather to erect a battery on it to defend the only ship channel between that island and the mainland, and by that means prevent vessels going up as far as the fort. 'Tis to be presumed that the English have now erected that battery, and that they will, on the receipt of the first news of preparations against Acadia, construct, perhaps, another battery at the entrance of the Strait.<sup>3</sup> Should they erect one on Goat island, it will not prevent ships entering and anchoring in the basin, nor troops landing on the south shore, opposite the anchorage ground. 'Twill be very easy to render the road, from that point to Port Royal, passable for the artillery destined for the attack; the distance is about 3 leagues.

<sup>1</sup> 1080 feet. \* A species of redoubt à *machicoulis*. Note in original. <sup>2</sup> See VI, 482, note. <sup>3</sup> Digby's Strait. — Ed.



The same estimate for the first project will answer for the second. One of the principal items still is that of the Military chest, to contain specie in silver coin of *écus*, half-*écus* and pieces of 30 sous, for the purchase of provisions and refreshments, the product of the country. We have made no reduction in the amount of provisions included in said estimate. Were the province to supply all that is required, it could not do so without being totally exhausted in less than a year. If his Majesty approve this second project, it will be proper to use such diligence in its execution as to enable the King's forces to be at the rendezvous by the first of May at latest, so as not to be anticipated by the enemy. With these precautions, success may be expected.

The success of the English in their expedition against Louisbourg, was owing to their extreme activity; they had been making preparations since the fall; their attempt against Canada in 1711, failed in consequence of their neglecting to adopt measures sufficiently early. Their old gazettes and journals attribute the ill success of their fleets in the West Indies, to delays which the government ought to have foreseen and prevented.

'Twill not be necessary that the ships to compose the King's fleet should meet on the same day in the basin of Port Royal, but only those having on board the landing forces and the munitions for the siege. The remainder could be employed in preventing the entrance of any reinforcements, and even in cruising along the coasts of Boston and the east coast of Acadia. These vessels will not fail, at this season, to capture some prizes that will inform them of what will be transpiring in New England and Ile Royale.

We have likewise left untouched, in the estimate in question, the different goods and implements required to meet the wants of the settlers and Indians of the country. It will be necessary to send enough of them every year until the possession of Acadia become peaceable and the French ships be able to bring thither from Europe the necessaries of life.

Port Royal is, in truth, advantageously situated for the security of the ships which will come to fish on the coasts, but the entrance to the basin is narrow, and the currents there are strong; besides, the fishery is much more abundant on the east coast, which has 3 or 4 very excellent harbors capable of accommodating the largest sized vessels, viz<sup>1</sup> La Hève, Chibouctou,<sup>1</sup> and Port la Tour.<sup>2</sup> This coast is not settled; at Mirligueche,<sup>3</sup> a small harbor 3 leagues east of La Hève, are only eight settlers, among the rest one Paul Guidry *alias* Grivois, a good coast pilot; again, west of La Hève, at the place called the Little river, are two more settlers. Germain Lejeune, one of these, is intimately acquainted with the coast; the man named Boutin and his children live three leagues east of the entrance of Chibouctou. The attachment of these people to France can be relied on.

Should the difficulty in getting the King's fleet into Port Royal basin be greater than we anticipate, by supposing that the English might have been beforehand with us, the landing could take place at the head of St. Mary's bay, but 'twould require fine weather, as the southwest winds there are strong. There is only a short portage then to Port Royal basin; this portage is used by the Indians.

Again, supposing that the English might have thrown supplies into, and increased the garrison of, that place, to the degree that our attempt would be too hazardous with the 2500 regulars we propose to have conveyed into that province, we might settle La Hève and Chibouctou, and intrench ourselves there. Chibouctou is not far from Minas, the most

<sup>1</sup> Halifax.

<sup>2</sup> Barrington. These are on the south and not on the east coast.

<sup>3</sup> Signifying Milky bay. *Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia*, II., 132. — Ed.



populous district of Acadia, and consequently that in which resources are most abundant. The Indians travel this distance in a day and a half. But 'tis to be hoped that the English will not anticipate our design on Port Royal; this is the principal object, and if the French flag can be hoisted there, all Acadia surrenders, and 'twill be no longer difficult to get the settlers to take up arms; reserving the eventual razing of that place and making a more considerable settlement at La Hève or at Chibouctou. We are very much inclined to believe that a settlement at the east would be better, because the fishing there is extremely abundant; at Canso alone, and its vicinity, the English have annually 2 or 300 fishing boats and 40 ships.

The English do not dry any fish on the east coast of Acadia since the war, through fear of being surprised there and killed by the Micmacs. These Indians rove along that coast from spring to autumn in quest of a livelihood. Lately, a boat belonging to an English merchantman having landed at La Hève for wood and water, these Indians killed 7 of the crew and brought their scalps to Sieur Marin; they can be depended upon to pursue the same course as long as means will be found to furnish them with arms, powder and ball. This is also the opinion of M. Loutre,<sup>1</sup> their missionary at Chibénacadie,<sup>2</sup> who arrived at Quebec on the 14<sup>th</sup> of September. He brought with him 5 of these Micmacs, deputies from that nation. We will report to you, my Lord, their resolutions and what will take place between us. This missionary has laid before us, on his arrival, the letter Sieur Dailleboust wrote him on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, indorsed on which is a sort of passport from Generals Warren and Peperel, enjoining him to repair to Louisbourg, in default whereof his life is threatened. The missionary has paid no attention either to the letter or passport, and we are about sending him back to his mission. He has handed the Marquis de Beauharnois a letter from Sieur Iriard, a merchant at Louisbourg, dated the 22<sup>nd</sup> July, which is interesting, and the intelligence it communicates can the rather be relied on as it corresponds essentially with what we have received from Acadia and other places, except that the information furnished by Sieur Iriard is more in detail. There is no doubt, at present, but it is well founded, and that the English intend to attack this colony next spring.

15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> The delay of our ships makes us fear they are intercepted, and that we shall be this year deprived of every description of supplies that we demanded formerly, particularly last year, for the defence of the country. We flatter ourselves, however, until the 15<sup>th</sup> of next month, with the hope of receiving them, because we presume his Majesty, having been

<sup>1</sup> Reverend LOUIS JOSEPH DE LA LOUTRE was sent to Canada in 1737 by the Society of Foreign Missions, Paris, and became missionary to the Acadians and Micmacs of Nova Scotia, where he is found heading an attack on Annapolis as early as 1744. *Williamson's Maine*, II, 216. His principal residence was at Messagouche, now Fort Lawrence, N. S. He had become so odious to the English as early as 1745, that a reward was offered for his arrest. He revisited France, where 'tis said he was considered of sufficient importance to be intrusted with a large sum of money for the improvement of his mission, and on his return was appointed Vicar-General of Acadia. Pride and vanity were his predominant failings; affairs of state engaged his attention more than religion. After ruining the Acadians or Neutral French by his unwise counsels, he abandoned them in the moment of their distress. For fear of falling into the hands of the British he left Fort Beausejour, in disguise, before its surrender (16th June, 1757), crossed over to the River St. John, and went thence to Quebec, where, instead of a welcome, he received bitter reproaches from his Bishop, and embarked for France the following August. *Memoires sur les Affaires du Canada*, in *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, pp. 59, 60. He could not avoid, however, falling into the hands of those from whom he had tried to escape. On the passage, the ship was captured by the British and Abbé de la Loutre was taken prisoner, sent to Elizabeth Castle in the Island of Jersey, where he remained eight years in confinement (*Knox's Journal*, I, 114); he returned to France at the conclusion of the peace of 1763. The *Liste Chronologique*, No. 685, places the arrival of M. de la Loutre in Canada in 1747, but this must refer to his return to that country after visiting France; otherwise 'tis a manifest error. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> What is now called the Shubenacadie, a river which empties into the east end of Minas basin.



informed sufficiently early of the mutiny of the garrison of Louisbourg on the 27<sup>th</sup> of December last, and of the English expedition against that place, will have been pleased to reinforce the convoy which he will have ordered to be furnished to the ships from Europe for these parts. We shall annex to our last dispatches the estimate of the munitions we'll require; we cannot prepare it until we shall have received those we expect this year, or at least until we have abandoned all hopes of receiving them.

The project of the English modifies those plans we have submitted in the course of this dispatch against Ile Royale and Acadia. Sieur Iriard's letter explains, in a very positive and probable manner, the measures the enemy will adopt, if we except the 25 or 30 thousand men; 'tis difficult to imagine that they would be able to organize so large an expedition unless it include the land and sea forces. In 1711 they had about 6000 regulars from Old England, exclusive of the 16 companies levied at Boston of 100 men each (we do not know the precise number), and the crews of their ships. General Walker<sup>1</sup> sailed from Plimouth on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May with 11 ships of 60 @ 80 guns, 2 bomb ketches and 52 transports, fly boats and hospital ships, making, altogether, 65 sail. He arrived at Boston on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, whence he took his departure only on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August with 14 small vessels, brigantines and barges, and 40 sloops or galleys with oars. This fleet was considerable for that period, and we must suppose that the English, being aware that this Colony has at least doubled within 35 years, will employ a proportionate force to conquer it. According to Sieur Iriard's information, they will avoid the inconveniences which caused their destruction on Egg island. They are aware of the difficulties and danger large vessels are exposed to in sailing up the river, and will not send any but middle sized ones; the others will cruise at the lower end of the river. Gaspé is a good place of retreat, and a safe entrepôt. 'Tis natural to suppose that they will fortify it as they have done Canso. The winds from the N. W. prevail during the whole of the month of May; the river can be ascended at that season in 7 or 8 days, and more than ordinary care will be necessary to avoid being surprised.

Sieur de Gannes, one of the captains of infantry who remained at Ile Royale until the evacuation was completed, has, by his letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, communicated the same intelligence to us as Sieur Iriard. Our scouts towards the Mohawk country were told on the 20<sup>th</sup> ultimo, even by some of the English themselves, that Quebec would be attacked in the spring from the sea, Fort Frederic and Montreal from above; that they would content themselves, this year, with weakening us by intercepting all the ships destined for Canada. This event must then be expected, and it appears to us indispensable for the preservation of the country, that his Majesty detail a fleet for these seas sufficiently powerful to oppose their expeditions. Their first rendezvous will probably be at Boston or in the adjoining harbors, to refresh their crews, and this will be in March and April, and perhaps partly in the month of May. The harbors of La Hève and Chibouctou, which are easily entered and quitted, are situated advantageously for observing the enemy, and conveniently for seizing their vessels, as well those destined for the expedition as for Louisbourg. We have already said it; success depends particularly on diligence; this is the most necessary; if it fail and the enemy's fleet

<sup>1</sup> Sir HOVENDEN WALKER, Kt., of Somersham, Huntingdonshire, England, was commissioned a Captain in the navy about 1688, and became Rear-Admiral of the White in 1710. He commanded the sea forces in the expedition against Quebec in 1711. On his return his ship, the *Edgar*, 76, blew up at Spithead, and all on board perished. He was suddenly dismissed the service in 1715, whereupon he thought it much more advisable to retire to a plantation he had purchased in Carolina, where he prepared an account of his expedition, which was published in 1720. He died in 1725. *Beaton's Political Index*, II, 24; *Introduction to Walker's Journal*. — Ed.



and transports pass the gulf on their way to Quebec, without opposition, we should be embarrassed in providing against every casualty. In our opinion, the vessels which will bring us reinforcements should pass Gaspé in all April and the beginning of May, so that we might receive them here about the 15<sup>th</sup>. The season then is not so dangerous as people think. The late M. de Vaudreuil arrived at Quebec in the year 1686, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, with 5 or 6 ships which brought to the country regulars. Mr de Beauharnois has repeatedly, and we have also conjointly, represented to you the necessity of increasing the troops in Canada; this necessity makes itself felt more than ever by that which exists for fortifying the garrisons of forts St. Frederick, Niagara and Fort Frontenac. There remain no more than 400 men in the 3 towns of the Colony, and if we be attacked above and below, 'twill be necessary to divide our forces. 'Tis true that the Colony can furnish 10 @ 12 thousand active and brave men capable of bearing arms, but only 6 thousand of them, or thereabouts, could be considered well armed. Notwithstanding the attention paid to disciplining them, 'twill be necessary to intersperse them among, and to have them coöperate with, the regular troops. The number of the latter is too small to form with our militia a body capable of intimidating and certainly overcoming the enemy. We consequently demand of you *one thousand* effective men. Another very important consideration is, that M. de Beauharnois has need of being seconded by officers of experience, and hereupon he will explain himself more particularly to you. He flatters himself that he will be able to preserve this Colony for the King by means of the reinforcements and of the supplies of munitions of war we have demanded of you last year, and whose arrival we expect, as well those we shall require of you for next year; otherwise the country will run great risk.

These are a great many objects to be attended to all at once, inasmuch as offensive and defensive operations are in question. 'Twill be for his Majesty to decide whether his naval forces will admit of his attending to both. The preservation of Canada must appear the object of most interest. Should the enemy once master it, 'twould, perhaps, be necessary to renounce this continent forever.

Under the apprehension that the supplies expected this year from France may be intercepted, and that the like may be the case next year, Sieur Iriard proposes in his letter, copy whereof we annex, to come to the River St. John next year with a vessel loaded with munitions of war to be afterwards conveyed to Quebec; he pretends to be conversant with that river; he is a man of sufficient discretion to avoid running any risk in that quarter; but the means he indicates for the conveyance of these supplies are not, in our opinion, very sure, still less are they feasible, on account of the distance, and of the difficulty of several portages, amounting to eleven, between the River St. John and the first French settlements, 40 leagues below Quebec. 'Tis confidently stated that vessels of 150 @ 200 tons can ascend two leagues up the River St. John to the first fall. Should there be any design against Acadia or against Ile Royale, or should the English persist in carrying out their plans against Canada, Sieur Iriard could be detached from the fleet, to convey to the place designated some munitions of war to be deposited with and confided to Father Germain, resident missionary at that place, for the purpose of arming the Indians of those parts, those of Medoctet, the Canibas and the Indians of Ristigouche and Miramichi, and to fit them for marching wherever deemed necessary. 'Twill be easy to distribute this ammunition among the neighboring Indians, and means will be found, by bark canoes, to convey another portion of it to Indians at a great distance. We have advised Father Germain of these circumstances. We simply annex the memorandum of



the stores to be sent, if this project be carried out. We have included therein some provisions, some cloth and other goods suitable for the Indians. At all events, we shall be promptly advised of whatever will occur on the River St. John, and whether Sieur Iriard will repair thither.

We have held a council with the deputies of Sieur Leloutre's village; they stated in substance that being surrounded by the English after the loss of their stores at Louisbourg, they had come to inquire their Father's orders, for the purpose of punctually executing them afterwards, and to request him to prescribe to them the course they should subsequently have to adopt. We annex copy of the answer sent by the General to the village. The attachment of these Indians may be depended on; we send by sea as far as Miramichi, 4000<sup>lb</sup> of powder, and lead in proportion, and some cloth to cover them. It were to be wished that we had been in a condition to supply them with more ammunition, but in our present position 'twould not be prudent to strip ourselves. We made up the deficiency with 2000<sup>l</sup> in specie, which we have intrusted to M. Loutre for the purpose of relieving their more urgent wants. It is highly important to preserve these Indians attached as they have always been to France; the English have been deterred from forming any settlement in Acadia solely by the dread of these Indians; and though the latter do in one respect embarrass the French, whose cattle they from time to time even publicly carry off for their support, the French are not sorry to see them residing in the Province, and themselves, as it were, under their protection. The English forbid the French selling or giving them any thing, and the latter excuse themselves to the governor of Port Royal, that they cannot help doing so to avoid being robbed. Permit us, my Lord, to report to you a late instance of the attachment of these Indians to us. The commandant of Louisbourg has recently caused notice to be given to the French of Acadia, that they should bring cattle there the same as before; the Micmas have plainly told the French that they would not suffer any to be conveyed there; that they would kill and eat all they should catch on the carrying place between Cobeguit to Tagmegouche,<sup>1</sup> which is the cattle road; none had been transported up to the 15<sup>th</sup> of August last.

21<sup>st</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> M. Loutre left, with his Indians, on the 21<sup>st</sup>. He is to go to the River St. John, to Beaubassin, and thence proceed to his mission. He has been particularly recommended to inform us of every thing he will learn of interest. We have furnished him with a signal, by means of which the French inhabitants on the east coast, already mentioned, will recognize the King's ships. It is this: *A White flag at the main, with the discharge of one gun, immediately followed by two others in quick succession.* If the signal be not perceived and no canoes come on board, the same signal will be repeated in an hour. Sieur Loutre will send a letter to the captain of the ship who will have made the signal, to inform him of all that will occur in Acadia in regard to Port Royal, and of every ascertained movement on the part of the enemy. Some accident, however, may occur next spring, or even this winter, to Sieur Loutre, on whose head the English have set a price. In this case the signals become useless. We have furnished the same signal to Father Lacorne; if the news boat which will be sent him have no guns, the signal will be the flag at the main with three shots from a swivel, or 3 musket shots fired in the same order and repeated, if necessary. This last missionary left on the 22<sup>nd</sup> in a small sloop which we had equipped and loaded with provisions. She will be out of all danger if she can double Gaspé without encountering the enemy. It is well, my Lord, that you be informed of the number of Micmacs spread throughout all those parts.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Tatmagouash (*Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, II, 66). 'Tis a town in Cumberland county, opposite P. E. Island. — Ed.



To wit:

In Acadia, proper, belonging to Sieur Loutre's mission,.....	200
Ile Royale; M. Maillard, missionary; they will have removed to Miramichi and Mistigouche,.....	80
Miramichi mission, Father Lacorne, missionary,.....	195
Ristigouche mission, Father Lestage, missionary,.....	60
Total,.....	<hr/> 535 <hr/>

When we received the first intelligence of the preparations making at Boston last spring, we were informed by our spies that the fleet was intended, in the first place, for Louisbourg, and that the English would come next to Quebec. We had the more cause to apprehend this, as, according to what Mess<sup>rs</sup> du Chambon and Bigot had written us on the 13<sup>th</sup> of April respecting the disorders among the garrison of Ile Royale, that place was, through the defection of the troops, untenable. We lost no time then to prevent all surprise, and to place ourselves in the best possible state of defence. Some fire-rafts have been diligently constructed about a league above Quebec, at Ile aux Coudres and other places, whence they could be easily drifted against the enemy's ships. We have caused a new retrenchment of fraized stockades to be built from the mill of the River St. Charles, near Quebec, to the powder magazines, and a new battery of 21 guns at Point à Carcy. Finally, in consequence of the deliberation of the 12<sup>th</sup> August, a wall of masonry has been commenced, which will inclose the town on the land side. We shall submit, in a special despatch, the motives that induced the Marquis de Beauharnois to have this work done, and annex the plan thereunto.

We have fixed, as last year, signals between St Barnabé and Quebec; a sloop at Rimouski, and another at the Seven islands on the lookout. At Gaspé we had Sieur Bellefeuille, a worthy farmer of the place. He proposes going to St. Malo this year on a visit to France. The General has considered it necessary to move a portion of the militia of the government of Montreal down to Quebec immediately on learning the surrender of Louisbourg. Uncertain as we were of the enemy's proceedings, we had the Indians belonging to the villages of the Saut and the Lake of the two Mountains, and even those of the Upper country who were then at Montreal, brought down in like manner; we sent them all back at the close of August. This movement has occasioned an extra expenditure of 12 @ 15 m<sup>ll</sup>. As for the rest, M. de Beauharnois will have the honor to inform you, in a private despatch, of the dispositions in respect to present circumstances, of the Iroquois of the 5 Nations and of the Indians of the Upper countries, as well as of those who are not domiciliated.

To return to Acadia; M. Hocquart will inform you by one of his despatches of the amount of expense incurred by Sieur Marin's party. This officer has received from that Province all the assistance it could afford, and by means of a letter of credit furnished him by M. Hocquart, engaging to pay at Louisbourg or Quebec, in specie or bills of exchange, all the moneys stated in the receipts which he gave, signed by him and Sieur Lignery, Major of the detachment. The Acadians readily seconded this expedition. Louisbourg being now no more, they find in their hands certificates of which they cannot make any use, as bills of exchange cannot be issued in their favor. It struck us that this will cause them much anxiety. We have given them assurances that all would be punctually paid next year, at Quebec. In order that we keep our word with them, 'tis necessary that you be pleased to authorize 80 @



100 m<sup>l</sup> in silver to be remitted hither to pay this sort of service already, or hereafter to be rendered. Otherwise, future difficulties must be expected which would cause the Acadians to look upon us as real enemies. 'Tis even fitting that, without being obliged to have recourse to this country, those who will have funds in the King's fleet should satisfy, if occasion present, the expenses in question, at the rate of 8<sup>l</sup> 8<sup>s</sup>, the value of the *écu* in Acadia, @ 6<sup>l</sup>, the value of the same *écu* in France, and to take up as many certificates as will be offered. This punctuality will maintain the King's credit.

We shall have some boats of observation again next spring at the lower part of this river; at Saint Barnabé, at La Trinité, at the place called Pointe des Monts, and at Seven Islands; the ships his Majesty may send, and even the merchantmen, will learn from them whatever will occur of interest either in this Colony or among our neighbors; and should his Majesty be pleased to have us furnished with some advice or orders, those intrusted therewith will be able to confide them to the commanders of said boats, who will be careful to convey them to the nearest settlements on the south shore. The first militia officer will afterwards have them forwarded to us by means of the post. This is the signal for our ships when on our coasts in order to make themselves known: hoist a white flag on the main yard, and the jack forward, and fire one gun, and a moment afterwards, two others in quick succession. A response will be made on shore by a fire, and when the vessel will have perceived the fire she will discharge a gun, when a boat or canoe will go on board.

We have communicated to you, my Lord, our different views respecting the expeditions to be organized next year. Among the officers belonging to Ile Royale who have gone to France, some will be found qualified to complete, and to throw more light on, them, especially as regards Louisbourg and Acadia; they must be still better instructed than we are as to what 'tis possible to effect. Pilots, conversant with the places, cannot be wanting at Rochefort, especially after the evacuation of Ile Royale. We presume even that some will be found acquainted with the coast of Boston. We annex hereunto, at all events, the copy Ensign Mercier has faithfully drawn of an engraved map found on board a schooner captured at Port Royal by Sieur Marin; on it is another of the harbor of Boston and its environs. We shall not enter, my Lord, into any project against that place, not being able to indicate to you the precise measures to approach and master it. We will merely observe that there is a tower, or lighthouse at Point Alderton, with a battery of 7 @ 8 guns. When ships are perceived from this tower, they are signalized by flags which are repeated at Castle island and thus reach the town. The coast from Bantry<sup>1</sup> to the Tower and Marblehead, furnishes pilots to the ships that propose entering. These pilots frequently go on board of their own accord without it being necessary to fire a gun for them; probably they are more on their guard since the war. Castle island is mounted with about 30 large guns which defend the channel. West of Boston and adjoining the town is a fort of 4 bastions with several batteries, one above the other, commanding the roadstead. Lastly, the English have erected, on the east point, a battery of guns which defends the harbor between Boston and Charle Town.

Permit us, my Lord, one last reflection. Should his Majesty order preparations this winter for the execution of any one of the projects mentioned in this despatch, we believe, that, with a view to throw the enemy on a wrong scent, 'twould be well to have the arrangements made partly at Brest, partly at L'Orient, Rochefort and Bayonne, and to fix on some Spanish port, either Corunna, Ferol or some other place, as the rendezvous of our ships. They could

<sup>1</sup> Braintree. — Ed.



repair thither in succession and, according as they would be ready, afterwards sail together for the place of their destination.

Annexed, in cipher, is the extract of the general census of the Colony for the year 1744; it is extremely exact. 'Tis the summary of the several parochial returns ordered to be made last winter by persons whom we sent expressly for the purpose.

Hereunto also annexed, is the abstract of the marriages, births and burials in this Colony for said year 1744.

27<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> M. Germain, missionary on the lower part of the River St. John, arrived here yesterday with the Chief and 24 Indians of his mission, the most of whom served in M<sup>r</sup> Marin's party. They spoke to us to-day, and we have cause to be as much satisfied with them as we are with the Micmacs of Acadia, belonging to the Missions of M. Loutre and of Father Lacorne, the Recollet.<sup>1</sup> We shall endeavor to render them content, notwithstanding the want we experience of all sorts of ammunition. It is of consequence to keep them in their present good dispositions. This Missionary has assured us that he had learned from a sure source, that the deputies from the different parishes of Acadia had been well received by M<sup>r</sup> Mascarin; that this Governor had caused to be rebuilt the church at Port Royal, which had been burnt last year by the English Indians; that the deputies from Beaubassin having told him that they no longer had any missionary, he answered them, that if they could procure one he would willingly consent to it, as they had sent the other away. These same deputies have reported that they had never been so well received by the English, as on their last visit. This policy appears to us extraordinary in the present conjuncture. We do not clearly perceive its motives, unless M<sup>r</sup> Mascarin calculates that mild measures will be more effectual than any other to detach the affections of the Acadians from France, or that the reported success of the King over the English in Europe will have caused the change. The said deputies said that they had learned at Port Royal, that the King had achieved many important conquests even in England, where he had landed a considerable body of troops, which were headed, even by his Majesty; this news is so good, that we dare not look for its confirmation. However that be, it has diffused great joy among the inhabitants of Beaubassin. The missionary adds, that the English have permitted M<sup>r</sup> Maillard, priest and missionary at Ile Royale,<sup>2</sup> to remain at St. Peter's in charge of the inhabitants of that place who remained after having taken the oath of fidelity the same as the Acadians did formerly. The Micmac Indians belonging to this mission, numbering 80 families, are on their way to Quebec. We shall endeavor to locate

<sup>1</sup> "Better known by the nickname of Captain John Barthe. In truth, there was nothing of his order about him but his coat; he was a trader; visited Quebec in his own sloop, navigated by himself, only to sell his goods and purchase his supplies. When he had acquired vast sums of money, he abandoned his mission and applied for leave to return to France on pretext of ill health. Meanwhile, his money enabled him to keep a carriage; he mixed in ladies' society and thought no more of his convent. He went to France [in 1767], where he became secularized." *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p 82; *Smith's History of Canada*, I., 246.

<sup>2</sup> REV. ANTOINE SIMON MAILLARD was sent by the Society of the Foreign Missions of Paris, to Canada, about the year 1734, and proceeded, as Indian Missionary, to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. He afterwards was appointed Vicar-General of Louisbourg, but, on the fall of that place, retired into the woods, attending the few Acadian and Indian villages between that and Miramichi; he thus remained until 1759, when he made his peace with the English, and was invited by the Governor of Halifax to settle at that place, where a church was afterwards erected for his use, and to use his influence to quiet the Micmacs, for which service he was allowed a salary of £200. Surrounded by the respect which his virtues and influence gained, he lived many years at Halifax, where he died in October, 1768, and was buried with the greatest honors. *Bourbourg*. He was the first Catholic clergyman in Halifax, N. S. — Ed.



them when they will arrive. He has been informed also, that the deputies of the Island of St. John<sup>1</sup> who went to Louisbourg to submit to the English, had been sent home without any positive answer.

We have informed Father Germain of Sieur Iriards's project, and that it might be executed ; he will, consequently, attend to putting in a place of safety whatever property might be sent and confided to him for distribution according to our orders, or by whomsoever the duty shall be assigned to. We have provided him with a signal by which to recognize the French vessel destined for the River St. John : *A white flag at the mizen mast, and two shots succeeding each other at some little interval, and a moment afterwards two other shots in quick succession.* It will be responded to from the shore by a fire or a smoke. The signal will be repeated should it not be perceived at first, and a canoe will go on board.

We have not spoken, except incidentally in this despatch, of the island and harbor of Canso. The Boston Gazette of the 6<sup>th</sup> of May, reports that the English have erected a block-house on the island, in the immediate vicinity of the old fort, and that they had inclosed it by a ditch, with a rampart and palisades fortified by a battery of 8 guns and a detachment of 80 men. They speak of the harbor as a retreat for transports, where armed vessels cannot enter. Should the English have held on to that post, it would not be difficult to dispossess them of it ; Sieurs Duvivier, Dolabara, Morpain and other officers of Ile Royale, must be perfectly acquainted therewith.

4<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup> We learn to-day, by way of Orange, that the English have captured 10 of our ships in all, two of them large ; that French blankets and cloths made their appearance and were even common in that town, which leads us to apprehend that our ships from Rochelle are among the number of the prizes.

'Tis added, that the Governors of Boston, New-York, Carolina and other Provinces are to meet at Orange, on an early day, for the purpose of treating there of present affairs ; the Iroquois of the 5 Nations are to attend ; the Mohawks have promised to inform the Commander of Fort St Frederic of what will take place on that occasion. The same talk continues respecting the project of attacking Canada next spring, at the upper and lower extremities of the Colony, and that preparations were already begun. They are not explained.

6 October. The strong winds from the northeast, which led us to expect some ships, have ceased ; we must make up our minds to dispense with them. We are consequently going to work.

We have remarked in the Boston newspapers that the Governor of New England had, in order to insure the success of the expedition against Ile Royale, dispatched an express in February, or March, to Antigua, to invite Admiral Warren to come to Louisbourg to intercept whatever relief might enter the place ; " that this officer, without awaiting the orders of the King, his master, had accepted the invitation," and that consequently he had come with the men of war, the *Superb*, the *Launceston* and the *Mermaid*. We were of opinion that we could mask our proceedings in the same way, and make use of the same ruse. We write, in consequence, to Mr de Cailus, in triplicate, and annex copy of our letter. The English will be informed of the measures to be adopted in France for the security of this Colony, but they will not imagine that the ships which will sail in the month of January or February can have that direction. We believe, then, that this would throw them off the scent. They will suppose us weak, and we shall be strong.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Prince Edward's Island. — Ed.

13<sup>th</sup> October. The Marquis de Beauharnois had sent two Indians of the Saut S<sup>t</sup> Louis to Orange, at the end of August, to transmit from that place to Boston a letter he wrote to M<sup>r</sup> Shirley with a proposition to exchange the prisoners taken by M. Marin, at Acadia, and some others belonging to the two prizes taken by *L'heureuse Marie*, for the crew of the schooner *La Marguerite*, commanded by Sieur Lagrois of Quebec, which has been captured last summer off the coast of Isle Royale. The two Indians have not been well received at Orange; however, the Mayor<sup>1</sup> of that city has forwarded the General's letter to the Governor of Boston, who will probably reply to the proposition. These Indians, who are reliable, adroit and well acquainted with the English language, have reported the news contained in the annexed letter of Father Tournois, the Jesuit missionary of the Saut, on which the more reliance can be placed, inasmuch as it contains particulars that they could not imagine. We can hardly believe, nevertheless, that the English have fifteen thousand men at Louisbourg.

We are, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and most

Obedient servants,

(Signed) BEAUHARNOIS.  
HOCQUART.

4<sup>th</sup> November, 1745.

P. S. On reflection, we have abstained from communicating to M. de Cailus the idea we have had respecting the assistance we might be able to derive from a fleet to be sent to the Island of Martinico; and we have thought that on receipt of this letter his Majesty would have time to issue whatever orders he should think proper on this subject. The fear of our letter being intercepted has, likewise, determined our change. Had we had a cipher with M. de Cailus we might have possibly persisted in our first project.

(Signed) BEAUHARNOIS.  
HOCQUART.

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*M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.*

My Lord,

In my letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June I had the honor to inform you that I was daily expecting the Five Nations, as they had sent me word that they would come down to see me at the opening of the spring. They did, in fact, arrive at Montreal on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July last, except the Senecas, who did not accompany the four other Nations, but who came down on the eighteenth of August last to Quebec, whither I had been obliged to repair on receipt of the news, which had been transmitted to me at Montreal, of the departure from Louisbourg of the English fleet for this country.

As regards the Five Nations, I have held a council at Montreal with the Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas and Mohawks, who numbered more than 150; it was attended by the Indians from the different posts of the Upper country, who were at Montreal; so that this Council was composed of more than 600 Indians; the Iroquois alone spoke at it. I annex their speeches and my answers; also the address of the Senecas, who came down to Quebec. 'Tis to be



wished that the one and the other perform their promises. What I can say at present is, that when my departure from Montreal for Quebec was mentioned, on the receipt of the news of the English fleet, all the different Nations that were at Montreal followed me hither, and several Onondagas joined the party. I have since been informed that they passed Chouaguen on their return to their villages; that they arrived at that post with the French flag, and had started from that place in the same style, without making any change. At their request I have sent *Sieur de Joncaire* to their country; he is to preserve them in their apparent dispositions, and to render me an account of the smallest change that may be effected by the urgent solicitation of the English, and by the resolutions to be adopted at a great Council to be held in the course of this month at Orange, which the Five Nations are to attend, on the invitation of the Governors of Boston, and of the other prominent governments of New England.

As for the other Nations belonging to the posts, the ardor manifested by those who were at Montreal and who accompanied me down to Quebec, and their conduct towards the English on other occasions, are proofs of the sincerity of their promises to me, when accepting the hatchet I presented, and caused to be presented to them. None were willing to accept the underground belts the English caused to be introduced into their villages, to induce them to declare against the French; and there is no suspicion of their assisting at any English Council. Several parties of the Detroit Indians which had been formed, as I had the honor to inform you, for the purpose of falling on the English settlements towards Carolina, have returned without striking a blow. *Chevalier de Longueuil* wrote me on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August last, that they passed five entire days at the entrance of English villages without any success; that the men did not come out, so that nothing was killed but a large number of horses, and hunger obliged the Indians to abandon their expedition; that, however, two parties of Hurons were unwilling to return without effecting something, and were going to try to penetrate into some places that were less on their guard, and where they will probably strike a blow. Although these movements have been, hitherto, unattended with any success, and none of any consequence can be expected from the operations of those parties, *M. de Longueuil* will prevail on these Nations to organize others, in order to foster a continual spirit of hostility against the English, who, in consequence of their distrust of the Indians, will not be able to corrupt and gain them over to their side.

*Sieur de la Corne*, the elder, whom I have sent to command at *Missilimackinac*, writes me on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August last, that as soon as he had raised the war-song at that post, 60 *Outaouacs* and *Saulteux*, applied to him for *M. Noyelle*, junior, who is deputy there, to conduct them to Montreal, in order to attack the English in conjunction with our domiciliated Indians. According to what he writes me of their departure, I have reason to expect them from day to day, and they will do good service in divers places.

The emigration of the *Chasansons* has at length taken place; they have removed from their former location to the place I allotted them at the prairie of the *Maskoutins*;<sup>1</sup> they have even tied and plundered the English traders on the *Belle Rivière* to the number of eight, and advised *M. de Longueuil* to send in search of them. But the detachment of 15 or 16 Canadians dispatched thither by that officer, discovered only one, and the *Chasansons* have said that they had carried the others along with them to their winter quarters, and would bring them to me, themselves, next year. I would have wished they had acted otherwise and sent *M. de Longueuil*, as they had proposed, these prisoners, who possibly will escape from, or

<sup>1</sup> See IX., 92. Note. — Ed.



perhaps be liberated by, them; possibly even they may form a new alliance with, in order to obtain their supplies from them. This is the more to be apprehended, inasmuch as, independent of the little reliance to be placed on the inconstancy of Indians, the prevailing scarcity of goods and articles they require, may produce among them great change towards us, and you will form a more correct opinion of our situation and of the difficulty we experience in supporting the posts in the Upper country, from the report Mr Hocquart and I have the honor to submit to you on that subject. What I specially have to inform you, and took the liberty to communicate to you in my despatch of the 19<sup>th</sup> of June last, is, that there has been a great falling off in the amount of goods taken up this year for the trade (*l'exploitation*) of the posts, in comparison with what has been sent there in previous years. In consequence of the small quantity of goods in the hands of the merchants who furnish outfits, the ruling high prices, and the low rates obtained for peltries brought in return from the Upper countries, the Indian traders have been discouraged from supplying themselves with goods, and notwithstanding I offered licenses for nothing—especially to Detroit, in order that there should be abundance of goods at that post—only ten went up this year; I was obliged to give seven of these licenses gratis, in return for conveying the effects of the Commandant and of the garrison which could not otherwise be carried up without great expense to his Majesty.\* I have not been able to find sale, either for the usual number of

\* These effects have amounted to 11,400 lbs. weight.

licenses for the post of Missilimakinac, to which place only nine canoes have gone, after considerable solicitation; for the same reasons that I have just had the honor to set forth, which apply equally to all the other leased posts; also to those of Niagara and Fort Frontenac, which are hardly better provided with goods necessary for the Indian trade there, and will be much less so next year, no supplies of any description having reached us this year. If these unfortunate circumstances, my Lord, give a considerable check to the general trade of the Colony, they become of still greater interest in the indubitable loss of the Indians, who no longer finding their necessities as usual at our posts, will assuredly abandon them to seek from the English their supplies, which will not be obtained except on conditions entirely opposed to the interests of the French, and to which it is to be feared, the Indians will be obliged to submit. Whatever attachment they may entertain towards the French, (a feeling I have preserved them in since I am in this Colony,) 'tis impossible for me to flatter myself with continuing them in it when the posts will be stripped of every necessary, as I expect they will be entirely next year; ammunition and arms are the principal articles they desire, at the same time that they are what we can furnish the least of, in our present circumstances; and the same is the case with other articles of merchandise. Nevertheless, despite these inconveniences, which his Majesty alone can remedy by the aid he may send to the Colony next year, and which we expect, I will seek the possible, even in the impossible, so as to avoid wholly disgusting the Indians, and to stop the course they, 'tis to be feared, will adopt of abandoning the posts and of going over to the English. 'Tis not without considerable repugnance, my Lord, that I have taken the liberty of entering with you into these details; not only do my obligations require it, but it is also my duty to forewarn you of what may occur in this regard, against which 'twill, perhaps, not be possible for me to guarantee the Colony.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1745.

BEAUHARNOIS.



*Conference between M. de Beauharnois and some of the Five Nations.*

Speech of the Onondaga and Mohawk  
Iroquois to the General, on the 26<sup>th</sup>  
of July, 1745.

The General's Answer.

After the usual compliments.

By a Belt.

Father: We see you are in a fog; that the sun is about to be hid from you; by this Belt we dispel the mist, and brighten the sun, so that he may give you light, to enable you and your children to labor in the good cause.

By a Belt.

Children: You know that I love the clear and quiet sunshine; I have never troubled it on any one; woe to them who will disturb it. As for me, by this Belt I clear away and dispel all the darkness that you may have found, and exhort you to labor, on your side, in the good cause, as I shall do, likewise, on mine.

By another Belt.

Father: By this Belt we water the Tree you planted with us; so that its top may touch the heavens, and M<sup>r</sup> de Callieres added that its summit must pierce the sky. In order that nothing may shake it he confided the care of it to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil. Father: We this day ratify it, so that nothing may throw it down.

By another Belt.

Children: I have neither forgotten nor abandoned the Tree of Peace I planted in your villages. You cause me pleasure when you speak of it. You desire, no doubt, to sustain it. By this Belt I lay hold of it, and again make it firm. I have no fear of its falling on my side, nor on that of my children, but take heed, lest on your side some blockhead may, unknown to you, break some of its branches; I warn that I will not then be able to preserve its trunk. Be on your guard, then, in order to avoid this misfortune.

By another Belt.

Father: We renewed M<sup>r</sup> de Callieres' treaty with M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil; we expect to do the like with you, and that you will be pleased to adopt the name we have conferred on you. We add some leaves to this Tree of Peace, so that it may be large enough to afford us shelter, whilst laboring in the good cause.

By another Belt.

The name you have conferred on me affords me pleasure. You perceive, by my mode of proceeding, that I have responded to it, and that I have trod in M<sup>r</sup> de Callieres' footsteps. To strengthen this Tree of Peace I bedeck it with new leaves, in order to be able to sit under its shade along with all those of my children who will labor with me in the good cause.

By another Belt.

Father: Roots were forgotten for this tree; our father omitted them on the south and on the west sides, and promised us to prevent any

By another Belt.

I strengthen, in like manner, the roots of this Tree of Peace from you to me and my children; but take care, lest those whom you

persons striking us; some of your children have, notwithstanding done so, and we have not struck any person.

do not sufficiently distrust, go secretly and cut some of its roots under-ground, so that it may fall. That would grieve me, as your tranquillity is dear to me. You know that I have always labored to procure repose for you; if any of my children have sometimes disturbed that, I have immediately repaired, to the best of my power, the harm that had been done.

By a black Belt.

Father: I forewarn you that I retain in my hand the good understanding between you and me. I shall not cease to strengthen it as long as I live. Father: You can send us, from time to time, M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, and others; they will not be in any danger by sending word when they are at *La Grosse Ecorce*, or at *La Rivière a la Planche*.<sup>1</sup>

By a black Belt.

Son: Your assurance that you will die, rather than abandon the good cause, affords me pleasure. I believe you sincere, but I'm afraid you will be imposed on. Distrust all those who do not love your Father. Whoever does not love him is not attached to his children. In order to strengthen you in your good sentiments I shall bestow on you, with pleasure, one of your children, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, de Noyan and La Chauvignerie, but you must wait until the path be open, and affairs less entangled. I have need of their services here, to unravel them.

By another black Belt.

Father: Agreeably to the treaty of peace not to disturb Choueghen, Niagara and fort Frontenac, we pray you not to carry the war into our country. No war is declared between your children; it is only between you and the English, and we are ignorant of the cause of it; we leave you to fight, and we pray you to let the Nations belonging to our cantons alone, so as to leave our hunting grounds undisturbed. We make the same request of the English by a similar Belt.

By another black Belt.

Children: You must be aware that I have no desire to trouble your country. You know I never tried to do so, and that I have observed what I have promised you. The English, to whom you have given new territory to make a beaver-trap, have, on the contrary, in spite of your prohibition, erected a considerable fort on it, furnished with good cannon, and a strong garrison. Such is the result of the promises they have given you. I now learn that they are collecting arms and provisions there. I'm told, even, that they wish to attack the forts of which you speak to me, and that you are pledged to assist them. Whilst you are here, expressing your sentiments to me, they are acting contrary to the treaties they made with, and the promises they have given to, you. If they act treacherously against me, in your

<sup>1</sup> These rivers are in Oswego county; the river *La Planche* is supposed to be Little Sandy Creek, and *La Grosse Ecorce*, Salmon Creek, as laid down in *Burr's Atlas of the State of New-York*. Compare note in Letter XIII, of Charlevoix' *Journal Historique*. — Ed.



presence and in your country, you will come and tell me, agreeably to your answer to my children of the Saut, that you have been but one night abroad, and that this misfortune has happened; do not think I shall be the dupe of it; I forewarn you; I shall not attack your territory, but should the English touch mine, from that point, and you defend me not, what opinion do you wish me to have of your conduct, other than that you have sold me, and struck me, by means of the English, whom you support, inasmuch as you require of me to spare Choueghen. Reflect well, I pray you, on that word you express, in the presence of all my children, your brethren.

The General's speech, after the Council. By a Belt.

Children. I cannot pass over, in silence, your apprehension that your brethren will declare against the English, and the manœuvres to which you have recourse to turn them aside from such a course. Some of you have given underground Belts to those of my children who have accepted my hatchet, with a view to engage them to remain neutral, and here is the proof: This message that you have given and which I give you back, because neither I nor my children can retain it. You did not even confine yourself to that; and you push your tenderness for the English so far as to exhort all my children in my presence to leave me to fight that nation all alone. Wherefore do you meddle with the matter I ask you? If your heart be English, and if you feel not your bowels yearning towards a Father, wherefore do you wish to disturb the obedience and tenderness good children must entertain for a good Father, when they are as much interested as I in the matter? I should very much wish you had remained quiet on your mats, when you cannot feel the interest you should have in acting otherwise. But I tell you that you will become suspected by me if you continue such speeches, and underground Belts against my interests. Should it happen that you hereafter give any, I engage all my children here present to bring them to me, and I rely upon their fidelity and affection.

Speech of the Senecas to the General.  
25 August, 1745.

By a Belt.

Father: Be not surprised if we have not come to see you on our arrival. We knew you had a great deal of business. We met on the road our brethren, the Onondagas. We should be very glad to know what you said to them and what are your sentiments. We

Answer of the General to the Senecas;  
third of September, 1745.

By a Belt.

Children: I am delighted at the desire you feel to see me. You must not doubt but I felt an equal desire to see you. 'Tis true that business is rather considerable just now, but it will never prevent me seeing children who afford me pleasure.

have seen M<sup>r</sup> de Beaucours at Montreal, who told us to come and see you, and that you would be very glad of the visit. We had nothing more urgent than to execute his word. We asked him for a little vermillion to appear before you, lest our Father should take us for ghosts, having the face pale, the rather as we do not know how we shall find him, and as, perhaps, he will be fighting the enemy. If that were the case, I should not remain quiet.

Your son, Joncaire, will inform you of every thing that has transpired in the Council of your brethren, the Five Nations, and of my sentiments in your regard, which will ever be the same.

You have done well to follow M<sup>r</sup> de Beaucours' advice when he told you to continue your journey to me at Quebec. However you may appear before me, you would have always been well received. 'Tis not the face I regard; that is often deceitful; but the heart, which alone can give me pleasure. The uneasiness you felt in regard to the situation you might find me in on arriving at my house, affords me assurance of your attachment and fidelity. You owe me the one and the other, in return for the care I have always taken that you should live in peace with all your brethren. Children, I will continue in the same course as long as you will afford me evidence of a perfect submission to my will.

By another Belt.

Father: We have learned that a house belonging to you has been pulled down;<sup>1</sup> this Belt is to restore your spirits, and we are persuaded that you will find the secret of avenging yourself, being a great warrior. This we wish you may do, and we hope you will succeed.

By another Belt.

Children: 'Tis true the English have deprived me of a beautiful residence;<sup>1</sup> but I hope that the Master of Life will avenge me. That enemy has no views but to overpower you. Listen to my voice. Be on your guard, and distrust those who seek only to deceive you.

By another Belt.

Father: When you restored peace to the earth you told us not to meddle with whatever you may have to do with the English; this we always conformed to, our word being inviolable. Father, in proof of the truth of what I said, there is a man who has been taken by your children, the Ouyatanons and Peanguichias, since peace was concluded. This spring your children, the Miamis, Ouyatanons, Peanguichias, have struck me; I did not carry their hatchet back to them, as I always bore in mind what you recommended to me, to coöperate in the work of peace.

By another Belt.

Children: You have done well not to meddle with any of the affairs between me and the English, since I gave you peace.

I have taken good care to have restored to you the man belonging to your Nation who has been taken by my children, the Ouyatanons. I shall reprimand my children, the Miamis, Ouyatanons and Peanguichias for having struck you. You have done well to let your hatchet be; and I will recommend them not to forget that you are, like themselves, my children and consequently their brethren.

Children: In regard to the road of peace

<sup>1</sup> Meaning, Louisbourg. — Ed.



Father: We ask of you that the road of peace to Choueghen and Niagara, which you have cleared, be always open and unobstructed.

that I have laid out between my house and yours, my end has been always cleared; I have taken care to remove from it all the tufts (*fredoches*) that might incumber it; do the same at your end. The paths will be always free to you, and remember that you are always my children.

By another Belt.

Father: Be not surprised if I repeatedly begin my speech; I have no sense, but you can always rely, Father, that we shall be always peaceable, notwithstanding the invitations of the English, who have frequently endeavored to induce us to go and guard Choueghen, which we would not do. We are not like our brother, the 'Nondagué, who readily listens to their proposals. I am very glad that he hears me; I never speak in secret.

By another Belt.

I never weary of hearing my children talk when they speak well; they have sense enough to come to an understanding with their Father. This is evident, Children, from your refusal to listen to the solicitations of the English to guard their fort of Choueghen; if your brother, the 'Nondagué, has been there, he has allowed himself to be seduced. I think you will not follow his example. But I am persuaded that he will never return there again.

By another Belt.

Father: We have planted a Tree of Peace; we had made it as high as the clouds; you have raised its branches as high as the heavens, whilst its roots strike the centre of the earth, so that nothing can shake it. We beg of you to preserve it always in the same condition; on our side we will take care that nothing can damage it, so that all your children may be able to smoke undisturbed under its shade, and labor in the work of peace.

By another Belt.

Children: You cannot do better than to preserve the Tree of Peace which I have planted in you country; the loftiness of its branches, the verdure of its leaves, and the depth of its roots, prove that, on my side, I have done all that depended on me to preserve it in all its splendor; do the like henceforward, and nothing will ever shake it.

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father: We have a child\* who heeds us not; he never ceases threatening us that he will leave our country; with that intention he has pulled down his house. Father: We pray you reprimand him. When he is among us everything goes well, and when he talks of going away, even the children are alarmed, all confiding in him for good times. Father: Be assured that no insult will ever be offered him; we are all ready to place ourselves in front of him, and will defend him on all occasions.

By three Strings of Wampum.

You, it is, who reared the child of whom you now complain. He will remain with you as long as the good of the service will not require me to recall him. I am persuaded of your affection for him, and of the quietness he secures you when in your country.

\* M. de Joncaire. — Ed.

*M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.*

My Lord,

*We have the honor jointly and severally to render you an account of the actual situation of the Colony; it is sad enough, and too interesting an object for us not to hope that you will condescend to apply serious attention to it.*

The progress of the English in the lower part of the River St. Lawrence, informed *as they* are, of our not having received any aid, the advantage *they* have now over us in consequence of the capture of Isle Royale *and* the desire to achieve the conquest of Canada, leave no room to doubt that they will resume operations next spring. We are even openly menaced by them.

You, *my Lord*, are acquainted with our forces and their weak point; I calculate on the bravery of our Canadians and Indians. I flatter myself that you will do justice to my zeal, but notwithstanding all these advantages, if his Majesty be not so good as to send early supplies of powder, ball and at least eight thousand muskets, the force which the English propose to employ would make me entertain apprehensions for the Colony, though I might promise myself that it will be bravely defended as well by our few troops and our Canadians, as by all the Indians from the Upper country, who are to come down at the opening of the spring, and whom, with that view, I sent *Sieur de Villiers* to call out; the greater part of them will, however, be without arms. I am, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

Quebec, this 4<sup>th</sup> of November, 1745

BEAUHARNOIS.

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*Arrangements for the Battalions in the Duke d'Anville's fleet.*

MEMORANDUM of the arrangements adopted for the four battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu,<sup>1</sup> and of the militia of Fontenay le Comte<sup>2</sup> and of Saumur, embarked in the Duke d'Enville's fleet.

[ Dep : de la Guerre; Paris. ]

These arrangements have had three principal objects : the embarkation of the four battalions ; their treatment both afloat and ashore ; their command and service.

Embarkation.

Both battalions of Ponthieu are embarked on board the men of war with the exception of some companies belonging to the second battalion, which, as well as the two battalions of militia, will be put on board the transports (*navires Malouines*), and these troops have been distributed in such wise as to be very comfortable during the voyage.

The majors of Ponthieu, and the two colonels of militia, will be on board the men of war ; but the majors and adjutants of militia will be in the transports ; the captains and other inferior officers will make the voyage along with their companies.

In regard to the engineers, they will be put on board the men of war.

<sup>1</sup> A county in the Province of Picardy.

<sup>2</sup> The capital of Lower Poitou, on the River La Vendée. *Moréri.* — Ed.



## Treatment.

At sea, the officers in the men of war will, like those of the navy, eat at the tables of the commanders of the ships; those on board the transports will have tables which the purveyor will keep in the same style as those of the captains of the men of war; and the servants of the one and the other will have one ration and a half per day, the same as those of the naval officers. In regard to the noncommissioned officers (*officiers-soldats*) and privates, the first shall have a ration and a half and the others one ration per day.

On shore the officers' allowance shall be on the same footing as at sea, for which purpose eight months' supplies have been put on board the fleet. The arrangement of their tables on shore has not been regulated, as it depends on circumstances and the distribution of detachments; it is to be settled on the spot. As for the noncommissioned officers and privates, their allowance will be the same as at sea.

The soldiers shall not suffer any deduction in regard to this item, it being the custom of the navy to give the pay in full, exclusive of the ration during a campaign. But some part of the pay may be retained for the different articles which may be furnished the soldiers according to their demands; for care has been taken to put on board the fleet a considerable quantity of shirts, breeches, stockings, gaiters, shoes, officers' and soldiers' tents, canteens, wooden bowls, spoons, knives, and other store goods. No deduction has, however, been yet prescribed, and these articles have been left at the disposition of the commandants and commissaries, who are even at liberty not to retain anything for this first expense, should the accommodation proper to be afforded the soldier on such occasion, demand it.

Each soldier shall be furnished, before embarking, with 4 shirts, one jacket, one cap, and one blanket. The four battalions will receive, like the marines, three months' pay in advance. The funds necessary for the remaining five months' pay are on board the flag ship. The eight months' pay has been furnished by the treasurer-general of the Extraordinaries of war, and it is M. le Brun, naval commissary, who has charge of the money, as well as of the funds put on board by the treasurer-general of the navy.

This commissary is also instructed to perform the the duties of commissary of war to the four battalions. He has a general instruction to that effect in addition to a special one for the payments to be on account of the treasurer of the Extraordinaries of war.

## Command.

M. de Meric is appointed, by special commission, commander of the four battalions, and another has been transmitted to him to command also the marine and colonial troops. He is to command likewise in Canada, subject to the governor's orders, should he go thither, and at the sieges that will possibly be undertaken in the enemy's Colonies under orders from the Duke d'Enville, or in his absence, from the commander of the squadron.

The two battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu are to march before the marine troops, which will take precedence of the two battalions of militia. And it is in consequence of this arrangement that the officers of the different corps are to roll in duty<sup>1</sup> among themselves respecting their command. But if the four battalions be in Canada the two battalions of militia and their officers will rank before the troops and officers of that Colony.

<sup>1</sup> When officers of the same rank take their turns upon duty, pursuant to some established roster, as captains with captains, and subalterns with subalterns, and command according to the seniority of their commissions, they are said to *roll in duty*. It corresponds with the French term, *rouler*. *James' Military Dictionary*, London, 1816, p. 762. — Ed.

M. de Meric is authorized by his instructions to remain in America and retain there the whole or part of the four battalions of the land forces, according as the Duke D'Enville will think proper.

Return of the Orders respecting the four battalions, issued by Count d'Argenson.<sup>1</sup>

Order to M. de Meric to command the four battalions.

Another order to M. le Brun to act as commissary of war, with an instruction for the performance of the duties thereof, and a letter accompanying the same.

Instruction to M. de Meric respecting the course he is to pursue during the campaign, with a letter accompanying the same.

Regulation respecting rank between the four battalions of land forces and the marines, and between the respective ranks of the one and the other.

Orders of the King to prevent the land detachments on board private ships, obliging the captains of these vessels to put back in case of being separated from the fleet.

Letter to M. de Meric accompanying these orders and regulations.

Another letter on the same subject to the Duke d'Anville.

By Count de Maurepas.

Orders for the treatment of the land forces at sea and whilst landing.

Order to M. de Meric conferring on him the command of the marine and Canadian forces, and the supervision of sieges.

Copy of the regulation respecting the rank of the troops and their officers.

And a special regulation ranking the two battalions of land militia as well as the regiment of Ponthieu over the Canadian forces and militia.

Instructions to M. de Meric.

Sieur de Meric will embark, agreeably to his Majesty's orders, on board the fleet commanded by the Duke d'Anville.

The object of the equipment of this fleet is to accompany the two battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu and the two battalions of militia of Fontenay le Comte and of Saumur, which are to be shipped at the same time for the defence of Canada, on the supposition that this Colony is attacked by the enemy, or to attack their North American Colonies.

Should the fleet proceed to Canada, Sieur de Meric will assume the command there not only of the four battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu and of the militia of Fontenoy la Comte and of Saumur, but even of the marines which will happen to be landed, of the troops in the Colony and of all the militia of the country, agreeably to the orders his Majesty has caused to be issued and which are to be sent to him. He will employ all these troops in such

<sup>1</sup> MARC PIERRE DE VOYER, Count d'Argenson, was born at Paris 16th August, 1696. After filling several honorable offices he was appointed member of the Council 25th August, 1742, and in the forepart of the following year succeeded the Marquis de Breteuil as minister of war. He filled that post, with great credit to himself and advantage to his country, until February, 1757, when he was sacrificed by Louis XV. to Mde de Pampadour, and banished the court. His disgrace was severely felt by men of letters, of whom he showed himself constantly the protector. He remained in retirement until 1764, when he obtained permission to return to Paris, and died on the 22d August, of that year, aged 68 years. *Biographie Universelle*; Verbo, Voyer. — Ed.



operations as will appear to him the best, according to circumstances. But he will take care to execute all the orders he shall receive in this regard both from the Duke d'Enville and the Governor Lieutenant-General of Canada.

In case the fleet do not proceed to that country, and that the Duke d'Enville should have it in his power to employ them in some expedition against the enemy's colonies, Sieur de Meric will land with the troops at the places determined on by the Duke d'Enville for executing the operations he will have to carry on there. He will have everywhere on shore the command of the troops which will be employed there. He will, in like manner, command at the sieges he will have occasion to undertake there, but always subject to the orders of the Duke d'Enville, or the commander of the fleet, in case of the death of the Lieutenant-General.

If, after executing the operations with which the Duke d'Enville is entrusted, he thinks it necessary for his Majesty's service to leave in Canada, or elsewhere, the four battalions of land forces, or only a part of them, M. de Meric will conform to all the arrangements this lieutenant will make therefor. And in case he should determine to leave only two battalions of the regiment of Ponthieu, M. de Meric will complete them with the soldiers he will draw from the battalions of militia.

His Majesty also permits M. de Meric to remain in America to fill such command as the Duke d'Enville will deem suitable for him, in virtue of the power his Majesty has conferred on him; and He will retain even in particular consideration the services he shall render in that country.

Finally, he will be informed by a regulation that his Majesty has made, of the rank the officers of the land forces, of the marines and of Canada are respectively to hold, and that to be observed between these different troops in the movements they will make together.

Count d'Argenson to M. de Meric. 25 March, 1746.

I transmit you an Instruction wherein the King explains to you generally the conduct you have to observe in the campaign you are about to make with the Duke d'Enville's fleet. Should there be any particular orders to be given to you respecting the operations of this campaign, Count de Maurepas will cause them to be transmitted to you either directly or through the Duke d'Enville.

It only remains for me to wish you opportunities to respond to what his Majesty expects from your zeal and experience, and you need not doubt my attention to set your services in the best light, nor the pleasure I shall feel in contributing to obtain for you their reward.

Count d'Argenson to M. de Meric. 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1746.

I send you, Sir, copy of the Regulation issued to arrange both the rank of the four battalions of land troops to be embarked on board the Duke d'Enville's fleet, with the troops of the marine, and the respective command of the officers of these different corps; and Count de Maurepas addresses another copy thereof to the Duke d'Enville.

I transmit also to you the King's orders which you required to prevent the detachments of troops embarked on board private ships, obliging the captains to return in case of separating from the fleet. You will be so good as to distribute these orders to the commanding officers of these detachments.

I am truly, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant.

*Abstract of Despatches from Louisbourg.*

All the accounts received concerning Louisbourg, show that the English have not sent any considerable force there.

It appears by those of the 15<sup>th</sup> of April, that Commodore Knowles<sup>1</sup> pretended to give out that he was destined to be Governor of Louisbourg, only with a view to conceal the object of his mission to the South sea, whither he proceeds with three ships. 'Tis known that he has passed from the command of the *Yarmouth*, of 70 guns, to that of the *Norwich*, of 50, and there is every reason to believe that the vessels destined for Louisbourg have really to escort them to the Colony, only the three frigates of 40 guns designed for service in the department of the Northern Colonies.

In regard to the regular troops, it has been observed that there are going on board only three hundred of the men belonging to the regiment that was reported to be wholly destined for Louisbourg; and that the reinforcement to this detachment of three hundred men amounts to no more than a like number of three hundred, making, in all, six hundred men.

The two regiments which sailed from Gibraltar at the end of November, were not to be more than eight hundred and fifteen men each, on the ordinary establishment, making, altogether, one thousand six hundred and thirty men; but the last advices from Cadiz state that the troops which embarked at Gibraltar for Louisbourg are, at most, one thousand men, and a captain of an English vessel coming from Virginia, who was taken by Count Duguay, declares that the convoy from Gibraltar, which put into Virginia, carries only eight hundred men to Louisbourg.

The united forces are not in a condition to resist those embarked in the Duke d'Enville's fleet.

As to Naval forces, there remain at Louisbourg only the *Vigilant*, 64, and the *Chester*, 50. Townsend's fleet, which consisted of six ships, is reduced to four by the return to England of the *Princess* and the *Ipswich*, each of 70 guns; and it is, moreover, expected that if Townsend<sup>2</sup> is able to reach Cape Breton it will be only in a very poor condition.

It does not appear that the English are disposed to send any fleet from Europe to that quarter.

26 April, 1746.

<sup>1</sup> Sir CHARLES KNOWLES, Baronet, was commissioned Captain in the navy February 4, 1737, and in 1739 served in the expedition against Portobello; in 1740 he commanded the *Weymouth*, 60, in the fleet sent under Sir John Norris against Ferrol; and in 1741 was attached to the expedition against Carthage. He was afterwards Governor of Cape Breton, and commanded at Jamaica in 1747; beat the Spanish fleet under Admiral Reggio, near Havana, in 1748. He was Vice-Admiral in 1757, in which year he attacked Aix; Admiral of the Blue in 1763, and raised to the dignity of a Baronet 19th October, 1764. He was Rear-Admiral of England in 1765; went, afterwards, into the Russian service, but returned to his native country and died in 1777. *Beaton*.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral ISAAC TOWNSEND was commissioned Captain in the Royal navy in 1720. In 1740 he commanded the *Berwick*, 70, in the blockade of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. In 1746, having become Vice-Admiral, he commanded the fleet in the Leeward Islands, and drove a French fleet ashore at Martinico in 1746. In the latter year he was in command of a fleet at Louisbourg. He was next appointed Admiral of the White and Governor of Greenwich Hospital; was struck with paralysis November, 1763, and died in 1768. *Beaton*. — ED.



*Operations of the French in New England and New-York. 1745, 1746.*

Abstract of the different movements at Montreal, on occasion of the war, from the month of December, 1745, to the month of August, 1746.

1745. December 30<sup>th</sup>. Lieutenant St Pierre left this town with a detachment under his orders, consisting of two lieutenants, 2 ensigns, on full pay, 4 seconded ensigns, 7 cadets, one surgeon and an interpreter, 3 volunteers and 105 colonists, making, in 'all, 126 Frenchmen and 37 Iroquois and Nepissings, to encamp in the neighborhood of St. Frederic, for the purpose of opposing the enemy's attacks against said fort.

1746. January 24<sup>th</sup>. Sieur St. Luc de la Corne was sent to reinforce Sieur de St. Pierre, with a detachment composed of one seconded ensign, 6 cadets, 2 volunteers, 100 colonists 30 Iroquois, who have remained under Mr de St. Pierre's orders until the first of April, when they arrived in this town, after having made divers scouts on Lake St. Sacrament and in the neighborhood of the above fort.

31<sup>st</sup> Captain Desabrevois has been detached with Chevalier de Niverville, ensign, and 53 Iroquois to the South river, in Lake Champlain, on occasion of an alarm.

March 16<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Niverville, officer, and Sieur Groschesne Raimbault, cadet, left this town with some Abenakis Indians, on their way towards Boston, and returned with some scalps and prisoners, one of whom he took with his own hand. Sieur Duplessis, Junior, an officer, started at the same time with 6 Algonkins and Nepissings in the same direction, and joined the preceding party, with whom he returned, bringing in a prisoner, who was captured at the same time, &c.

29<sup>th</sup> A party set out, consisting of 14 Iroquois, belonging to the Lake of the Two Mountains, who have been in the country of Orange, and returned with some prisoners and scalps.

April 20<sup>th</sup> A party set out composed of 14 Iroquois, belonging to the Sault St. Louis, commanded by Ontassago, the son of the grand Chief of that village, who sojourned at Fort St. Frederic, and made several scouts to Sarasteau.<sup>1</sup>

Theganacoeiëssin, an Iroquois of the Sault, left with 20 Indians of that village, to go to war near Boston; they returned with 2 prisoners and some scalps.

Thesaotin, chief of the Sault, left with 22 warriors, belonging to that village, to make war in the direction of Boston; they returned with some scalps; one Iroquois was killed and two wounded of the party.

Ganiengoton, chief of a party of 8 Iroquois, belonging to the Sault, set out in the direction of Boston, and returned with two scalps.

26<sup>th</sup>. A party of 35 Iroquois warriors, belonging to the Sault, set out; they have been in the neighborhood of Orange, and have made some prisoners, and taken some scalps.

A party of 20 Abenakis of Missiskouy, set out towards Boston, and brought in some prisoners and scalps.

27<sup>th</sup> A party set out, consisting of 6 Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, who struck a blow in the neighborhood of Orange.

May 7<sup>th</sup> Six Nepissings started to strike a blow in the direction of Boston, and returned with some scalps.

<sup>1</sup> Saratoga. — Ed.

10<sup>th</sup> Gatiénondé, an Iroquois of the Five Nations, who has been settled at the lake for 2 or 3 years, left with five Indians of that village and Sieur S<sup>t</sup> Blein, to strike a blow in the neighborhood of Orange; this small party brought in one prisoner; Gatiénondé, the leader of the party, has been killed and scalped by the English on the field of battle.

12<sup>th</sup> Six Iroquois Indians of the Sault set out towards Boston, and returned with some scalps.

15<sup>th</sup> Ten Indians, part Iroquois of the Sault, and part Abenakis, set out to strike a blow in the direction of Boston; they made an attack, and brought away some scalps.

17<sup>th</sup> 31 Iroquois, belonging to the Lake of the Two Mountains, set out, and struck a blow in the neighborhood of Boston, and brought back some prisoners and scalps, and laid waste several settlements on their way back.

18<sup>th</sup> 10 Nepissings left, who struck a blow towards Boston.

A party of 8 Iroquois belonging to the Sault has been fitted out, and has been to make an attack in the same direction.

22<sup>nd</sup> 19 Iroquois, belonging to Sault St. Louis, have been equipped; they have been to strike a blow in the direction of Orange.

24<sup>th</sup> A party of 8 Abenakis of Missiskouy, has been fitted out, who have been in the direction of Corlard, and have returned with some prisoners and scalps.

27<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 8 Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, which struck a blow near Orange, and brought back six scalps.

28<sup>th</sup> A party of 12 Nepissings who made an attack in the neighborhood of Boston, have brought away 4 scalps and one prisoner, whom they killed on the road, as he became furious and refused to march.

A party of Abenakis of Missiskouy, struck a blow near Orange and Corlard, and brought in some prisoners and scalps.

Equipped a party of 10 Iroquois and Abenakis, who joined together to strike a blow towards Boston, and returned with some scalps.

June 2<sup>nd</sup> Equipped a party of 25 warriors of the Sault and three Flatheads, who joined the former in an expedition in the neighborhood of Orange, and who returned with some scalps.

3<sup>rd</sup> Equipped a party of 18 Nepissings, who struck a blow at Orange and Corlard.

4<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 16 Iroquois of the Sault, who return to where they have already struck a blow.

5<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 11 Nepissings and Algonkins, who have struck a blow in the neighborhood of Boston, and have brought in some prisoners.

6<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 17 Nepissings, who have struck a blow in the direction of Boston and brought back some scalps. These Indians have had 2 wounded.

8<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 8 Iroquois of the Lake, who have struck a blow near Guerrefille.<sup>1</sup>

12<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 10 Abenakis Indians, who struck a blow in the direction of Boston.

13<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 6 of the same Indians, who made an attack in the direction of Boston.

Equipped a party of 9 Nepissings and Algonkins, who have struck a blow in the Boston country. One of these Indians was wounded.

17<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 10 Abenakis, who went to make an attack at the River Kakécoute,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deerfield.

<sup>2</sup> The River Contoocook falls into the Merrimack, north of Concord, N. H. *Belknap, History of New Hampshire*, III., 185, 189, says the present name of the place is Boscawen. — Ed.



and were defeated near a fort; their chief Cadenaret, a famous warrior, has been killed; the remainder returned with some scalps, and left others which they were not able to bring away, the dead having remained too near the fort.

19<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 25 Indians of the Sault St. Louis, who struck a blow near Orange. One or two of these Indians were wounded. They brought away some scalps.

20<sup>th</sup> Equipped a party of 19 Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis, who went to Orange to strike a blow

21<sup>st</sup> Equipped a party of 27 Iroquois of the same village to go to Orange; Sieur de Carqueville, an officer, and Sieur Blein, a cadet, have been of this party, which has brought in a prisoner that was on the scout to Sarasteau, and some scalps.

July 16. Lieutenant Demuy left this town with a detachment under his orders consisting of 5 ensigns, 6 officers of militia, 10 cadets, 48 settlers and about 400 Indians, partly our domiciled Indians and partly some from the Upper country; this party tarried at Fort St. Frederic, and has been employed scouting, and working on the River au Chicot,<sup>1</sup> where they have felled the trees on both sides to render its navigation impracticable to our enemies. Several of these Indians have formed parties and been out on excursions, M<sup>r</sup> Demuy having been ordered to wait for the party commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, whom he joined.

June 30. 38 Iroquois of the Five Nations came to speak in Council.

July 23. 31 Outawois of Detroit, some of whom returned home being unwilling to go to war.  
16 Wild Rice Indians (*Folles Avoines*).

14 Kiskakons of Detroit who gave proofs of their fidelity to the French, and who have all been to war.

4 Sioux came to the council to demand a commandant, who could not be granted them.

[Aug.] 2 50 Poutewatamies came to go to war.

15 Puans came to go to war.

10 Illinois d<sup>e</sup>

6. 50 Outawois of Michilimakinac, }  
40 Outawois of the Forks, } who have been on the war path.

10. 65 Mississaguez from the head of Lake Ontario; idem.

80 Algonkins and Nepissings from Lake Nepissing, near Lake Huron, who have been to war.

14 Sauteurs came with the Outawais from Michilimakinac, to go to war.

22. 38 Outawois of Detroit, )

17 Sauteurs,

24 Hurons,

14 Poutewatamis,

} a portion of whom were of M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud's detachment.

The Outawois Indians, who were with M<sup>r</sup> Demuy, have taken an Onondaga and a Mohawk Indian, who were on the scout. These Indians have been sent back; the Mohawk immediately, and the Onondaga has been conveyed to Montreal, and sent home by 5 Iroquois of the lake, with a Belt.

<sup>1</sup> Wood Creek, Washington county, New-York. — Ed.

NOTE.—Munitions and presents have been sent to Sieur Joncaire, to enable him to negotiate with the Iroquois, of the Five Nations, and to retain them neutral.

August 3<sup>d</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, town major of Three Rivers, set out with a detachment under his orders, composed of 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 3 ensigns, 2 chaplains, whereof one is for the Indians, 1 surgeon, 10 cadets of the regulars, 18 militia officers, 3 volunteers and about 400 colonists and 300 Indians, including those domiciled and those from the Upper country. This party has been on the River Kakekoute, where it attacked a fort near Brockfil containing a garrison of 22 men, with 3 women and 5 children. After a fight of 26 hours and the loss of one killed and several wounded in the fort, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. M. de Rigaud, the commandant, has been wounded by a shot in the right arm, and 3 of his Indians killed on the field of battle; one of these was an Iroquois of the Lake and one an Abenakis; 4 Frenchmen and 11 Indians have been wounded. Considerable devastation was committed by the party on its return; it set fire to all the houses and grain found standing within a space of 15 leagues, with barns, mills, churches, tanneries, &c., and finally returned with its prisoners to Fort St. Frederic, where it remained awaiting the orders of the General, who recalled the whole party.

Sixty Abenakis, belonging to this force, went, after the fight, to lie in wait for 20 Englishmen who were to come to the said fort, according to the report of the prisoners; but not having met them, went farther, and some returned with 7 scalps, 1 Englishman and 1 Negro.

Seventeen Mississaguez who left this party before the capture of the fort, have been 6 leagues below Orange and struck a blow and brought back 4 scalps.

NOTE.—All the expeditions of our enemies have, up to the present time, amounted to some Mohegans (*Loups*) scalping a soldier belonging to the garrison of Fort St. Frederic, who had gone out unarmed, and who had been at a pretty considerable distance, where these Indians were concealed; the English had promised them a considerable sum of money, which alone gained them over, it being the only blow they were willing to strike, notwithstanding all the importunities of the enemy.

31st. Equipped a party of Iroquois of the Sault consisting of 6 men.

Equipped a party belonging to the same village of 8 warriors who have not returned.

M<sup>r</sup> de Montigny, 2 cadets and 25 Abenakis and Iroquois of the Sault, were sent, subsequent to M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud's fight, on the scout to Sarasteau.<sup>1</sup> A portion of the Indians having gone off, Sieur de Montigny, who saw no hostile movement nor preparation in that fort, made an attack with 14 men who remained by him, on 20 soldiers belonging to that garrison who were escorting a cart loaded with clay to build a chimney, and killed at the gate of the fort 4 men of the detachment, who were scalped by the Indians, and took 4 prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> Saratoga. — Ed.



*M. de Beauharnois to Count de Maurepas.*

My Lord,

I have received the letters you did me the honor to write me on the 26<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of April 1745, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> March of this year.

I have observed by what you have been pleased to communicate to me, that his Majesty has approved the work effected in 1774<sup>1</sup> for the defence of Quebec and Montreal, and in the different forts of the Colony. I have jointly and individually reported to you, my Lord, the condition of these forts last year.

The garrison of Fort Niagara is actually composed of

Captain Duplessis faber.

Lieutenant De Contrecour.

Ensigns De Boulascry, Chev. de Garner.

2<sup>nd</sup> Ensign, Duplessis, Jun<sup>r</sup>

4 serjeants and 33 soldiers, two of whom are gunners.

The garrison of St. Frederic consists of

Captain De Noyas.

Lieutenants Dumont, De Boucherville, Herbin.

Ensign De Millon.

2<sup>nd</sup> Ensign De Montigny.

5 serjeants and 88 soldiers, including 5 gunners.

The fort is abundantly supplied with provisions and munitions of war, with the exception of artillery.

The garrison of Fort Frontenac consists of

Captain De Tonty.

Lieutenant De Cabanas.

2<sup>nd</sup> Ensigns Le Borgne, Depeux.

Two serjeants, 33 soldiers and 2 gunners.

These garrisons will be reinforced, when necessary, on the first movement of the enemy.

At Fort Chambly are Sieur de Beaulac, a reformed lieutenant, one serjeant and 5 soldiers, as you have ordered; and I am unable, for want of sufficient troops, to increase its garrison, which, however, would be very necessary in the present conjuncture. This fort serves as a store or entrepôt for all the munitions destined for Fort St. Frederic.

I have already acquainted you, my Lord, with the disposition of the Five Nations as respects Choueguen. The advantages we have gained in the interior of the Colony might possibly have created alarm, had we been in a condition to follow them up, by being supplied with goods and effects necessary to fit out new parties, and to meet the wants of the trade of the posts. The circumstances in which we are placed by the want of these supplies, must make us desire more than ever that the 5 Nations should observe the neutrality they promised. Nevertheless, I shall neglect no means possible to induce them to coöperate in what his Majesty appears to require of me in this regard. Sieur de Joncaire is already notified to give that matter all his attention. His activity and vigilance may be relied on, if there be any

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* 1744. — Ed.

prospect of success. M. de Longueuil might have suited for that negotiation, but that officer is very corpulent, and illy adapted to make these sorts of journeys. Those nations, who adopted his oldest son in the council I held with them last summer, appear always much attached to that family. I expect to send him to assist Sieur de Joncaire, should circumstances become more favorable.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> instant I received news of M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil by the arrival of Sieur Delinn,<sup>1</sup> a Louisiana officer, whom he permitted to come to Canada on some family affairs. He confided to him also several letters, in which he communicates to me what you were pleased likewise to state to me respecting the measures to be adopted to terminate the disorders Indian traders (*Coueurs des bois*) are continually committing among the Illinois, and to prevent the frequent desertion of the soldiers from that post. The distress of the Colony does not admit, for the present, of the establishment of the new posts proposed by M. de Vaudreuil; and as regards the limits of the trade of the two Colonies, which it might be well to circumscribe, that merits, nevertheless, an examination on which I cannot enter until after the departure of the ships, because it is necessary to reflect whether this arrangement would not be more prejudicial than profitable to the posts that are leased, in consequence of the separation of a portion of those posts that might follow; this would, in some degree, be injurious to the commerce of the Colony, by diminishing the revenue derived from them. But, as it is important to check the brigandage of the *Coueurs des bois*, and as this is one of the considerations of most interest to the commerce of the two Colonies, I shall take all the precautions which will possibly concur to that end, in making use, agreeably to your Lordship's wishes, of M. de Vaudreuil's reflections, and agree upon a plan on this subject that may put an end eventually to these sorts of disorders. As for the rest, on M<sup>r</sup> Bertet's complaining this year to me that deserters from Louisiana found free access to the posts adjoining Detroit, I have written to Chevalier de Longueuil to issue warrants in virtue of my orders, for the arrest and conveyance to Fort Chartres, of these deserters, without any sort of mercy.

The man named Augé, one of the partners in the post at the Bay,<sup>2</sup> has been killed by a Wild rice Indian. His misconduct and drunkenness have been the cause thereof. He, it was, who supplied goods to the *Coueurs des bois*, who afterwards retired to the Scioux. Sieur de Lusignan, who spent last winter among this tribe, has meanwhile ordered these *Coueurs des bois* to return. They gave him to understand that they were ready to obey and follow him; they even set out, but either on reflection, or rather on learning that they would be arrested at Missilimakinac, they turned aside and abandoned Sieur de Lusignan. This officer brought with him, this summer, four Scioux chiefs of the Lakes and Prairies, who came down to solicit my pardon for 19 of their young men, who had killed 3 Frenchmen at the Illinois. The chiefs delivered up these young men, bound and tied, to Sieur de Lusignan, on his arrival at their village, seemingly evincing sorrow for the fault they had committed. This nation behaved well during the winter, and made peace with the Puants, Wild rice Indians and the Sauteurs of the Point, with whom they had been a long time at war. Sieur de Lusignan obliged them to restore the prisoners they had made, which produced tranquillity among the nations inhabiting that post. As regards the lessees of the post, they have made no complaint to me of Sieur de Lusignan, who favored their trade by every means in his power. These lessees would have done a very profitable business had they not suffered from fire, whereby they have lost considerably; the increase in the price of beaver has, however, indemnified them partly

<sup>1</sup> Or, Delima.<sup>2</sup> Green Bay. — Ed.



for that loss. We jointly report to you the arrangement adopted relative to that post, the lease of which has expired, and to the others that are in a like position.

Immediately on receipt of your despatch I sent to Chevalier de Longueuil the cross of St. Louis and his Majesty's license to wear it until he may be able to present himself for reception. I have every reason, my Lord, to be well satisfied with this officer's zeal and diligence in the management of the Indians of Detroit, so as to determine them to come down to Montreal. Some belonging to all the nations came, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the English to dissuade them from this voyage. I have not failed to recommend to Sieur de Longueuil to profit by the good dispositions in which these nations have returned, and to manage so as to induce them to make some incursions during the winter against the settlements the English have made in the direction of the Beautiful river, and of the White river.

I have rendered you an account of the success of the party I sent out last fall to the borders of New England. The expeditions I proposed organizing towards Missilimakinac and Hudson's bay, have not, as yet, taken place, and I beg you, my Lord, to assure his Majesty that I will not relax in this, nor in any other parts of the service.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and most

Obedient servant,

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1746.

BEAUHARNOIS.

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*Military and other Operations in Canada during the years 1745-1746.*

Abstract, in form of a Journal, of whatever occurred of interest in the Colony connected with Military operations; also of the various news received since the departure of the ship *St. Roch*, Captain Petrimoulx, which sailed for France the first of December, 1745.

1745. November. The Minister has been informed of the fitting out of the party commanded by M<sup>r</sup> Marin, to attack the settlements on the River Connecticut. This detachment was composed of 300 Frenchmen, and of about as many domiciliated Indians, who set out from Montreal on the beginning of this month. The French arrived at Fort St. Frederic on the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of the same, and Indians not until the 17<sup>th</sup>. The latter, then, represented that the season was too far advanced to go to the River Connecticut; that not being fitted out for the winter they would run great risks in returning from this expedition; that, moreover, the settlements in that quarter were on the other side of the river, in which they might meet some ice. On these representations, and on the proposal of the Indians, M<sup>r</sup> Marin determined to march towards Sarasteau,<sup>1</sup> a post about 15 leagues from Fort St. Frederic. He attacked that village in the night of the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of this month; burnt and plundered all the houses, and took about 100 prisoners, men, women, children and negroes; part of these have been dispersed among the Indians, who took possession of them, and the remainder lodged in the

<sup>1</sup> Saratoga. — Ed.



prisons at Quebec.<sup>1</sup> This officer returned to Montreal on the 9<sup>th</sup> of December following, and his detachment a few days after.

December. At the close of this month the General issued orders at Montreal for the fitting out a party of 160 men, including French and Indians, under the command of Lieutenant St. Pierre, to go on a scout towards New England, and to observe the enemy's movements. This detachment set out from Montreal in the forepart of January, and proceeded to Fort St. Frederic.

January 7<sup>th</sup>. On the receipt of various information by Indians coming from New England, that the English propose attacking Fort St. Frederic, the General has just ordered the fitting out at Montreal of a new detachment, consisting of 150 men, both French and Indians, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc la Corne, to join M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre's party, and to protect Fort St. Frederic. This detachment left Montreal between the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 25<sup>th</sup> of this month for its place of destination.

On the same occasion orders were issued at Montreal to hold 1500 men of the district in readiness to march to the assistance of Fort St. Frederic on the receipt of the first intelligence.

3 February. Captain de Perigny died at Montreal on the 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo, aged 85 years.

8. The General deeming his presence necessary at Montreal, set out to-day for that place in a sleigh.

March 28<sup>th</sup>. Two Indians arrived from Acadia with letters from M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre and Father Germain, of the 27<sup>th</sup> of December and 30<sup>th</sup> of January; the first informs us that his Indians had, in the month of November last, intercepted letters written by the government of Louisbourg to that of Port Royal, directing M<sup>r</sup> Mascaren to dispatch a vessel to Boston, and to send him 1000 to 1200 *Bostonnois* to replace the dead; not to permit any *Bostonnois* to go into Minas basin to insult the settlers, and not to trouble the Indians this winter. It recommended the placing all the privateers, early in the spring, on the coasts of Acadia; complains seriously of M<sup>r</sup> Loutre, missionary of the Micmacs; requests M<sup>r</sup> Mascaren to do all in his power to apprehend him, or to oblige him to quit the country, and to abandon the Indians.

In regard to news from Louisbourg it appears certain that the English had not received any reinforcement up to the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, and that sickness had been very rife there, since the conquest.

These days past 21 guns have been removed from the rampart to the new Dauphin battery.

14<sup>th</sup>. The General arrived from Montreal.

15<sup>th</sup>. We receive a letter from Ensign Joncaire, of the troops, who was sent last fall to the Senecas, to retain the Iroquois, of the 5 Nations, in a strict neutrality. He informs us that some Mohegans (*Loups*) returning from Boston and Carolina, had reported that great preparations for war were making in those parts.

Several prisoners, men, women and children, taken at Sarasteau, having fallen into the hands of the Indians of the party, were ransomed by divers individuals, particularly from the Indians of St. Francis and Becancourt; they have been brought down and lodged in the barracks at Quebec, and the price of their ransom repaid by the King.

19. An express dispatched by Sieur Lefevre Bellefeuille, of Gaspé, arrived with intelligence

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 20, 1745. Last night I received a letter from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Albany by express, dated the 17<sup>th</sup> instant, acquainting me, that the night before, the enemy had cut off Saraghtoga settlements upon our northern frontiers; that only one family had escaped destruction by flight; that they saw the fort and some other buildings in flames. *Message of Governor Clinton to the New-York Assembly; Journal*, II, 86. — Ed.



that the ship *Le Lion d'Or*, commanded by Sieur Bionneau, anchored in Gaspé bay on the 15<sup>th</sup> November; this vessel sailed from Rochelle on the 8<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> in company with the flyboat *La Gironde*, from which she separated eight days after her departure; on the 8<sup>th</sup> November she found herself between the Grand Etang and Fox river, and was forced by bad weather to anchor in the Bay of Gaspé, which was already full of ice.

21. 3 expresses are dispatched to-day to Gaspé, to bring up the letters Sieur Bionneau may have, as he has not sent any by the express which arrived on the 19<sup>th</sup>

23. Conformably to the project proposed last fall to send early to the mouth of the River St. John, a vessel loaded with ammunition and necessaries for the Indians of that quarter and vicinity, Ensign Dupont Duvivier, formerly commandant of the Island of St. John,<sup>1</sup> was dispatched to the lower end of the St. John's river, to look out for and receive, in the absence of Father Germain who winters at Beaubassin, whatever ammunition might be sent, to distribute it among the Indians and also among the settlers of that river who will need it. That officer has taken his departure to-day accompanied by Serjeant Lambert, 2 soldiers, 2 Canadians and 2 Indians. They are to remain at the River St. John until further orders.

April 4. Sieur Cartier is sent off to-day to La Gribanne,<sup>2</sup> near St. Joachim, to build 12 additional fire rafts, with orders to inspect those constructed last year at Ile aux Coudres and its vicinity.

5. Messrs. St. Pierre and St. Luc, having had orders to bring back their detachments to Montreal, have arrived to-day to render an account of their mission.

8. M<sup>r</sup> Depleine is sent to arrange the signal fires along the south shore from Point Levy to Rimousky, the same as last year. He is entrusted with the orders issued to the captains of the said shore to construct cabins in the woods for the security of the families, and to send the settlers to Quebec in case of the approach of the enemy's fleet.

12. We receive by Indians from Beaubassin, letters from Father Germain and M<sup>r</sup> Le Loutre. The latter informs us, among other things, by his letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> March last, that the settlers of Mirligueche had come to acquaint him that Matthew Ouinel, an Acadian, had arrived at Mirligueche at the end of February, and assured those settlers that he had escaped from Ile Royale, and that that place had been retaken by M<sup>r</sup> Duvivier on the first or second of said month of February. This missionary adds: That the same Ouinel having, without doubt, been to Port Royal with the same news, it has spread consternation in the fort; that Governor Mascaren had, since that time, forbidden the English of the fort to speak, on pain of death, to the settlers, and that this governor had immediately set at liberty some Acadians whom he had detained as prisoners a long time. The capture of Louisbourg appears to us imaginary; it is impossible that M<sup>r</sup> Duvivier, or any other commander, entrusted with the expedition, would not have endeavored to give us or Father Germain notice of it.

By the same opportunity we receive a letter from Minas of the 2<sup>d</sup> March, stating that the English have been obliged to withdraw the troops they were keeping at Canseau, in order to send them to Louisbourg, and that sickness was more prevalent than ever in the latter town. The rumor prevailed in Acadia that the Governor of Boston<sup>3</sup> had been taken last fall on his way from Louisbourg to Boston.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Prince Edward Island.

<sup>2</sup> La Gribanne is a small harbor on the north shore of the River St. Lawrence, about ten miles below Cape Torment, and some forty miles below Quebec. It is a very ancient name, being mentioned by Hennepin, who says that the grant to the Recollects extended from that point to our Lady of the Angels (Notre Dame des Anges), at present the General Hospital of Quebec. *New Discovery*, edition 1690, chapter XXVI, part 2, p. 163. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> It was Lieutenant-Governor Clarke of New-York. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II., 380.



Several prisoners taken at Sarasteau and elsewhere, have assured, on the contrary, that the Governor had died at Boston, on his return from Ile Royale.

An Acadian farmer, a worthy Frenchman, writes us on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, from Tagnigouche, near Beaubassin, that the people of St. Pierre, near Ile Royale, who had retired to Pomquitte, have reported that the English had abandoned, at Christmas, the grand battery and islet; that they then amounted to 600 men, that they were burning the timber of the houses, that they had constructed a citadel at the Dauphin bastion, on which they have placed 6 pieces of cannon; and, also, 3 barracks at the Queen's gate, for the accommodation of 2000 men who had not arrived.

The captains on the Island of Orleans, are informed of the signal fires ordered along the South shore, with directions to send, on the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, their families and cattle, with all the provisions possible, to the North shore, and then to repair to Quebec to assist in the preservation of that town.

18. Two biscayan boats are dispatched, one to convey *Sieur de Rouville* to St. Barnabé with the signals agreed upon and sent last fall to the Minister, to observe all the French vessels that will pass there, as well as the enemy's ships which might ascend the river, and to give prompt notice thereof by means of signals and expresses which he is to dispatch immediately; the other serves to convey along the South shore the men who are to keep the signals in the uninhabited places.

22. We learn by a courier sent from Isle aux Coudres that the brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, Cap<sup>t</sup> Chaboisseau, which sailed from Bordeaux on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January, has arrived at said island on the 21<sup>st</sup>. This vessel is freighted with 10 thousand weight of powder for account of the King, and the circumstance has begun to diffuse joy among the people.

23. The brigantine *La Petite Marguerite* has anchored in the roadstead. *Sieur Chaboisseau* has assured us that *Sieur Sallabery* has sailed from Rochefort about the 15<sup>th</sup> of November for Quebec in a sloop with 30<sup>m</sup> wt. of powder and some muskets. This Captain has added, that *Sieurs Cheron* and *Monsegne*, whom we dispatched in the month of June of last year, have fortunately arrived in France; that the vessels which sailed from Quebec last fall have also arrived, except the ships *La Marie sans pareille* of Marseilles, and the brigantine *Le Perou* of Quebec, whereof they have had no tidings.

2 May. *Sieur Joncair*, who resides among the Senecas, sends us, in a letter of the first of April, confirmation of the neutrality of the 5 Nations; that the hatchet of the English, which had been accepted by some young Mohawks, has been returned to them by the chiefs of that nation, who have declared that they would remain quiet during the war.

4<sup>th</sup> *Sieur Cartier* being returned from La Gribanne, where he had 12 fire rafts constructed, has been sent back to-day to the Ile aux Coudres for the purpose of manœuvring, if necessary, the rafts constructed on that island. Orders have been sent by him to *Sieur Jean Peron* to manage those of La Gribanne; to Captain Martel, of Bay St. Paul; to *Sieur Bouchard*; also to those of the Little river near Bay St. Paul, and to Captain Rancourt, to conduct those constructed at St. Joachim.

6. Orders are issuing for the enrolment, in various places along the south shore, of 175 men to assist in working the fire-rafts of Ile aux Coudres and vicinity. These settlers have orders to set out at the first notice they will receive of the enemy's approach. Boats are being repaired at each of these places for their conveyance.



Orders are likewise sent to the 7 Islands to post a guard at Pointe des Monts to watch the ships that will pass there. The commander of this corps has the same signals as Sieur Rouville at Rimousky.

An express, dispatched from Isle aux Coudres, has arrived; we learn by him the arrival of the ship *Letourneur*, Captain Duhamel, sent from Brest with 7 thousand <sup>wt</sup> of powder and 1000 grenadier muskets. It was by this opportunity that we received the Minister's despatch in cipher dated 24<sup>th</sup> January, containing the King's orders for the fitting out 600 Frenchmen and an equal number of Indians for Acadia, to join the forces of the fleet which are to be on the coasts of Acadia about the 20th of this month.

8<sup>th</sup> Agreeably to the King's orders, we are taking the necessary measures for the levy of the 600 men as ordered; to wit, 250 in the government of Montreal, as many at Quebec, and 100 in the government of Three Rivers, to be commanded by Captain de Ramezay.

The vessels for the conveyance of this detachment are being prepared.

The census is taking of the Abenakis and Miemacs of Acadia, who are scattered throughout different parts of the government of Quebec and in the villages of Becancourt and St. Francis. Orders are issued to bring down a portion of the warriors of these two villages to join the others.

Crews are being looked up for the vessels; they are very scarce.

Also, pilots for the entrance of Bay Verte.

Four months' supplies for 1200 men, including flour, biscuit, pork, vegetables and other refreshments, are preparing in the stores.

Other arrangements, besides, are making for the most prompt dispatch, and M. Guillimin, com<sup>r</sup>, who acts as commissary of the department, is instructed to attend to the details of fitting out of the expedition, and he will make the campaign.

We dispatch Sieur Goguel, merchant, to purchase grain in the government of Montreal.

13<sup>th</sup> The expresses sent in March to Gaspé have returned. They do not bring any letters of interest.

14<sup>th</sup> Ensign de Niverville has brought in to-day two prisoners, named John Spafford and Isaac Parker, whom he took about 30 leagues from Boston;<sup>1</sup> they have been examined—say that two regiments are to be sent from Boston to Ile Royale, to relieve the garrison of that place, where over 700 men have died; that 2200 regulars arrived from London at New-York, towards the close of the winter, and have set out again for Louisbourg.

That Lydius has been several times this winter to Boston, to represent the necessity of taking Fort St. Frederic; that at his instigation a consultation has been held in the Assembly on this subject, but that it had fallen through; that the preparations making at Boston are for the relief of the garrison of Ile Royale, and that the Governor of Boston is not dead.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Perthuis and Bazin have started in two biscayennes, the first for Cape Desrosiers and the other for Cape Chat, with orders to establish a guard at each place, to look out for the French vessels which will appear off those coasts, to inform the commanders of the two frigates that are to come there of whatever occurs. With this view an abstract has been furnished them of all the news of this continent, with the signals agreed upon, by means of which they will recognize all the King's ships.

NOTE.—This is a trader, who lives within 12 leagues of Fort St. Frederic, whose house has been plundered by Mr. Marin's party, in the month of 9ber last.

<sup>1</sup> In Charlestown, Sullivan county, N. H. *Belknap*, III. 187; *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, IV., 107.—Ed.



We have entrusted to Sieur Perthuis a letter we write to Father L'Estage, the Recollect Missionary of the Ristigouche Indians, wherein we request him to send all his Indians to Beaubassin, where they are to await the detachment from Canada, of which we inform him.

15<sup>th</sup> We notify Father Germain, by a courier dispatched to-day to Beaubassin, of the King's orders, which we have just received, and of the preparations we are making at Quebec. We request him, in consequence, to cause the necessary carriages and other conveyances to be prepared for the conveyance from Bay Verte to Beaubassin of the provisions and ammunition of the detachment which we send off.

We write by the same opportunity to Father Lacorne, missionary at Miramichi, to repair with the Indians belonging to his mission to Beaubassin, where he is to await our detachment of Canadians.

The General likewise gives orders to M. Dupont Duvivier, who is at the River St. John, to repair to Beaubassin, where he will receive new orders for his destination, and to take with him whatever Indians will be within his reach. He will leave sergeant Lambert at the River St. John, to correspond with us, and take to Beaubassin the soldiers and Canadians we gave him at Quebec.

A courier sent from Rimousky by M. Rouville has arrived, from whom we learn the arrival at said place of the ship *La Ste. Julienne*, of Bayonne, captain Monségne, who sailed from St. John de Luz on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, freighted with 18<sup>m</sup> of powder, 600 muskets and other munitions and effects. We receive, by this ship, copy of the Minister's despatch of the 24<sup>th</sup> January.

One of the prisoners taken last fall on the River Connecticut, told the interpreter, our confidential agent, that the Governor of Boston had returned very late from Ile Royale, and that M<sup>r</sup> Phips,<sup>1</sup> his Lieutenant-Governor, was unwilling, pending his absence, to decide on the exchange of prisoners proposed by the General.

22<sup>d</sup> We are in receipt of letters from Montreal. That of the 20<sup>th</sup> informs us that the Englishman named Bleke<sup>2</sup> who had been taken prisoner near a fort situated on a river called Echouellet, 50 leagues from Boston, had been brought in, who having been interrogated said that several persons had come, a few days before his capture, into his country to raise a force, and that vast stores of provisions had been laid in at Boston during the winter, that about 2000 pairs of snowshoes had been made there and what Indian moccasins were necessary. He did not mention any other preparations.

The ship *Ste. Julienne* anchored in the port. Captain Monségne said that he had been chased five times in the course of his voyage.

23<sup>d</sup> We write to Father Germain, by a courier we dispatch to Beaubassin, respecting the precautions to be taken on the arrival of our detachment at Bay Verte. We write also to the Commander of the fleet.

<sup>1</sup> SPENCER PHIPPS, whose name was originally Bennett, was the son of Dr. David Bennett of Rowley, Mass.; his mother's name was Spencer, and she was from Saco, Me. Spencer Bennett on being adopted by his uncle, Sir William Phipps, took by statute the latter name. He was elected a councillor in 1722, and afterwards reelected nine times; next Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts from 1732 to his death, which occurred on 4th April, 1757. He administered the government from September, 1749, to 1753, and in 1756 and part of 1757. *Williamson's Maine*, II., 161; 1. *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, III., 194; *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, III., 52. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> NATHAN BLAKE, of Keene, on the River Ashuelot, in N. H. He was detained 2 years in Canada. *Belknap*, III., 188; *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, II., 89, 93, 94, 95.



25<sup>th</sup> A party of Abenaki Indians bring in two English prisoners whom they took on the first of this month at Goram,<sup>1</sup> 8 miles from Casco and 120 miles from Boston.

It is reported that a vessel arrived at Boston from London at the end of April, had given out that the King was equipping a fleet of 100 sail for North America.

That 2000 regulars had arrived last fall at New York in 25 men-of-war and transports, and that these troops had sailed for Louisbourg on the first of March with 100 families which had embarked at New York.

That six men-of-war and other vessels, the number of which he did not know, were at Louisbourg from the beginning of March, under the command of General Matthews.<sup>2</sup>

That Governor Shirley is at liberty to manufacture money to any amount he pleases for war purposes.

The ship *Le Lion d'Or*, of Bordeaux, which had wintered at Gaspé, is arrived.

The Micmacs of Ile Royale, to the number of 80 warriors, who have wintered in the neighborhood of Quebec, having been fitted out, departed yesterday in 8 biscayennes under the command of Cadet Marin, the younger, for Bay Verte, with orders to lie in a safe place there and to await the detachment of Canadians which is to set out in a few days; we gave him some signals which he is to make at Cape Tourment for the purpose of recognizing the ships which will convey our detachment.

We write by this opportunity to Father Germain and to the commander of the fleet.

28<sup>th</sup> Two prisoners, taken by a party of Abenakis on the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, 80 miles from Boston, are brought down from 3 Rivers.<sup>3</sup>

'Tis said that a ship, arrived at Boston from London at the end of April, had reported that the Pretender had been put to route, that a portion of the prisoners taken had been hanged, that the remainder were massacred and<sup>4</sup> driven to the mountains.

That about 3000 soldiers had arrived at Louisbourg from London, who had first touched at New-York.

That the English had a great desire to attack Fort St. Frederic, but it had passed off.

That no troops had been raised in New England to attack Canada this spring, though there had been considerable talk about it.

That a party of 150 men came from Dunstable, in the month of March, to within 2 days' journey of our villages of St. Francis and Becancourt, but finding themselves not sufficiently numerous, returned back.

29<sup>th</sup> An old trustworthy prisoner, who has been gained over to our interests, comes to inform us of what follows, which he has learned from the newly arrived prisoners.

That there are 15 men of war at Ile Royale and a great many privateers.

That the Pretender had been driven into the mountains of Scotland, and that 9,000 of his men had been destroyed or taken.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the attack on Gorhamtown, Me., see *Williamson*, II., 244.

<sup>2</sup> Vice-Admiral THOMAS MATTHEWS, after a long and distinguished service, was tried by court-martial, 16 June, 1746, for misconduct whilst Commander-in-Chief of the fleet in the Mediterranean, in 1744, and sentenced to be cashiered. He died in 1748. The statement in the text is therefore correct. It was Vice-Admiral Isaac Townsend that commanded the Louisbourg squadron at this time. *Beaton*. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> At Lower Asheulot they took Timothy Brown and Robert Moffat, who were carried to Canada and returned. *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, III., 189. Lower Asheulot is now Swansey, New Hampshire.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*.

That the Pretender's brother was in the Tower of London and several Lords with him, and it had been remarked that he had two thumbs on each hand.

NOTE.—The above information respecting the rout of the Pretender has been verified by the conversation our confidential agent had with some of the principal prisoners; these last have added, that Captain Vaune,<sup>1</sup> who had formerly served in the expedition against Louisbourg, was in the affair against the Pretender's son, in which this captain had been killed.

Same day, 29<sup>th</sup> Pursuant to the last orders received from England by the Governor of Boston, he was preparing to make new levies of militia, not stating for what design.

The rumor of the 28<sup>th</sup> and the news of the 29<sup>th</sup> have been sent to the commander of the fleet, and to Father Germain, by a courier who set out for the River St. John, and to Sieurs Perthuis and Bazin by a bark canoe which started to-day.

30<sup>th</sup> The Abenakis Indians, including those of Acadia and those who are domiciliated, numbering about 300, having been equipped and having repaired to St. Michel, near Quebec, took their departure to-day in bark canoes under the command of Lieutenant St. Pierre. They go by way of the St. John's river to Beaubassin to wait there for the detachment of Frenchmen. We have given this officer a letter of credit promising to repay at Quebec, or in Acadia, the expenses to be incurred by the Canadian and Indian detachments which will reside in Acadia.

June 3<sup>d</sup> Sieur Cheron, commanding *La Société*, which sailed from Rochefort on the 6<sup>th</sup> of March, arrived to-day; she is loaded with some cordage and implements for the frigate of 22 guns, and some goods for the stores.

Sieur Cheron has handed us a third copy of the Minister's letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of January; he informs us that the ship *La Désse*, commanded by Sieur Hiriard, was to sail two days after him, freighted with powder and other ammunition and merchandise.

Some Abenakis of St. Francis have brought in a prisoner named Thomas Joseph,<sup>1</sup> whom they took in the beginning of May, 20 miles from Boston.

This prisoner has reported that 500 men have been sent to Louisbourg from New England.

Heard that Prince Edward's brother has been taken on the 27<sup>th</sup> of February last and sent to London, and that his army had been routed.

4<sup>th</sup> The detachment of Canadians, numbering 680, including the officers and cadets, having been equipped, embarked in the following vessels:

Ship *Letourneur*, of St. Malo, Captain Duhamel.

Brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, of Quebec, Sieur Cery.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAM VAUGHAN, son of Lieutenant-Governor George Vaughan, of New Hampshire, was born at Portsmouth, in that Province, 12th September, 1703. He was largely concerned in the fisheries, and had settled at Damariscotta, thirteen miles below Pemaquid. Here he had conceived the idea of the capture of Louisbourg and then repaired to Boston to suggest an expedition against that place. He was a man of good understanding, daring, enterprising and tenacious, and by his perseverance and enthusiasm succeeded in overcoming all objections to the expedition. Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan conducted the first column through the woods within sight of Louisbourg and saluted the city with three cheers. At the head of a detachment, chiefly of New Hampshire troops, he marched, in the night, to the northeast part of the harbor, where they burned the warehouses and staved a large quantity of wine and brandy. The French were forced by the smoke to desert the grand battery, of which Vaughan next morning took possession and bravely defended, and the city soon after fell. In the subsequent distribution of ministerial rewards he was forgotten, and went to England to seek a reward for his services, and died in London in December, 1746, of small-pox. *Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts*, II., 364; *Holmes' Annals*, II., 164, 165; *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, III., 154-174; *Ward's Journal and Letters of Curwen*, 452. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> THOMAS JONES, of Boscowen, New Hampshire. He died in Canada. *Belknap*, III., 189.



Brigantine *L'Ormond Succès*, of Quebec, Sieur Depleine.  
 Brigantine *L'Emerillon*, idem, Sieur Boucherville.  
 Batteau *Le Loup Marin*, id., Sieur Aubert.  
 Schooner *La Marie Anne*, id., Sieur Chauveau.  
 Schooner *L'amiable Marthe*, id., Sieur Lacroix Girard.

They are waiting only for a fair wind to sail. We have had put on board 6 barrels of powder and other munitions of war, a proportionate quantity of goods both for the detachment and for the wants of the soldiers, iron stoves, and bar iron, to be given to the Acadians in payment of the advances they will make, as it was impossible to find any specie here. Shovels, pickaxes, spades, and other implements necessary for a siege, have likewise been put on board.

5<sup>th</sup> The vessels conveying our detachment have set sail with a light breeze for the S. W., except the ship *Letourneur*, which could not get her anchors clear (*deraper*). The other vessels are to wait at Camouraska.

6. The 22 gun frigate has been launched and brought safely into port.

Sieur Sallaberry, commanding the schooner *Marie*, has arrived at Quebec, he has declared to us that he sailed from Rochefort on the 16<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup> last, with 30<sup>ars</sup> of powder and about 600 muskets; that finding himself in the gulf on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, he anchored at St. Peter's islands, the bad weather and other accidents obliged him to go back to Martinico, where he arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> February, remained at the islands where he had his vessel recaulked; he could have sailed early, but for fear of the English privateers who were known to be in the passages.<sup>1</sup> He was obliged to wait for the convoy of a privateer that was armed; they sailed in company on the 20<sup>th</sup> of April. It was only under cover of a battle which the Frenchman gave an English privateer, that Sieur Sallaberry escaped; met nothing since. This captain has delivered us the Minister's letter of the first of November last.

By this opportunity we receive letters from Martinico, and among others, the General receives one from M<sup>r</sup> de Caylus of the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, stating that a cartel he had sent to Antigua, has reported to him that Admiral Thowsend<sup>2</sup> has returned there with 7 of his ships and a snow, in very bad condition; that this Admiral had left there in the beginning of January with nine sail for Boston to join M<sup>r</sup> Warren,<sup>3</sup> and to attack us with their combined forces; that a squall had deranged this plan and forced this Admiral to return to Antigua, where he is busy refitting, and whence, it is expected, he will sail only to Europe; that the two ships which he misses, were separated in the abovementioned gale, and no news has been received from them since, and that it is even to be feared that they have been either captured or wrecked.

7<sup>th</sup> Strong gale from the N. E. and rain. Sieur Depleine, commander of the Brigantine *L'Ormond Succès*, of our little fleet, having lost an anchor and a cable, has been forced to

<sup>1</sup> Debouquemens. Channels between two islands or an island and the main land, are so called. *Richelet, Dictionnaire de la Langue Française.*

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Sir PETER WARREN, K. B., was born about the year 1700; was commissioned a Captain in the navy 1727; commanded the *Leopard*, 50, in 1734, and the *Squirrel*, 50, in the expedition against Carthage in 1741. In 1744 Commodore Warren commanded the fleet at the Leeward Islands, and in the following year at the siege of Louisbourg. As a reward for his services on the latter occasion, he was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral of the Blue, 10 August, 1745. He applied for the government of New Jersey on the death of Governor Morris, but without success. In 1747 he was made Rear-Admiral of the White, and greatly distinguished himself in the sea fight off Cape Finisterre, whilst commanding the *Devonshire*, 66, and the same year was created a Knight of the Bath. In May, 1748, he was made Vice-Admiral of the Red. Admiral Warren was married to Susan, eldest daughter of Stephen De Lancey and Ann van Cortland, of New-York, and died in 1758. *Beaton; Holgate; Bedford Correspondence*, I., 28, 128, 217. — Ed.



return to Quebec, and, on his representation, not only that this vessel was too small to accommodate the Canadians that were put on board of her, but that she, moreover, made considerable water, it was immediately determined to unload *La Société*, just arrived, to replace *L'Ormond Succèz*. This change is going on with much diligence.

It was found necessary to land the 160 Canadians on board *Letourneur*; they were all seasick; they will reëmbark on the first favorable wind.

8<sup>th</sup> Sieur Douville, of the Island of St. John, who left that place on the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo, arrived here at Quebec to-day with his family in his battoe; he has abandoned his settlement on receiving advice that the English were shortly to visit that island.

This individual has been on the scout in the month of May, to try and learn some news. Being at the gut of Canso, he met on the 16<sup>th</sup> a craft (*charrois*), conducted by two men, named Briant and Potier, settlers belonging to the Island of St. John, on their way from Ile Royale, who assured him that 7 ships with 1500 regulars had arrived at Louisbourg from England at the end of April.

That the garrison of that place, reduced to 5 or 600 men, including sick and well, on seeing this fleet and taking them for Frenchmen, thought only of surrendering; that the English had strengthened the exterior of the royal battery.

That of the 7 ships from London, two were to cruise along the coast.

That if Louisbourg had been attacked during the winter by 300 Indians, it might have been taken.

That 5 armed vessels were at Ile Royale awaiting the breaking up of the ice, to go and seize the settlers on the Island of St. John, put on board all the cattle possible, kill the remainder and burn the settlements.

That the English had several French pilots, to wit: Jasmin, an Acadian; Briasson, of Nantes, who resides with his family at Louisbourg, and some others.

Sieur Roma, former director of the Island of St. John Company, came in the same battoe with his family.

June 9<sup>th</sup> The 160 Canadians have been reëmbarked on board *Le tourneur*; the boat *La Société* is ready to sail.

10<sup>th</sup> These two vessels set sail with a light breeze from the S. W. to join the 5 first, and then to pursue their destined voyage.

The orders of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, commanding the detachment from Canada, are to touch at Cape Desrosiers, where Sieur Perthuis will inform him of what has occurred at that post since he has been there; thence he will repair to Bay Verte, keeping east of the Island of St. John, as the pilots on board these vessels cannot undertake to conduct them between the Island of St. John and the main. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay has been recommended to use every precaution possible during the voyage to insure his safe arrival at the Bay Verte.

On arriving at said place he is to communicate the fact to Father Germain, at Beaubassin, and in case he should not find any order there from the commandant of the fleet, he is to execute the King's orders, divide his detachment into two, march the one to Canso, and the other to Port Royal, where he will receive the orders of this commandant.

We hand M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay a similar letter of credit to that we have given M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre.

10<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt, by a courier sent from Father Germain, of letters from that missionary, dated the 25<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> of May. He informs us of the return of a vessel which sailed this spring from Port Royal for Boston; that no news gets abroad; that he has learned only that it was



said at Port Royal that the expedition against Canada had fallen through; that Mr Miniac, missionary priest of the Acadians, wrote him to the same effect.

11<sup>th</sup> We have written to Mr de Ramezay, who was still within 6 or 7 leagues of Quebec, and answered Father Germain by that opportunity.

The General's presence being necessary at Montreal, on account of the different nations which have come down there, he set out to-day for that place.

12<sup>th</sup> A party of Abenakis of Panasamské just brings in an English soldier, whom they took prisoner on the 25<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> at Fort Lucia, at the mouth of the River St. George; this prisoner has reported that Thomas Sanders, captain of a vessel, had taken on board 40 Flemish and Dutch families, about a month ago, at Grand Bay,<sup>1</sup> to convey them to Louisbourg; that other families of Casco bay, Pemquet and other parts of the east coast, to the number of 170 persons, have been also conveyed to Ile Royale.

That an English fleet was expected in the month of April; does not know whether it has arrived; that he heard it said that Prince Edward's army had been defeated, and his brother taken in a ship; he was recognized by the double thumbs he had on each hand.

Spoke of the vessels that had wintered at New-York, with some soldiers, without knowing the number.

That the garrison of Port Royal has been relieved by soldiers from Old England, and that place is in the best state of defence.

15<sup>th</sup> We are dispatching a courier to Beaubassin. We send to Father Germain the deposition of the last prisoners. This missionary is to communicate them to the Commandant of the fleet.

17<sup>th</sup> A party of Abenakis, of Panasamské arrived, bringing an English prisoner, named Timothy Comains,<sup>2</sup> aged 60 years, whom they took on the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant, near Fort St. George.

This prisoner has reported the same news of the 3000 men from Old England, who have gone to Louisbourg.

That they are busy, day and night, at Boston, in preparations for defence against a French fleet, which is expected there.

That the people of Boston have carried 20 guns to the island called Little Bluster, within 3 leagues of the town.

That about 100 English, Irish and Dutch families have been sent to Louisbourg from the east of Boston.

A private person—our confidential agent—has had a long conversation with some of the prisoners, who are in the barracks, who told him that they learned, by the prisoner arrived on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, that a great quantity of ammunition and provisions had been collected at Boston, and that a considerable English fleet was to arrive shortly on those coasts.

18<sup>th</sup> This same individual has learned, by a trusty prisoner, arrived yesterday, that men were being raised from the east to the south of New England, Georgia, Pensilvania, Maryland; that volunteers are clubbing together, independent of those who are levied proportionably in the country to come against Quebec; they are expecting ships from England every day.

All the prisoners whom we have in the barracks, to the number of fifty, say, openly, that they will be soon set at liberty, by the siege and capture of Quebec, whither the English will

<sup>1</sup> A large body of Indians in May attacked the German plantation at Broadbay [Waldoborough] and reduced the habitations of the people to ashes. *Williamson's Maine*, II., 244. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Cummings.

not delay coming. Means of writing have been furnished such of them as have been removed to the Hotel Dieu ; all these letters have been examined before they were transmitted, referred, invariably, to their approaching deliverance.

29<sup>th</sup> Arrived Sieur Delano, an officer belonging to the ship *La Déesse*, who landed at Ile à Rassade on the 25<sup>th</sup>. This vessel is commanded by Sieur Hiriard, and sailed from Ile d'Aix on the 24<sup>th</sup> of March ; was forced to put into Ferol on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April for repairs ; left Ferol on the 27<sup>th</sup> of the same month ; is freighted with 30 <sup>m</sup> of powder, 3 @ 400 muskets and other ammunition and effects.

By this occasion we receive the general and private letters of the Court of last year, and a fourth copy of the despatch of the 24<sup>th</sup> January. Sieur Hiriard informs us that he had learned, at Ferol, that the fleet had not yet sailed from Brest on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April.

Arrived an express, dispatched in canoe by Sieur Perthuis from Cape Desrosiers on the 16<sup>th</sup> instant.

An express was immediately dispatched to the General to inform him of the arrival of *La Déesse*.

We receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, informing us that he had arrived at Gaspé on the evening of the 15<sup>th</sup> with the vessels belonging to his little Armada ; also letters from said Sieur Perthuis, who acts as a vedette at Cape Desrosiers.

The latter writes us that Michel Miguet, dit Deloyal, who escaped with his family on the 12<sup>th</sup> from the Island of St. John, arrived at Cape Desrosiers on the morning of the 16<sup>th</sup>, who reported to him that three English ships anchored on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the same month in Port Lajoie ;<sup>1</sup> one of them was rated at 66 guns, though she actually carried only 44, one a brigantine of 20, and one a brig of 10 guns.

That the opinion prevailed at L'Ile Royale that some Canadians on the Island of St. John were building a fort, in conjunction with the settlers on that island.

That the Commander of these ships having ascertained the falsehood of this intelligence sent back the brig to Louisbourg, with information.

That this Commander had declared that he would not do any injury to the settlers, which did not prevent them retiring into the woods until the arrival of some assistance they expected to receive from Quebec.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay having arrived off Gaspé on the night of the 15<sup>th</sup>, Sieur Perthuis went to see him on the next day, the 16<sup>th</sup>, and gave him an account of the report made to him by the said Deloyal on the same day ; whereupon that officer held a council with the officers of his detachment, to which he invited the captains of the seven vessels. After having considered that these vessels were exposed to great dangers by proceeding around the east point of the Island of St. John, and that none of the pilots could take upon himself to carry *Le Tourneur*, between the Island of St. John and the main, it was concluded that the little fleet should remain in Gaspé bay until news be received from Father Germain, who is at Beaubassin. In consequence of this deliberation M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay immediately dispatched a biscayenne to Bay Verte, under the command of Ensign Belestre. He requested Father Germain to let him know what is passing at the Island St. John, and in case there was any truth in the report of Sieur Deloyal, to send him some pilots to take him between the Island of St. John and the main, so

<sup>1</sup> Now, Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island.—Ed.



as not to be perceived by the English ships, said to be at Port Lajoie. He expects the return of this boat in 10 @ 12 days.

30<sup>th</sup> Mr Hocquart has dispatched a courier to Montreal, and communicated this news to the General.

July 3<sup>d</sup> Captain Baudoin, of the schooner *Charlotte*, arrived to-day from Martinico. He left there on the 10<sup>th</sup> May; met nothing on his voyage.

Lieutenant de Raymond is just arrived from Montreal with 7 @ 8 prisoners that were brought some time ago to that town by different parties of Indians. These prisoners having been interrogated said, news had been received that a French fleet was coming to attack Boston, as was reported, and that they were erecting fortifications in that town.

That 2000 men were being levied at Boston in the forepart of May for Louisbourg.

That he had heard at Boston, at the same time, that the Pretender had been routed and had retired into the mountains, and that his brother had been taken; but it is, possibly, a story.

4<sup>th</sup> The ship *La Désse* anchored in the roadstead.

5<sup>th</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup> June, on receipt of the news from Mr de Ramezay, Mr Hocquart took advantage of the departure of the sloop *La Madelaine*, Captain Chevery, to send to Gaspé, where we calculated our little fleet still lay, some ammunition, cordage and other effects, for the fitting out of the biscayennes, which will be found there or in the neighborhood, in case the detachment should, on account of the dangers they might run with the ships, be obliged to go to Bay Verte in those craft.

We write to Mr de Ramezay by this opportunity.

Sieur Dubois, who is to command the 22 gun frigate named *La Martre*, arrived at ten o'clock this evening. He landed at Bic on the 4<sup>th</sup> from the ship *L'Auguste*, of St. Malo, commanded by Captain Vincent Desmarais; this vessel sailed from Brest on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, and brought out the crew of that frigate, 30<sup>m wt</sup> of powder, 3 @ 400 muskets and other munitions. Sieur Dubois has informed us that the fleet which had arrived at Brest, was to sail on the 8<sup>th</sup> of May for Port Louis.

We receive a part of the joint and special letters of the Court of this year.

6<sup>th</sup> A courier is sent to Montreal to inform the General of the arrival of *L'Auguste*.

7<sup>th</sup> Agreeably to the King's orders, contained in a letter from Mr de Maurepas, the work at the walls (*enceinte*) of Quebec has been suspended until the decision of the General Assembly that is to be held.

8<sup>th</sup> By a courier sent from Beaubassin, we receive letters from Father Germain of the 19<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, by which we learn that the frigate *L'Aurore*, commanded by Mr du Vignan, had arrived in the harbor of Chibouctou<sup>1</sup> on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the same month; that *Le Castor*, commanded by Mr de Saillies, was on a cruise; that the two frigates had sailed from Brest on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April; that they had orders to await the fleet, and that they had taken 4 or 5 brigs and schooners in the course of their voyage, freighted with oxen, sheep and other stock and supplies, and that Mr Le Loutre is with them.

Father Germain confirms the news of the three English vessels at Port Lajoie<sup>2</sup> and the Island of St. John.

The ship *L'Auguste*, anchored in the harbor, as well as the brigantine, *La Brunette*, of Bourdeaux, Captain Clement, freighted with wine and brandy.

<sup>1</sup> Halifax, Nova Scotia.

<sup>2</sup> Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island. — Ed.

10<sup>th</sup> Mr. Hocquart dispatches to-day *Le St. Jacques*, Captain de Vitré, to carry to our detachment at Gaspé, if still there, similar munitions and effects to those put on board the boat *La Mudelaine*, which sailed on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant; should M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay have left Gaspé, M<sup>r</sup> de Vitré has orders to proceed as far as Bay Verte with the effects he carries.

15<sup>th</sup> The General has returned from Montreal; some days before he left he gave orders to fit out the detachment commanded by Lieutenant de Muy, consisting of 50 Frenchmen and about 300 Indians, Poutesatamies, Puants, Illinois, Outasas, Sauteux, Folles Avoines, who had come down a few days before, and the domiciliated Algonkins, Iroquois and Abenakis, to proceed towards New England to strike a blow according to circumstances, taking care to send spies out frequently to be informed in season of the expeditions the enemy may attempt against us.

17<sup>th</sup> By a courier that left Gaspé on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, we receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who states that M. Belestre, whom he sent on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June to Beaubassin, had returned on the 30<sup>th</sup> of that month; that Father Germain had sent him pilots to guide his vessels between the Island of St. John and the main; that he was preparing to leave forthwith for his place of destination. By this occasion we learn the arrival at Beaubassin of M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, with the Abenakis Indians whom he took thither, and of the arrival, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, of Sieur Marin, with the Micmacs at Bay Verte.

18<sup>th</sup> Lieutenant Falaise brings into Montreal an Englishman named John Bimant, taken on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant at Nortfields, 14 miles above Dierfils,<sup>1</sup> by a party of Indians belonging to the Sault.

This prisoner has stated that it was reported at that place that the English were to come this year to attack Canada, presently by the river, by way of Fort St. Frederic, and on foot and in canoe by the River Connecticut; that no canoes were making in his quarter.

That 30 pieces of their money were given each man destined for the companies, which, they say, are to come to Canada in a month.

20<sup>th</sup> The ship *St. Croix* of Cherbourg, Captain Alzouet, has arrived freighted with wine and brandy.

21<sup>st</sup> An English prisoner, who is a trusty friend of ours, has informed our confidential agent that the man named John Bimant, who arrived on the 18<sup>th</sup>, had told his comrades that active preparations were making to come and attack this country; that 15 men of war and a number of privateers were all ready; that all the force possible was being collected; that they had orders from the King of England to spare no expense in this matter; that great encouragement is held out to the farmers by giving them 30<sup>li</sup>, a blanket and a gun in addition to their pay, and that the orders to the Governor of Boston are, to force the other governments as far as Virginia.

On this news we have written to Sieur de Muy, who is on the road to repair to Fort St. Frederic, not to scatter the tribes under command, so that they may be easily collected together at the first warning, and to postpone his march until that time.

22<sup>d</sup> Ensign de Carqueville, who had been sent from Fort Frederic, arrived this morning post-haste. He reached Fort St. Frederic on the 16<sup>th</sup> of said month with a party of Indians, and brought in a Dutchman whom he took on Lake S<sup>t</sup> Sacrement, who having been interrogated by the commandant of Fort St. Frederic, stated that he had left Orange 10 days

<sup>1</sup> June 23<sup>d</sup>, 1746. A certain small number of Indians, a little below Bridgman's fort, run upon a number of men at work. . . . They took one Roberts and Howe, and one *John Beaman*, a Northfield man. *New England General Register*, II., 208. Bridgman's fort was on the site of the village of Vernon, in the present town of Hinsdale, Vermont. — Ed.



before with letters for Sarasteau,<sup>1</sup> notifying the departure of the main body of the army composed of 13,000 men, designed to attack Fort St. Frederic, 600 of whom had already arrived at Sarasteau; that they were even beginning to transport the provisions; that they have six pieces of cannon.

That six schooners loaded with bombs and other munitions of war destined for the siege, had arrived at Orange.

That proclamations were affixed throughout all the New England towns, to persevere in the subjugation of Canada, and that if it be not conquered in one year, several must be spent in the work until the object of that enterprise be attained.

That the battoes which are to bring a part of the army have been built at Orange and Menade, that some are to come by Lake St. Sacrament, and the remainder by the River du Chicot.<sup>2</sup>

That they are to be accompanied by the Five Nations.

That he had heard that there were at Boston, 32 men of war and a quantity of transports destined for the attack on Quebec, and that some of them had already sailed to cruise in the river. This Dutchman had been taken from the Mohegans (*Loups*) who were out scouting in Lake St. Sacrament. They offered no objection to letting this prisoner go.

M<sup>r</sup> de Croisille, the commandant of Fort St. Frederic, writes us on the 17<sup>th</sup> that some Indians of M<sup>r</sup> de Carqueville's party having been scouting near Orange, before capturing their prisoner, had reported having seen in a large pasture before that town, 3 British flags with a number of people and battoes.

We send by an express to Father Germain the reports of the 18<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, in order that he may communicate them to the commander of the fleet and to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay.

In our present uncertainty as to the designs of the enemy, we have judged it necessary to adopt measures to strengthen Fort St. Frederic; though we should not suppose the English would march to the number of 13,000 men, the armament being too considerable, we have believed it best to anticipate them should they make any attempt on that fort. The Marquis de Beauharnois, consequently, issued orders at Montreal to fit out with all diligence a detachment of 400 men under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, major of 3 rivers, to join M<sup>r</sup> de Muy, at present at Fort St. Frederic, and together to oppose whatever the enemy may undertake against that post.

M<sup>r</sup> de Lery, Jun<sup>r</sup>, deputy Engineer, is sent to Fort St. Frederic with two gunners taken from the ship *L'Auguste*.

The general issues orders at the same time in the government of Montreal for the levy of 15 @ 1600 men, to be ready to march to the aid of Fort St. Frederic at the earliest reliable notice we shall receive of the attack of that fort.

12 fire rafts more have been ordered at L'Anse des Mers, near Quebec.

Those of S<sup>t</sup> Joachim, Bay St. Paul, Ile aux Coudres, and vicinity are ready to go on board to work them, if necessary; we write to Sieur Cartier calling his attention in this regard.

25<sup>th</sup> Information furnished us by an Irish prisoner.

The prisoner arrived on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant has assured him that the English were on their way to Quebec.

That 15 men of war intended for this country had arrived at Louisbourg, and that all the American governors were told that they must coöperate with the Governor of Boston in this

<sup>1</sup> Saratoga.

<sup>2</sup> Wood creek, Washington county, New-York. — Ed.

expedition. The prisoner with many of those who are enlisted, have received 30<sup>li</sup> in current money of the Province, a gun and blanket.

From 28 to 29<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de Cery, commanding the brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, one of the vessels that conveyed the Canadian detachment to Bay Verte, arrived post; he left his vessel at Rimousky; left Bay Verte on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant.

We learn by letters we receive, that our little fleet which sailed from Gaspé on the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant, had arrived in safety at Bay Verte. M<sup>r</sup>. de Ramezay writes us on the 17<sup>th</sup> that he had just received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre, missionary at Acadia, who proposes to him on the part of M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan, who commands the two frigates at Chibouctou, to lay siege to Port Royal, in case the fleet do not arrive in the course of this month. But M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay having orders to divide his detachment into two, on his arrival at Beaubassin, he called his officers together to confer with them as to which course would be best, to accept M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan's proposal made by M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre, or to march half the detachment towards Canso. The officers thus assembled having been informed by Father Germain and by scouts who were returning from the neighborhood of Canso, that it was impossible to repair to that post with provisions and ammunition necessary for the detachment destined thither; that the route was absolutely impracticable; that it was not possible to construct any sort of canoes at Beaubassin to convey the detachment by water; that, besides, information had been received that there was nobody at Canso and that the English had taken away the garrison for the purpose of transferring it to Louisbourg. On consultation, it has been decided that the entire detachment, including French and Indians, should march to Port Royal pursuant to M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre's proposal to M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay writes that he is consequently at work, and is sending the provisions and munitions to Beaubassin, in order to transfer them thence to Minas. This officer demands a mortar and some shells for the siege of Port Royal.

He adds, that he has sent a scout to Port Lajoie,<sup>1</sup> to observe the movements of the English there, and is awaiting his return. In M<sup>r</sup> de Cery's vessel are 3 Frenchmen and one Englishman whom M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay stopped off Gaspé in a craft (*charrois*) which left Louisbourg on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June.

31. The brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, from Bay Verte, has anchored in the harbor. The 3 Frenchmen and the Englishman, arrested by M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, have been brought before us. They state that on the 17<sup>th</sup> of June, the date of their departure, there were at Louisbourg more than 40 men of war, transports and merchantmen. Among these were the following men of war, according to their declaration :

The <i>Vigilant</i> ,	64 guns.	The <i>Norwich</i> ,	50 guns.
<i>Kingston</i> ,	60	<i>Fowey</i> ,	40
<i>Canterbury</i> ,	60	<i>Dover</i> ,	40
<i>Chester</i> ,	50	<i>Lynn</i> ,	40
The <i>Kinsale</i> , 40.			

That the number of men at Louisbourg, afloat and ashore, was estimated at 7 thousand; that Admirals Knowles, Townsend and Waren are there; that the first named is in command; that it was openly said at Ile Royale that a French fleet was coming there; that the place is well supplied, and that 24 men of war and 14 transports, with military, were still expected there.

<sup>1</sup> Charlottetown, P. E. Island. — Ed.



August 1. Lieutenant Chatelain, of 3 Rivers, arrives with the Englishman named John Richard who was taken prisoner by a party of Abenakis of St. Francis 23 days ago, near Rochester.<sup>1</sup>

This prisoner reports that Proclamations had been issued throughout the entire country for the levy of 1000 or 2000 men, more or less, in each Province; he says, that will amount to 40 @ 50,000 men for the attack on Canada.

That the King of England had sent word that he would furnish ships, and that they had only to raise the men.

That several vessels had already arrived at Cape Breton.

That there are a number of transports in their harbors.

That they are collecting provisions; giving a hundred pieces to the settlers who will fit themselves out completely, and 30 to those whom they have to furnish. That they do not press any person to go to the war; that goods are very dear with them, powder being worth 3<sup>d</sup> the pound there.

On the interpreter observing to him that the season was much advanced to send an expedition against this Colony, he answered, that the English were making preparations; that they were not yet altogether ready, and that Admiral Waren was to command this expedition. He adds, that they have 1500 Moak Indians in their party.

The intelligence we have received on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> ultimo, and the report of the prisoner just arrived, appears to us serious; we learn, besides, from Indians arrived at Fort Frontenac, who have returned from the southern part of the Continent, that the Governors of Carolina and Pensilvania have set out with a large force for Boston to embark there for Ile Royale. We have supposed that so many men are not necessary to secure Louisbourg, the rather as 7 @ 8 thousand had already arrived there in the beginning of June. Despite the diversity of these views, it appears to us certain that the enemy is making extensive preparations, and we have come to the conclusion that it would be prudent, so as not to incur any risk, to recall a part of the M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment with our domiciliated Indians. We, consequently, dispatch an express to Beaubassin, and communicate to Father Germain, missionary there, our actual situation. We request him to transmit these news without delay to the commander of the fleet, in order that he may adopt, without loss of time, the best measures for the security of this Colony, which is greatly menaced; also, to recall part of our Canadians and our domiciliated Indians, who are at present in Acadia. We add, that M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay might leave, at most, in Acadia, 2 or 300 Frenchmen and the Micmac Indians, for the protection of the Acadians, and return here, either by sea or by the River S<sup>t</sup> John, with the remainder of our Frenchmen and all our domiciliated Indians, including those of the River St. John and Pannagamski. We send to the commandant of the fleet and to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, copy of a letter to Father Germain and request him to act accordingly.

Before sealing our despatches for Beaubassin our express arrives from Montreal, bringing us the declaration of 3 prisoners brought in and interrogated in said town on the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo.

<sup>1</sup> On the 27th June, old style, in the year 1746, four men were killed by the savages in this town, on the main road to Dover, about a mile below Norway-plain brook. . . . On the same day, another person, by the name of Jonathan Richards, was wounded, taken prisoner and carried to Canada, but soon returned, and died in Rochester in 1793. *Haven's Notices of the Town of Rochester, in Farmer and Moore's New Hampshire Collections*, II., 170. Belknap gives the name John Richards. *History of New Hampshire*, III., 191. — Ed.

NOTE.—This is the same prisoner who made the deposition at Fort St. Frederic on the 17th of July; he does not contradict himself.

One of these prisoners, named Robert d'Sinbart,<sup>1</sup> who was taken 18 days ago in the neighborhood of Sarasteau, has reported that 900 men were already arrived at Orange, and that the remainder of the army designed to attack Fort St. Frederic was expected there, and that this army was to march on the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month, to the number of 13 thousand men.

That 500 grenadiers had arrived from Old England, on their way to Ile Royale; that 250 had wintered at York, and the remainder at Philadelphia.

Assures that when he was taken there were at Boston 32 ships of the line ready to sail with the other transports for Canada.

That canoes are making at Menade and Orange, and that people are busy on them at present; that the army is to come by the River du Chicot and Lake St. Sacrament.

We annex this report to our despatches.

NOTE.—These Indians are of the 5 Iroquois Nations.

The last intelligence we receive to-day from Montreal, dated 31<sup>st</sup> ultimo, confirms the preceding. A Mohawk and an Onondaga, who were out scouting, have been taken by our people, 15 leagues from Fort St. Frederic; they have reported that 300 officers had already arrived at Sarasteau; that all their troops were on the march; that they are coming by different routes, namely, by Choueguen, by Lake St. Sacrament, and by the River Chicot, to attack us from all points above; that they are bringing with them six 18 pounders; that 60 vessels had sailed 23 days ago for Ile Royale, to come afterwards to Quebec.

M<sup>r</sup> de Croisille writes us from Fort St. Frederic on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, that some Mohegans (*Loups*) had killed and scalped a French soldier, who had gone out unarmed some distance from the fort, where these Indians lay, in ambush.

All the English on this continent must be under arms, if all these rumors be true.

Under these circumstances we dispatch a second express to Acadia, in case the first should happen to fail, informing M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay of this last news. We repeat to him our orders contained in our despatches of yesterday, directing him to return to Quebec, in all haste, with his detachment and all our domiciliated Indians, including those of the River St. John and Panagamské, and to leave only 200 @ 300 Frenchmen with the Micmacs of Acadia, to quieten the Acadians; he will receive, nevertheless, on the whole, the orders of the Commander of the fleet.

We write to this Commander in the same sense; we request him to come with all dispatch to the relief of this colony, which is menaced by a general attack; we add, that he can send back the 2 or 300 Frenchmen, who are to remain at Acadia, if he think they be not absolutely required there.

We communicate the whole to Father Germain, to whom we send our despatches, in order that he may transmit them by safe hands to their address.

We consequently adopt, at Quebec, every precaution to put ourselves in a state of defence.

NOTE.—This order has been executed, and ammunition is consequently being distributed to the Captains of the settlements.

We issue orders to all the Captains of the settlements (*côtes*) within this government to send expresses to receive the powder and ball, which we shall have delivered to them to be stored, and to be by them distributed to the farmers in their respective commands, on the first notice we shall give them of the enemy's approach, so that they may then repair to Quebec in a state to defend themselves.

<sup>1</sup> Dusenbury. — Ed.



4<sup>th</sup> In a council held at the General's, which was attended by all the principal officers of the ~~This has been done.~~ garrison, and the captains of the merchantmen in port, we have resolved that 12 small vessels be prepared as fire ships, in case the enemy's fleet appear in this river.

It was also resolved to prepare some houses in the interior of the country around Quebec for the storage of provisions and ammunition for the wants of the different detachments that will possibly be sent without the town.

We write to Sieur Cartier, commanding the fire rafts at Ile aux Coudres to redouble his attention in observing the vessels that will happen to come up the river, and to keep his rafts and those of the neighborhood ready to be manned, in order to be worked, if necessary.

The same notice to M<sup>r</sup> de Rouville, who is on the watch at Rimouski.

New battoes are ordered built to supply the wants of the service.

Provisions are being prepared for every emergency. There is not a particle of salt pork, and M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart is obliged to have beef cured for the subsistence of the militia, should they come to Quebec.

The General issues orders to the government of Montreal to hold 1500 men ready to come down to Quebec at the first notice we shall receive of the enemy's approach.

We adopt, moreover, the best measures of defence against the enemy's attacks, should they dare to make any attempt.

M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud's detachment is fitting out with all expedition at Montreal; the 10th of this month is indicated to us as the latest.

6<sup>th</sup> Sieur Sallabery is sent in a biscayenne<sup>1</sup> to cruise and make observations from Cape Chat across to Trinity, with orders, should he perceive any vessels which he may have reason to suspect belong to the enemy, to come and report the matter to us.

9<sup>th</sup> We dispatch to-day the brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, commanded by Sieur Cery, to Bay Verte, to convey to our detachment there some provisions, consisting of 250 quintals of biscuit, 100 barrels of flour, 30 barrels of pork, 200 quintals of vegetables and other refreshments; we send also by this opportunity one thousand pounds of powder, 2000<sup>l</sup> of ball, 200 Liege muskets and other small stores.

We write by this opportunity to the Commander of the fleet, and inform him, in our letter of the 6<sup>th</sup>, that possibly he might be better informed than we of the enemy's movements and strength, and that it is for him to dispose of our forces at Acadia; either to send them back, or to retain them in whole or in part; we add to him, that if we be attacked we have reason to apprehend that our people will return too late, or that we will derange plans, should he prevent our being attacked.

We write, in consequence, to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, so that he may follow, in all things, the orders of the Commandant of the fleet, and add, that not only do we not think that he will be in a condition, with the 2 royal frigates, to undertake the siege of Port Royal, but that, besides, we cannot, under existing circumstances, spare the mortar he asks for this expedition.

The preparations which have been commenced, and are already spoken of, are continued.

11<sup>th</sup> An express from Beaubassin has arrived *via* the River St. John. We receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay and Father Germain of the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July. The former informs us that he continues to forward to Beaubassin the provisions and ammunition of his detachment; that he is in receipt of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> du Vignan of the 17<sup>th</sup> wherein this officer makes no mention of the siege of Port Royal; M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay hence infers that M<sup>r</sup> Le Loutre went too far, when

<sup>1</sup> See IX., note. — Ed.

he made such a proposition to him, on the part of M<sup>r</sup> du Vignan. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay is waiting for the latter's answer to the account he had given him of the state of his detachment, and of the measures he was taking in consequence of this pretended proposition.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay adds, that the Acadians are very uneasy on account of the delay of the fleet, and that if Port Royal be not taken they will be obliged, in the most part, to abandon the country, having been already menaced.

M<sup>r</sup> du Vignan proposes to send to this officer 100 prisoners belonging to the prizes taken by *L'Aurore* and *Le Castor*.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay having also adopted the resolution of dispatching his detachment to Minas, has been able to send only a detachment of Micmacs to Port Royal,<sup>1</sup> under the command of Ensign de Montesson, who set out in boats from Bay Verte, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, to endeavor to surprise the English ships from the shore.

12<sup>th</sup> By another express sent from Beaubassin we are in receipt of despatches from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay and Father Germain of the 25<sup>th</sup> July. The first informs us that he learns from Port Royal that M<sup>r</sup> Mascaren had demanded from Boston 4 vessels, with men, to oblige the Acadians to take up arms for the English, and that they would burn all the settlements. All the people are trembling with fear of the failure of our projects; they say that in such case they are all lost.

We are informed of the success of the Micmacs, who have been at Port Lajoie to the number of 200 under M<sup>r</sup> Croisille de Montesson's command. These Indians attacked about 40 @ 50 men, 30 of whom were soldiers, who were on shore; they killed or made prisoners of all of them, except a few who escaped by swimming. Only 3 prisoners had as yet arrived, and the man named Brisson, a Frenchman, who is said to be the pilot of one of the vessels. There were in Port Lajoie, one 24 gun frigate and a transport of 700 tons, in which may be still 200 men. These vessels could be mastered had the officer been able to control the Indians who would not remain, though they had been told that all the officers and soldiers belonging to the frigate were about to come ashore, to place a guard there. The Indians have killed a quantity of oxen and other cattle that the English had in a park on shore for provisions.

Pierre Brisson and the 3 prisoners having been interrogated by M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, have reported that 8 50 @ 60 gun ships had arrived in the month of May at Louisbourg from Gibraltar with 1800 regulars.

That previous to the arrival of these ships, there had been at Louisbourg 3 regiments of militia, consisting of 30 companies of 70 men each, from Boston, and that 7 companies more were expected there to complete another regiment, three companies of which had arrived.

That the English vessels at Port Lajoie designed only to take all the cattle belonging to the settlers on the Island of St. John, on paying for them, for which purpose the captain had brought money.

That they were expecting at Louisbourg 14 ships and 3 bomb ketches for Quebec, and that Admiral Warren had gone to New-York to collect the militia of that quarter for the same place.

That the Frenchman, named Baptiste Dion, had told him that he was to have 2000<sup>l</sup> for piloting the English fleet to Quebec, and that the man named Jasmin, also a Frenchman, had 1000<sup>l</sup> for the same business.

That these vessels expected to return to Louisbourg on the 24<sup>th</sup> July, with the cattle which had been collected together.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Port Lajoie. — Ed.



That Louisbourg was well provided with munitions of war and provisions, as the approach of a French fleet was somewhat suspected.

The 3 prisoners said that said Brisson had piloted the frigate of his own free will, and that it was he who conducted the captain to the settlers' houses on the island.

19<sup>th</sup> An express dispatched by Sieur Perthuis, who is on the watch at Cape Desrosiers, brings letters dated the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, to the effect that he had seen 4 vessels that day about 6 leagues off Cape Desrosiers, but that the wind having died away, and the tide running out, he had lost sight of them.

21. We receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay from Beaubassin, dated 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of July. He writes us that he had just received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> du Vignan, dated Chibouctou 26<sup>th</sup> of that month, informing him that his object in speaking to M<sup>r</sup> Le Loutre about Port Royal, was merely to learn the state of that fort; what force had come from Canada, and how many would be required to make us masters of the place, so as to render an account thereof to the commander of the fleet; that he had never thought of undertaking such an expedition; that, besides, such were not his orders, he is not in a condition to attempt it. He adds that *Le Castor* sails on the 27<sup>th</sup> for his mission, and as regards himself, he will await the fleet as long as provisions will permit him; he had then a supply only for 50 days; he observes to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, that he concludes on sending to Minas the prisoners taken on board the prizes captured by *Le Castor* and himself, with a view to their removal to Quebec.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay adds, that all his detachment has gone to Minas; that he will transmit to Quebec the prisoners M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan sends him; he represents that the settlers of Acadia would be much to be pitied were the expedition abandoned in case of the non-arrival of the fleet; asks for orders so that he may take precautions, if he or a part of his detachment be to winter.

Sieur de Vitré, commanding the battoe *St. Jacques* which sailed on the 10<sup>th</sup> of July with ammunition to our little fleet, arrived to-day; he reached Bay Verte on the 24<sup>th</sup> of said month of July, and left on the 29<sup>th</sup>. By this opportunity we receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay and Father Germain, of the 28<sup>th</sup>, informing us that the first named had sent that day 3 officers to Chibouctou, to confer with M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan on the expedition against Port Royal, in case of the non-arrival of the fleet.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of this month we received additional later intelligence.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay had put on board this vessel 7 English prisoners, taken in the attack at Fort Lajoie,<sup>1</sup> along with Pierre Brisson, the Frenchman taken on that occasion. These prisoners have been interrogated anew on their arrival. They added, that the settlers of the Island of St. John had agreed with the English for the sale of their cattle; that the former have sent this spring to Louisbourg two deputies, of whom Pierre Brisson was one, to demand the protection of the English against some privateers that had been laying waste their plantations.

That a sort of agreement had been entered into, stipulating that no injury was to be done these settlers, who would furnish cattle for cash, and that it was in consequence of that agreement that the two vessels in question had come to Port Lajoie.

Some said that the army of the Pretender had been sent to the route by the Duke of Cumberland, others knew nothing of the matter.

After that attack several settlers of the Island of St. John came to demand provisions from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who gave them what he could.

<sup>1</sup> Charlottetown, Prince Edward's Island. — Ed.



Douville, who is with Sieur Vitré as mate, told us he has been at the Island of St. John since the descent at Port Lajoie; that the 2 vessels had sailed on the next day; that the captain of the English frigate had, indeed, paid some of the settlers the price of the cattle they had furnished in consequence of the agreement; that on the day following, the other settlers who had furnished supplies in like manner, were to go on board his ship to settle and be paid; that the English had on board with them six settlers of the island as hostages.

We are in receipt of letters from Montreal whereby we learn that some scouts arrived from Sarasteau, where they have been several days, have reported, that no person went outside that fort unless in parties of thirty; that they have no more Indian scouts with them; that they saw no more trails; and they added, that there were at that fort, no canoes nor appearance of preparations; no bridges nor roads.

Also, that all our Indians from Michilimakinac and that neighborhood who were with M. de Muy, had returned to Montreal with a party of our domiciliated tribes; the one and the other had made attacks in different places, and brought in some scalps; they asked to return home immediately. They promise to come down next spring in a larger number; some of these parties struck a blow near Orange, where they saw nothing extraordinary.

M. de Rigaud, who repaired to Fort St. Frederic about the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, having no intelligence that the enemy would make any movement, set out from said fort on the 20<sup>th</sup> with the remainder of M. de Muy's party, consisting of 600 Frenchmen and about 400 Indians, to seize the forts, 4 leagues from Sarasteau.

27<sup>th</sup> An express arrived from Sieur Perthuis, who is on the look out at Cape Desroziers; he writes us on the 11<sup>th</sup> of this month that he had seen on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of said month, as many as 10 vessels, 4 of which have cruised as far as Gaspé bay, where he saw them tack; that he concluded they were Englishmen, inasmuch as they had a favorable wind to enter the river, and as people who came on the 10<sup>th</sup> to his post, reported to him that these vessels had appeared some days ago to the number of 12, at Pabo.<sup>1</sup>

Sieur Perthuis informs us that he sent a bark canoe to Beaubassin with word to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay of what he had seen. He asks a biscayenne boat and crew, having only 2 men at his post.

We learn from our confidential agent who had, this morning, a long conversation with the prisoners taken at the Island of St. John, and brought hither yesterday by M. de Vitré, that the 2 vessels at Port Lajoie did not intend returning to Louisbourg, but were to sail in two days after the attack, for some other place known only to the Cammander, Captain Rouze.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pabos bay in the district of Gaspé, is about midway between Cape Despair and Point Maquereau. *Bouchette's Topography of Canada*, 8vo., 586, or between Gaspé Bay and the Bay des Chaleurs. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Captain JOHN ROUSE. The earliest mention we find of this officer is in August, 1744, when he commanded an expedition sent to cut out a fleet of French vessels of force from the harbor of Fishotte, in Newfoundland, which duty he successfully performed, and laid waste all the French posts on that coast. Beatson says that expedition was under the command of a lieutenant of H. M. ship, the *Kinsale*. (Compare *Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I., 187, and *Otis Little's State of Trade*, 40, note.) The next service he was engaged in, was in the expedition against Cape Breton. As soon as the General Court at Boston had determined on the reduction of that place, a vessel was purchased and called the *Massachusetts frigate*, of which Colonel Edward Tyng was put in command and named Commodore of the fleet, and Captain Rouse was appointed second in command. His was a bilander or small brigantine, called the *Shirley*, hired at Boston and carrying 24 guns, in which General Pepperell sailed 24th March, 1745, convoyed by ten other stout privateers. On the night of the 18th of May, the *Massachusetts frigate* captured *Le Vigilant*, 64, the command of which Commodore Warren offered to Colonel Tyng with the rank of Captain, which he declined and recommended Rouse for the berth, who, after the reduction of Louisbourg, was dispatched by Governor Shirley, to England with the news, and as a reward for his gallant service received a commission of



We suppose that these vessels had orders to carry their cattle to the ships which are cruising off Cape Despair, or even to a fleet they were daily expecting to come and attack us.

All our prisoners appear so persuaded of the certainty of this design that they are extremely surprised since the arrival of the last (prisoners), that it does not progress. They are, therefore, apprehensive that the project has fallen through.

We write to Beaubassin and inform the commandant of the fleet and M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay of all that occurs on this Continent.

The General informs the latter that in case his letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, and our despatch to the commander of the fleet, which were sent by M<sup>r</sup> de Cery, should have reached him, he will wait for orders from that officer and news from us, before sending back a portion of our militia and domiciliated Indians, as we had directed him to do by our letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month.

We write, in consequence, to the commander of the fleet; we tell him, in addition, that he will have been better informed than we of what is passing at sea, and will have been at liberty to carry out his plans, notwithstanding what we had communicated to him on the first and 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month.

M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart sends by this express 1000 dollars (*piastres*) to M<sup>r</sup> Guillimin, for the wants of the detachment.

September 2. Jacques Hamelin sent by Sieur Perthuis from Cape Desrozières, is arrived, with letters from the latter, dated the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, stating that he had not seen any more vessels about his post; that having sent this same Hamelin some leagues from Cape Desrozières to look for a boat, he reported having spoken to one George Leroux, *alias* Big George, a former acquaintance of his, who had been taken by one of the cruisers off Cape Desrozières; we have interrogated said Hamelin and he has related to us as follows.

That he learned from Big George that he had been taken by an English ship near Anticosti, 15 to 20 leagues from Cape Desrozières, about the 15<sup>th</sup> of July, coming, he the 4<sup>th</sup>, in a small craft with a cargo of salt from the 3 Islands<sup>1</sup> (Island of Newfoundland); that this ship carried him to Louisbourg, where, on arriving and about to cast anchor, she was sent back by the Governor of the place with two other sail, of which the *Vigilant* is one, and a small schooner, to capture 5 vessels, that, as he had been informed, were fishing at Gaspé.

That on their way to Ile Royale they captured, on the Orphan's bank, a fishing sloop commanded by a man named Raymond, a Basque, whom they retained, and, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, sent back, overland to Gaspé, the two other men belonging to that sloop and the 4 belonging to the craft (*charrois*).

Captain in the Royal Navy, 24th September, 1745. He returned to Louisbourg in command of the *Shirley*, and in 1746 was attached to Vice-Admiral Townsend's fleet, and in 1747 was doing duty near Annapolis and Minas. In 1755, he commanded the little squadron which convoyed the expedition against the French forts at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and afterwards sailed to the River St. John's, where he destroyed all the French forts and houses. In 1756, he was changed to the *Success*, 22; in 1757, commanded the frigate *Winchelsea*, 20, in the unsuccessful expedition against Louisbourg, and captured a French sloop of 16 guns, after a stout resistance. He commanded the ship *Sutherland*, 50, the next year at the siege of Louisbourg and in 1759 at the siege of Quebec, where he did good service. It was from this ship that General Wolfe issued his last order before ascending the heights of Abraham. After a career of activity and distinction, Captain Rouse died in 1760. 1 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., 16, 23, 38; X., 182, 183; *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, II., 369, 371; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I., 276, 426, 427; II., 53, 57, 293; III., 67, 113, 162, 177, 225, 293; *Beaton's Political Index*, II., 48; *Entick*, I., 140; *London Magazine*, 1760. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> In the Bay of Islands on the west coast of Newfoundland.



Said Leroux also told Hamelin that the English had reported, on leaving Gaspé, where they did not find anything, that they were going to Bay Verte, to capture the ships *Letourneur* and *Le Castor*; that they had 5 large men of war at Port Royal waiting for the French in case the latter would come to besiege that place; that they were daily expecting the arrival of a fleet to attack Quebec. The English told said Leroux that they would cruise in the gulf until the end of autumn, to prevent the passage of the vessels from Canada.

Sieur Perthuis adds, that he will stop Sieur de Cery when he passes Cape Desrosiers; prevent him proceeding, and will even send him back to Quebec, in consequence of the risks he would be running to get into Bay Verte.

We dispatch a biscayenne and a bark canoe to Sieur Perthuis; the master of the biscayenne has orders to observe the vessels that will happen to enter the river, and should he discover any of the enemy's ships, to come and report the fact to us.

We write to Sieur Perthuis that we do not expect him to stop M<sup>r</sup> de Cery, who, it is of consequence, should reach Bay Verte with the provisions destined for our detachment there, which needs succor, and that we think rather that he will have sent out scouts to discover what is going on.

3<sup>d</sup> An express arrives from Acadia.

The General receives a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan, commander of the frigate *L'Aurore*, dated, Chibouctou the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, informing him, among other things, that he sailed from Brest on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, in company with the frigate *Le Castor*, which arrived at Chibouctou on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June; that he took 6 small craft, 3 of which were freighted with cattle, and the remainder with provisions, part of which he gave M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre, who asked some of them for his Indians; that *Le Castor*, which had orders to cruise, had entered Chibouctou on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July with two craft loaded with cattle and codfish; that this frigate sailed again on the 29<sup>th</sup> of said month on her return to her cruising ground, and thence to France, having only five months' provisions when she took her departure, and that she has supplies for 5 months and a half; that this frigate had returned on the first of August with an English Snow, commanded by a lieutenant of the navy, and carrying ten guns, 12 swivels and a crew of 75 men, which was going to Boston for the purpose of convoying thence to Louisbourg some vessels that were to carry provisions to that place; that he had learned from prisoners that there is in Ile Royale a garrison of 4 thousand men with 18 men of war, which have sailed (except 3 that are cruising at Newfoundland and on the coast of Acadia), on receiving intelligence that our fleet had been chased by Admiral Martin<sup>1</sup> and had taken refuge in the Island of Aix, where it is blockaded; that this news is but too probable, inasmuch as the fleet does not make its appearance on the coast of Acadia, and that being at the end of his provisions, he has concluded on returning with *Le Castor* to France.

That he is unable to put into separate vessels, agreeably to the King's orders, the prisoners he has, to the number of 168, and to convoy them to the mouth of this river, in consequence of the number of sick on board the 2 frigates; that in like manner he has been unable to take them on board his ship, as he would not be able to defend himself, should circumstances require it; that he handed over his prisoners to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, and left them sufficient provisions for their subsistence, and some munitions of war and 5 vessels; he adds that the port of Chibouctou is favorably situated for the stoppage of any supplies the English send from Boston to Louisbourg, and very easily fortified.

<sup>1</sup> Admiral WILLIAM MARTIN. He died in 1756. *Bratton's Political Index*. — ED.



M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan informs us that he has opened our despatches to the commander of the fleet, which he had received for transmission to that officer on his arrival, in order to ascertain if there were any duty that he could perform in the commander's absence, but having found nothing for him to do he had resealed the letters, and returned them to M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre.

Sieur de Ramezay informs us, under date of Minas, 14<sup>th</sup> of August, that Sieur de Gay, lieutenant of the frigate *L'Aurore*, had come to Minas some days before M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan's departure, to request him to take charge of the 168 prisoners, for the purpose of sending them to Quebec; that through fear of running out of provisions he had resolved to send a detachment of 150 Frenchmen to Chibouctou, under the command of Sieur Repentigny, to guard their prisoners there, and place them in the hands of the commander of the fleet, when he should arrive, and that if they received within 15 days no news of the fleet, to send them all back in one of their vessels with a pass from M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan, who is to leave provisions for them and the detachment during the whole of this time.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay informs us that an express has reached him from Chibouctou, informing him that the 2 frigates had sailed on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August; he receives a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan of the 11<sup>th</sup>, who writes him that he has left the prisoners with Sieur Repentigny, with sufficient provisions for them and a part of the French detachment of 150 men; that 'tis absolutely necessary that Sieur de Ramezay adopt measures to send these prisoners to Canada; that it would be of fatal consequence to send them to Louisbourg, where they would furnish an exact journal of all our measures. M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan adds, at the close of his letter, an order, by way of command, to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, to take charge of these prisoners for the purpose of forwarding them to Quebec.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay communicates to us returns of the provisions M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan says he left at Chibouctou, which barely suffice to support the prisoners and detachment of the French at said place until he receive our orders, even if the provisions of which he is in want permit him to wait for them, as it is not possible to convey to Minas the provisions which would remain unconsumed at Chibouctou at the departure of the prisoners.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay annexes the report of 3 Irish soldiers, who had deserted from Port Royal on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, who said that the garrison of that fort consisted of 300 men with 12 or 15 officers; that more than 30 Irish soldiers were desirous to follow their example; that there is at least one year's provisions in the fort, but very little firewood; that there is a frigate of 40 guns off Goat Island, that they heard the workmen and soldiers say that Sieur Mascaren<sup>1</sup> had demanded 40 thousand men of New England, to force the Acadians to take up arms, to embark with them, and to come to Quebec, and that those who would refuse should be imprisoned, their houses burnt, their property confiscated, and themselves finally transported to Boston; that 14 men of war were expected from Old England at the latter place, to convey the troops destined for Canada; that they had received news from Boston only two days before, and that these vessels had not arrived as yet; that Sieur Mascaren was aware that there was a detachment of French and Indians at Minas, but he did not know how many.

Joseph Grangé, who lives at the River Aux Canards,<sup>2</sup> in Acadia, arrived at Minas on the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, and reported to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay that within two months he had stopped at Port Royal, where the commandant had forced him to work; that he heard the English at Boston

<sup>1</sup> See VI, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> The *Canard* river is about ten miles in length, and falls into the basin of Minas, on its east side. *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, II, 122. — Ed.



were taking up arms against Canada; that he had also heard, recently, that 14 ships belonging to our fleet had been blockaded in Brest by 18 English men of war, and that Sieur Mascaren had demanded 3000 men at Boston, for the purpose of laying waste all the settlements from Minas unto Beaubassin.

M<sup>r</sup> Duvignan transmits to M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart the returns, both of provisions and ammunition, taken from the prizes of *L' Aurore* and *Le Castor*, as well as of those he caused to be delivered to M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre for distribution to his Indians, and of those left by that officer to Sieur de Repentigny for the subsistence and other necessities of his detachment, and of the prisoners he handed over to him.

M<sup>r</sup> Guillimin informs M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August that the detachment is on the point of getting out of provision; that the inhabitants object to furnishing any on notes promising to pay all these expenses at Quebec or in Acadia. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay has even been obliged to have an ordinance published which we have transmitted to him, to oblige the Acadians to furnish necessaries to our detachment.

5. Lieutenant-Major de Lanaudière, of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment, has just arrived; he left Minas on the 21<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>. We receive a letter of the same date from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who, in consequence of our despatch of the first of said month, is taking measures to collect his people, and to leave with the greatest diligence possible for Beaubassin, where he will learn the route that is best for him to take on his return, observing all possible precautions; he is sending for the prisoners at Chibouctou. Another deserter from Port Royal has come over to him, whose declaration is similar to that of his predecessor; our domiciliated Indians were to leave on the following day for Quebec by the River St. John. In our present uncertainty as to whether M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment will come by sea, or by the River St. John, M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart is having prepared 20 quintals of flour, lard, sugar, Indian corn and some other articles to be sent to the River du Loup, 35 leagues below Quebec, in order, on the first intelligence received there of the approach of our people, to dispatch 50 settlers to carry those provisions across the woods as far as Lake Temisquata.

M<sup>r</sup> de Cery, commander of the brigantine *La Petite Marguerite*, which sailed from Quebec on the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, arrived at seven o'clock in the evening, in a sloop from Cape Desrosiers; he left that place on the 18<sup>th</sup> of the same month.

Reports that he touched at Cape Desrosiers on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, to leave provisions with Sieur Perthuis, and to learn from him what was passing; that the day following his arrival he was at anchor close to the shore, to avoid being seen by an English vessel, which had made her appearance the evening before, in case she should return that day; that the same craft was, in fact, seen in the offing about 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning, with a light wind from the east; that she was heading towards Cape Desrosiers, with very little wind, and was approaching very slowly, whereupon Sieur Cery, who was on board his own vessel, proceeded in quest of Sieur Perthuis; they both concluded that should his vessel happen to be discovered 'twere better to run her ashore than to allow her to be taken; and that should the ship intend to carry her off, the brigantine should be set on fire; that the enemy continued his course, and about four o'clock in the afternoon came in sight, and turned out to be a large ship. When about a league off Sieur Cery hoisted his flag, and fired a gun, to be sure of him, and the ship ran up a streamer (*flamme*) and a French flag, but did not confirm it. This ship continuing to approach, Sieur Perthuis perceived, with his glass, that she had a boat on board in slings (*palans*), and another afloat on her starboard side, and he distinguished, ready to be hoisted, an English



flag, which scarcely appeared above the railing; the vessel continued her approach very slowly, for want of wind, and came under French colors within half a gun shot of the brigantine, without showing any signals; this determined *Sieur de Cery* to cut his cables and run ashore; after which he and his crew landed, armed, and laid in ambush, in a favorable position. The ship cast anchor in the brigantine's berth, within half a quarter of a league of the land, and when she discovered the latter ashore pulled down his French streamer and colors, and immediately run up an English streamer and flag, and discharged 7 guns, loaded with grape and canister, which did no harm; he thereupon manned both his boats with an armed party, to cut out the brigantine. *Sieurs de Cery* and *Perthuis* seeing, at this moment, that with their men, who numbered . . . . ., they could not resist these two boats, which were, besides, armed with swivels, resolved to set fire to the brigantine. This was effected, and when the boats, which were approaching under cover of the ship's guns, saw her on fire, they, as well as our people, let fly some musket shots, put off again, and went to raise the brigantine's anchors, the cables of which had been only cut. As there was some powder on board the brigantine, and it was dangerous to remain near, our men retired to the Cape, to observe the manoeuvres of the ship. The wind having shifted to the S. W., somewhat fresh, and the ship being quite in shore, and even in danger of being unable to get off, should the wind come to blow, being riding only with one anchor, she fired 2 or 3 guns, and her boats, which were in the offing, returned on board; the night fell, and about 9 o'clock the ship set sail and doubled Cape Desrosiers in 5 or 6 fathoms.

In the course of the day some provisions and other articles were saved from the brigantine, and *Sieur Perthuis* took charge of them. On the day following *Sieur de Cery* had some gun barrels and locks taken out of the hold, and has brought them away.

8<sup>th</sup> We dispatch an express to Acadia; we write to *Sieur de Ramezay* respecting the different precautions necessary to be observed on his return, in consequence of the dangers he may run in coming by sea, and the difficulties to be met, if the route by the River St. John be taken; but we are always in hope that the fleet will arrive at Acadia before his departure.

At all events the General sends his orders to Captain Coulon, who is to command the detachment of 300 Canadians that is to winter in Acadia, to satisfy the Acadians and protect them against the resentment of the English.

We inform said *Sieurs Coulon* and *de Ramezay*, as well as the Commandant of the fleet, of the accident that has happened to *M<sup>r</sup> de Cery*, which must render *M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay* more embarrassed in respect to his return, for he informs us in his last letter that he was awaiting the arrival of *Sieur de Cery*, in order to determine what route he should select for his return.

We send to Father Germain informing him of everything; of the new signals that the King's ships will make next year, should any of them come to Chibouctou,<sup>1</sup> in order that *M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre* may be able to recognize and communicate with them; we request Father Germain to remain at Beaubassin, where we believe his presence of use for the good and advantage of the service.

11<sup>th</sup> The schooner *La Charmante Nanette*, Captain Maillet, is arrived; she sailed from Rochefort on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June, in company with the squadron and fleet commanded by the Duke d'Enville.

12. Dispatched a boat to *Sieur Perthuis* at Cape Desrosiers with some rigging that he has demanded.

We write him not to quit his post until the last moment possible.

<sup>1</sup> Halifax, Nova Scotia. — Ed.



We permit Sieur Bazin, who is on the lookout at Cape Chat, to leave on the 10<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>ber</sup> for Quebec. We hope our ships will have passed by that time.

Same permission to M<sup>r</sup> Rouville, who is at Rimousky.

13. Captain de Sabrevois, who was dispatched on the 3<sup>d</sup> of this month by M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud 5 leagues beyond Fort St. Frederic, has arrived. Sieur de Rigaud informs us that he has burnt Fort Massachusets,<sup>1</sup> taken 22 soldiers and some women, destroyed the grain, killed the oxen, horses and other cattle on both sides of the river<sup>2</sup> coming down, for the distance of 12 leagues. He has been wounded in the arm; 5 Frenchmen and ten Indians have also been wounded; he lost only one Abenakis.

An express is arrived from Acadia; we are in receipt of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, dated Minas, the 22<sup>nd</sup> ultimo, wherein he acknowledges the receipt of our despatch of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of the same month; he informs us that Sieur de St. Pierre took his departure on the same day, the 22<sup>nd</sup>, with 30 Frenchmen and our domiciliated Indians, for this place by the River St. John; he is waiting for the prisoners from Chibouctou, to bring them along with him, if possible. He hopes that on M<sup>r</sup> de Cery's return to Bay Verte it will be in his power to take measures to insure the safe return of the detachment by sea. He flatters himself that this captain will be loaded with provisions; otherwise he would find a rapid return somewhat difficult.

No news of our fleet.

Father Germain writes us on the 25<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> about various matters relating to current affairs.

The vessel fitted out to convey to River du Loup the provisions destined for M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment, which will possibly return by the River St. John, has not been able to leave until to-day by reason of contrary winds.

14<sup>th</sup> We write to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay in answer to his letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup>, and continue to keep him advised of every occurrence on this Continent. We inform him that we hope our fleet will have arrived in sufficient time to make some demonstration, and that he will find himself in season to second it with his detachment.

That if, unfortunately, our fleet should not have arrived, we will shortly know the fact by the King's ships that, 'tis said, are detailed to escort our principal merchantmen as far as Quebec, and that the General will determine, according to the news, either to recall the detachment, if proper, or to cause a part of it to winter; that M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay will, until then, be guided by the last orders he had previously received; but we add, when the fleet shall have arrived, and Sieur de Ramezay will have received the commandant's instructions, he is to act accordingly.

We advise him that M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart has had flour, biscuit and vegetables prepared, to the amount of nine or 10 thousand quintals, which we shall send to the orders of the Admiral of the squadron by our vessels on receipt of the first intelligence of the arrival of the fleet, and according to the requisitions which will be made on us for them.

15<sup>th</sup> Arrived, Sieur Ricard, commanding the Tartan<sup>3</sup> *Le St. Antoine* of Agde, from Brest, with wines, brandy and dry goods.

Same day, 18<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the brigantine *Le St. Esprit*, Capt. Abel, from Bordeaux, with wine and brandy.

Also, the ship *Les 2 Cousins*, Captain Fourneau, from Rochelle.

<sup>1</sup> In the town of Adams, Berkshire county, Mass.

<sup>2</sup> Hoosic river.

<sup>3</sup> The Tartan is a species of Mediterranean craft carrying only one main and mizen-mast. The sail is three-cornered, but in a strong breeze it is square. *Richelet*. — Ed.



These three vessels left with the fleet ; were ordered, when 150 leagues from the coast of France, to separate and proceed on their voyage.

22. The General issues orders to relieve the guard of the beacons set up on the South shore.

Orders Sieur Cartier at Ile aux Coudres to put the rafts in a place of safety, as well as the provisions, ammunition and effects, until next spring.

An express arrived from Beaubassin, which place it left on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant. We receive a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, dated Minas, the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, informing us that he has learned, from Jacques Costé, an honest man coming from Port Thoulouse, who said he had a conversation with his brother, who had arrived from Louisbourg 16 days ago, that 9 large ships had sailed from that port, and that he knew not what course they steered ; that there remained still at Ile Royale 4 or 5 other pretty heavy ships, including the *Vigilant*, with about fifty small craft ; he had no knowledge of the English expedition against Canada.

Sieur de Ramezay transmits the General a petition handed to him by divers inhabitants of Minas, to the number of ten, wherein they represent their poverty, and if a detachment of French and Indians be left with them, 'twill complete their ruin, as they cannot furnish any more supplies to the troops that have been sent thither.

Other inhabitants of Minas have since handed M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay another petition, wherein they supplicate the General to leave a detachment at the said place to protect them from the incursions of the English, which detachment they will supply with everything they can for its support ; that those who made contrary representations to theirs, are attached to the English, with whom they desire to preserve their trade and do not care about living under them. Sieur de Ramezay adds, that should he receive provisions or money, 'twould remove every difficulty on the part of the settlers.

That officer is expecting the prisoners from Chibouctou, on their way to Beaubassin, to embark for Quebec on board the vessels he had left at Bay Verte.

Father Germain in his letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month, informs us that it would be necessary to send a vessel with provisions as far as Gaspé to meet the detachment, as he foresees they will run the risk of falling short of food before they reach Quebec.

He represents to us, also, the necessity of sending provisions to Acadia for the support of the detachment which is to winter there, as the country is not able to furnish any more, and as the inhabitants, moreover, object very much to advance any in their hands on the notes issued by the commandant.

This missionary addresses us an extract of a letter that Sieur de Ramezay wrote him on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, in which the latter advises him that he then learned, by a courier he had sent to Port Royal, that a privateer was about to sail from that place to Beaubassin, or Minas, Grand Pré, Pequignuil,<sup>1</sup> etc., and to be on his guard ; that Sieur Mascaren is very uneasy ; that he intends making a prisoner in order to ascertain what is going on at Minas, and recommends him to send, as he shall do, some Indians to the cape to scout. Sieur de Ramezay adds, that he has just received 16 prisoners from Chibouctou ; that the remainder will arrive next day, and that he will then depart.

23<sup>d</sup> 19 Micmac Indians have arrived who were at the affair of the Island of St. John ; they brought one prisoner and some scalps.

<sup>1</sup>In Charlevoix' map of Acadia, *Pigiquit* ; in Mitchel's map of Nova Scotia, *Pesagued* ; in Haliburton's, *Pisiqued* ; in Bouchette's, *Pisiqua*. Its modern name is *Windsor*, and the River Pisiquid is called *Avon*. Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, II., 100. — Ed.



Lieutenant St Ours arrived this evening; he left Minas with Sieur St Pierre and the Abenakis, whom he left at Camouraska on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of August.

This officer reports that having left Minas with the Abenakis in a bark canoe, they had loaded a small vessel with provisions to go to the mouth of the River St. John; that when about 15 leagues from Minas this little vessel was chased by an English privateer of about 16 guns, from Port Royal, and was forced to run ashore at *Ile haute*,<sup>1</sup> where the vessel went to pieces and the provisions were lost; that M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre and all the Indians who were on the mainland, could not give any assistance to their friends because it blew too strong for small canoes; that the privateer seeing the vessel ashore, returned. In consequence of the loss of the provisions, they subsisted along the entire route exclusively on fish, which they fortunately found in sufficient abundance.

24<sup>th</sup> We receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> Joncaire, dated at the Senecas the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant; he informs us that no dependence is to be placed on the conduct of the Iroquois of the 5 Nations, until they had returned from Orange, whither they had gone 40 days before to attend a meeting, to the number of more than 400, and were soon expected to return.

We learn from Fort Frontenac that the Onondaga formerly taken prisoner in the neighborhood of Fort St Frederic, where he was on the scout, and who had been sent back to his village by some Iroquois of the Sault, had arrived there in safety with the latter, which cannot fail to have a very good effect on the 5 Nations, to whom this Indian belongs.

The General is issuing orders at Montreal for the dispatch of divers parties of Indians towards New England, under the command of some Frenchmen, for the purpose of harassing the enemy.

M<sup>r</sup> de St Pierre has arrived with the Abenakis, including those domiciliated and belonging to Acadia, to the number of 150.

25<sup>th</sup> According to information received from Father Germain in his letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, we fear that the half of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment, which will be able to get away on the 12<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, will be in want of provisions on the way. We, in consequence, send to Gaspé the sloop *St. Jacques*, Captain de Vitré, with some provisions and refreshments, with orders to wait for our little fleet there; but in case he should learn, on the voyage, that our vessels have passed on their way to Quebec, he is to repair to Bay Verte, where he will deliver his cargo according to Father Germain's orders, so as to provide so far for the subsistence of the detachment of Frenchmen and Indians who are to winter in Acadia.

We inform Sieur Perthuis, at Cape Desrosiers, of this expedition; we request him to secure the vessel in the Bay of Pénœuil whilst waiting for Sieur de Ramezay, and should Sieur de Vitré continue his voyage as far as Bay Verte, to notify Father Germain of the circumstance and inform him that we shall dispatch, in a few days, to Bay Verte, a vessel of 90 tons, with provisions and as much cloth as we shall be able to procure, for the relief of our Canadians who remain in Acadia, as well as of M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre's Indians and the inhabitants of Port Thoulouse, &c.

M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud has arrived from Montreal; the wound he received in the right arm is not dangerous, the ball having merely pierced the flesh.

The prisoners he made in his last expedition have been sent to the barracks to the number of 27; to wit, 22 men, the remainder women and children. One of them, the Minister,<sup>2</sup> having

<sup>1</sup> In Bay of Fundy. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Reverend JOHN NORRIS was born in Berlin, Connecticut, in 1716, and was graduated at Yale College in 1737. He was ordained at Deerfield in 1741, and had been settled at Bernardstown, Mass. He was chaplain at Fort Massachusetts at the



been interrogated, reported that Prince Edward's army had been defeated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of May; that the sailing of the French fleet was known at Boston; that it had been seen, and that Admiral Bing and Admiral Martin had gone to fight it and oppose our enterprise.

We have had advice that a party of Abenakis, headed by Ensign Monsignin, who had been detached from Sieur Rigaud's party after his attack on Fort Massachusetts, proceeded towards Fort Sarasteau; that they had met 17 soldiers belonging to the garrison, took 4 of them, scalped 4 others; the remainder threw themselves precipitately into the fort, pursued by our people, who killed some of them.

Mr de Rigaud has also informed us that several Abenakis, belonging to his detachment, had set out, after his expedition, to make an attack towards Deorille and Corsac, and have taken 56 scalps.

27<sup>th</sup> Ensign Croisille de Courtemanche has arrived; he left Beaubassin on the 7<sup>th</sup> instant.

We are in receipt of letters from Mr de Ramezay, dated Minas, the 6<sup>th</sup>, informing us that when he was about to set out from that place for Beaubassin, Father Germain had informed him of the privateer which was cruising in the Bay of Fundy and had chased the vessel on board of which he had put a part of the crew belonging to the detachment and Sieur Guillimin had embarked, who had been forced to return to Minas; that this privateer deranges the plans he had taken for the conveyance to Beaubassin of the provisions he had prepared for his return and for the subsistence of the 135 prisoners whom Mr Duvignan had handed over to him, and who seriously embarrass him; that unable to effect this arrangement he had resolved to proceed overland to Beaubassin where he arrived on the 4<sup>th</sup> instant with his men, amounting to 500, with only eight days' provision, and without any expectation of obtaining much at Beaubassin.

What causes him most disquietude is, the eight ships that are cruising at the mouth of the river, according to the report to be mentioned hereafter. This has determined him to return in boats; when he will be at Bay Verte, he will consult with the ship captains what course he is to adopt to protect his men from the enemy.

He adds that he greatly fears being obliged to leave the prisoners at Beaubassin until further orders.

He requests us to send a vessel loaded with provisions as far as possible to meet him.  
No news from the fleet.

NOTE.—Sieur Vitré sailed the 24<sup>th</sup> instant for Gaspé. He will probably meet Mr. de Ramezay.

The following is the report Mr de Ramezay mentions:

Francois Brilliant, John Baptist Martel and John Marchand, a farmer of Fort Thoulouse, who set out from said place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, and arrived at Beaubassin on the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month, have declared that they spoke to Nicholas Norman, an honest man of their acquaintance, who had left Louisbourg on the 18<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> of August, who assured them that eight ships had sailed

time of its capture and carried prisoner to Canada, where he remained one year, and arrived in Boston in August, 1747. The following year he went to East Hampton, Middlesex county, Connecticut, and was installed Pastor of the Congregational church at that place November 30<sup>th</sup>, 1748. He labored nearly thirty years in the ministry there, and died of small-pox March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1778, aged 62 years. *Field's Statistical Account of Middlesex County, Connecticut*, 61, 138; *History of Berkshire*, 424. The following is from his pen: "The Redeemed Captive: Being a Narrative of the taking & carrying into Captivity, the Rev. Mr. John Norton, when Fort Massachusetts surrendered to a large Body of French & Indians, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1746. With a particular Account of the Defence made before the Surrender of that Fort, with the Articles of Capitulation, &c. Together with an Account, both entertaining & affecting, of what Mr. Norton met with, & took Notice of, in his travelling to, while in Captivity at Canada, & till his Arrival in Boston, on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 1747. Written by Himself. Sold opposite the Prison in Queen st." *Boston News-Letter*, 25 Augt., 1748. — Ed.



from Ile Royale, the smallest carrying 40 guns, to cruise at the mouth of the river between Gaspé and the North shore ; that he had seen two large vessels going to the Island of St John, where they were intending to erect a fort, should the place be convenient for their design ; that 8 ships of war were expected at Louisbourg from Boston with Captain Warren, who is to command the fleet destined next spring for Canada, which is the common report in town ; that there were 8 men of war, and some forty smaller craft there, with a considerable force ; that the English at Louisbourg have constructed four covert ways, one at the postern gate, another at the Maurepas gate, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> at the *murs grêlés*, and a citadel with two batteries at the Dauphin gate, repaired the little island, which had been much dilapidated ; also two subterraneous passages at the grand battery, and placed 12 pieces of artillery on the quay. They have not done anything at Gabarus.

Father Germain writes us on the 6<sup>th</sup> that the English will eventually be informed of the arrival of two frigates at Chibouctou, and that it is to be feared they will anticipate us next spring, and seize that harbor.

Sieur de Coulon, commanding the 300 Canadians that are to remain in Acadia, writes us, the first of this month, that it is absolutely necessary to send to Bay Verte some provisions for the subsistence of our people, together with some woolens, and other articles of clothing for them. He does not yet know where he will winter, whether at Minas, where he is, or at Beaubassin ; that a portion of the farmers at the former place are not disposed to furnish him the supplies he will require ; that he will possibly go to Beaubassin, where the inhabitants appear more inclined to furnish supplies to the Canadians ; that he is waiting, before he decides, for news from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who is to sound the farmers at Beaubassin. He adds, that the principal cause of all these difficulties is the want of money, and that the settlers are always apprehensive that it will be a long time before the notes will be taken up, which they have received in payment for what they have furnished.

25<sup>th</sup> Rausin, who has been the entire summer at Point des Monts, has arrived.

He reports that he has seen, on the 3, 4 and 5 of this month a large ship cruising from north to south ; that it is probably only an English vessel, for during the heavy northeast blow, which prevailed the last two days she was in sight, she was laveering and standing close in shore ; that he heard, on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 12 guns fired in the dusk of the evening, at a great distance ; but does not know what it meant. He has seen nothing in the river since the 16<sup>th</sup>, when he left Point des Monts.

29<sup>th</sup> Sieur Sallaberry, who had been sent on the 6<sup>th</sup> of August, in a biscayenne to cruise, and look out between Cape Chat and La Trinité, arrived this morning ; he also saw the ship spoken of by Rausin. He has perceived nothing since the 18<sup>th</sup>, when he left La Trinité.

30<sup>th</sup> We learn that M<sup>r</sup> de Gannes, Deputy-Governor of Montreal, died on the 26<sup>th</sup> of this month.

October 1. Ensign de Belestre, who left Beaubassin on the 8<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, arrived to-day. Sieur de Ramezay writes us from the same place, that, in consequence of the intelligence he has received that 8 English ships were cruising at the mouth of the river awaiting our detachment, and of his inability to pass with the vessels without evident danger, he has proposed to Sieur Duhamel, Captain of the ship *Letourneur*, to take charge of the 100 prisoners to convey them to the enemy's country or to France if possible, so as to prove to this ship that he cannot, for want of provisions, remain any longer. The other prisoners will come in the vessels as far as Pabo, in the expectation that our Canadians and those small craft will not run any great



danger so far. He adds, that he is starting for Bay Verte, where he will adopt the best measures for his return, being short of provisions; that some might, however, be had in the country for money, but, with notes, it is necessary to force the farmers to furnish the most urgent succors.

In order to facilitate his return, he has permitted some 40 officers and Canadians to proceed by way of the River St John.

We are sending to Bay Verte a schooner of 90 tons, commanded by Captain Cheron, which we are loading with provisions, some cloth, linen and other articles and necessities, for the support and clothing of the Canadian detachment which is to winter in Acadia. The General writes to Captain Coulon, who is in command of this detachment, so to manage as to prevent the English making any new settlements in Acadia; to come to an understanding with Mr le Loutre, missionary at Chibouctou,<sup>1</sup> so that the latter may cause his Indians to scour the country towards the port of Chibouctou and La Heve,<sup>2</sup> in order to prevent the formation of any settlements there by the English, should they make their appearance, as they will certainly be informed of the arrival of the King's ships this summer at the former port, it being of consequence to us to keep possession of these two places, which are the only ones in Acadia in which ships of war can lie in safety.

The schooner will sail with the first fair wind.

2<sup>d</sup> Arrived Lieutenant Péan, who sailed from Bay Verte on the 14<sup>th</sup> ultimo, with 6 biscayennes and 2 skiffs, containing 2 officers, 172 Canadians and 48 prisoners; they are absolutely out of provisions, having had, when they sailed, only enough for 8 or 10 days.

This officer brings us some letters from the ship *Letourneur*, which he boarded at St Barnabé. They are from Mr Guillimin, dated said place the 28<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, who sends us a letter from Mr de Ramezay, dated Cape Tourmentine,<sup>3</sup> six leagues from Bay Verte, 17<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, wherein he informs us that being obliged to leave Bay Verte, being out of provisions, he had gone on board our little fleet to proceed to Quebec, notwithstanding all the dangers he was incurring; that he is just in receipt of a letter from Mr Girard, missionary priest at Copequit, addressed to Father Germain, dated 15<sup>th</sup> of said month of September, whereof the tenor is as follows:

"I send you an express to let you know that twelve or thirteen days ago there arrived in a harbor called Au Castor,<sup>4</sup> 15 leagues from Chibouctou, a ship that had separated from the fleet 14 days previously, when three hundred leagues from France. After leaving the fleet she fought eight days with two English privateers, having lost the mate and 11 men. She sent her boat to Chibouctou whence they sent me an express for Mr le Loutre to convey the King's despatches to the ships arrived at Chibouctou, and which, to their great surprise, had sailed for France, as you are aware; the ship, after refitting, is to be in Chibouctou. The fleet consists of 250 sail, whereof 30 are ships of the line, exclusive of the Toulon and Spanish fleets which are to join them, but had not done so on the departure of the ship already arrived; the fleet is to winter. I learned all that I tell you from the express who saw and conversed with the boatswain (*Serjent de la chaloupe*) at Chibouctou. Mr le Loutre is about Minas. I have sent him the letters from Chibouctou by express from Copequit."

Sieur de Ramezay having held a council on this letter, it has been decided that he should return to Minas with all his officers who had embarked on board the vessels, except two and a

<sup>1</sup> The Shubenacadi river falls into the bay at Minas, about 54 miles northeast of Chibouctou or Halifax.

<sup>2</sup> Now, Lunenburg.

<sup>3</sup> North cape of Bay Verte, in Nova Scotia.

<sup>4</sup> Now called Beaver harbor, about 80 miles east of Halifax. — Ed.



detachment of militia, to repair with greater facility to and rejoin M<sup>r</sup> Coulon's detachment which is at Minas; that he had left the rest of the Canadians on board the vessels to escort the prisoners, who number 100 and upwards, and that when he shall have arrived at Bay Verte, he will give us fuller information by couriers he is to send overland.

Sieur Péan adds, that Father Germain had left Beaubassin for Quebec, by way of the River St. John, 4 or 5 days before him, and had Pilotte, who left Quebec on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August with 6000<sup>l</sup> in specie, arrived before his departure, the whole of the detachment would have still remained some days at Beaubassin; and that the cause of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's sending him with 160 men in a biscayenne, is the absolute impossibility of having any more provisions from the Acadians except for cash.

Sieur Guillimin states that the detachment and prisoners had gone on board the ship *Letourneur*, and the 5 small vessels belonging to our little fleet, that the latter are coming up, that he met Sieur Vitré, whom we had sent to Gaspé with provisions, part of which he took, and sent him to meet the other vessels and boats under the command of Sieur Péan, which are in want of some.

Sieur Péan informs us that he has left 3 of his biscayennes at Matanne, without any provisions; that he has learned that the five others had been thrown ashore, on the coast towards Gaspé, where they had been obliged to wait for high water to get off; that this detachment must suffer more than the others, for want of provisions; that 'tis, consequently, necessary to send a small vessel with relief for all these boats.

He adds that some days before his departure from Beaubassin, an express, which had been sent to Port Royal, had returned with news that he heard some people tell the English of the fort that they had advice of four Spanish men of war, cruising off the mouth of Boston harbor.

3<sup>d</sup> We are dispatching two biscayennes with provisions to meet the boats left behind by Sieur Péan.

4<sup>th</sup> The schooner we are sending to Bay Verte with provisions, sailed this morning.

We write to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay that we approve of his conduct, and add that he will not have been long in possession of positive news of the fleet before he will have the Duke d'Enville's orders.

We instruct that officer to inform himself of everything passing here, and of the return of our Indians, and a portion of our Canadians.

Father Germain having left Beaubassin we address our despatches to the commanding officer at that place, who will forward them to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay and the Commandant of the fleet. We inform the Duke d'Enville that on the earliest intelligence of his arrival in Acadia we shall freight the vessels here with provisions; that he can calculate on ten or twelve thousand quintals, but that he alone can provide for the safety of the transports which we shall send him.

We receive a letter from Father Germain dated Pekoudiak,<sup>1</sup> ten leagues from Beaubassin, dated 19<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>; he informs us that after he had left the latter place for the River St John an express brought him a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, dated Beaubassin the 18<sup>th</sup>, wherein he requests him to return, and that he will communicate to him some news he has just received of the fleet. Before leaving Pekoudiak, where he was, Father Germain dispatched this express to us, to inform us of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's putting back. Pilotte, who left here on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August with 6000<sup>l</sup> in specie had arrived.

<sup>1</sup> Peticodiak river falls into Chepoddy bay in the southeastern part of New Brunswick. — Ed.



6<sup>th</sup> The brigantine *L'Emerillon*, commanded by Sieur Boucherville, is arrived from Bay Verte with twenty Canadians and sixteen prisoners.

Item. The bateau *Le Loup marin*, Captain Aubert, with twenty Canadians and 13 prisoners.

Item. The bateau *La Société*, Captain Depleine, with forty-one Canadians and eighteen prisoners.

The season which begins to advance, makes M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart afraid that there will not be time to unload the vessels which will come from France, in order to load them afterwards with provisions for the fleet, whereof reliable news must be shortly received. He has concluded that two or three of those here should begin to load for that destination, whilst waiting the first news.

7<sup>th</sup> Sieur Guillimin, commissary to the detachment from Canada, has just arrived overland; he left the ship *Letourneur* at St. Jochim; this vessel anchored in port this evening; she brings 34 Canadians and 43 prisoners.

On this evening also arrives Father Lacorne, the Recollect Missionary at Miramichi; he left Bay Verte in the beginning of last month; represents to us the melancholy condition of the Indians of his mission, in consequence of the want of provisions and clothes, at a time when the season begins already to be severe; that they have all abandoned Acadia and returned to Miramichi, highly dissatisfied at not meeting in that province the succor we had led them to expect. Though the season be advanced, we shall endeavor to send back Father Lacorne to his mission, with some relief, in provisions and effects, to clothe his Indians, in order to induce them to return to Acadia, should they be required for any expedition.

Arrived Sieur Jean Darat, Captain of the ship *L'Heureux*, one of the five vessels which the Duke d'Enville sent off on the 14<sup>th</sup> of July. He tells us that having come by the Straits of Belisle the ship struck on the point of Castle Bay (*Baie des Chateaux*) on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, in the day time, but in foggy, almost calm weather: that the crew got off and he could save from the vessel only about eighty barrels of brandy.

8<sup>th</sup> Arrived Captain Lacroix Gerard of the schooner *L'Aimable Martre*, from Bay Verte, with thirty-five Canadians and fifteen prisoners.

10<sup>th</sup> Ensign de Linot, of Louisiana, has just arrived. He left there in the month of February last.

We are in receipt of letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, the Governor. Everything was then quiet in that country.

The man named Pierre Hevé is arrived from Gaspé; has declared that being at Kerpont, on the North shore, he saw, in the middle of August, two ships cruising in those roads, and that when he was at Mount Louis, on the South shore of the Gulf, he had likewise seen, on the 18<sup>th</sup> ultimo, a large vessel and a brigantine or schooner, cruising between that place and Seven Islands. Assuredly, these are not French vessels.

Pilotte, sent express from Beaubassin, has arrived; we receive letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay and Father Germain, dated 22<sup>nd</sup> ultimo, containing nothing but what reached us on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant respecting the ship arrived in Beaver harbor, in Acadia, announcing the fleet.

14<sup>th</sup> Two more couriers have arrived from Beaubassin; they bring us, at length, the agreeable tidings of the arrival of the fleet at Acadia; we are sent copy of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, Intendant of the fleet, to M<sup>r</sup> le Loutre, missionary priest at Acadia, dated Chibouctou, the twentieth of September, wherein the former informs this missionary that the fleet commanded by the Duke d'Enville had anchored in Chibouctou on that day; he requests him to procure



for him at least some fifty beeves for the wants of the fleet, for which he will pay cash; he asks him to come to Chibouctou and to give notice to the inhabitants of Acadia, who will be in possession of promissory notes for supplies furnished the detachment of French and Indians who have sojourned there, to send in said notes to Chibouctou, where he will pay their amount.

This news has diffused great joy throughout Acadia; the inhabitants of that Province dared no longer hope for the arrival of any force from Europe. They refused the most urgent supplies even to the Canadians and Indians, who are to winter there, apprehensive that they would not be paid, or be a long time out of their money for the supplies they furnished on certificates. 'Tis hoped that there will be, at present, no more difficulty in this regard.

M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart continues to have provisions put on board 3 or 4 of the stoutest vessels in the harbor, to be sent to the fleet on the first notice we receive from the Duke d'Enville.<sup>1</sup>

14<sup>th</sup> We send an express to Camouraska with the necessary orders to cut a road, or path, of about 3 feet over the carrying place from River du Loup, forty leagues below Quebec, to Lake Temisquata, whence people go in canoes by way of the River St. John as far as Beaubassin; this is with a view to facilitate the communication with Acadia, and to transport thither some detachments of Frenchmen and Indians, if necessary.

We learn from Montreal that M<sup>r</sup> Largenterie, a half-pay captain, died on the . . . of this month.

Father Germain writes us finally that the settlers of Port Thoulouse<sup>2</sup> in Ile Royale, and other Acadian farmers, worthy Frenchmen, were absolutely in want of provisions, which has induced us to send to Bay Verte a small detachment, under the guidance of some of the inhabitants of Port Thoulouse, with 120 barrels of flour and some other provisions, and a small quantity of ammunition, for the relief of those settlers, a portion of whom have joined the Canadian detachment that is to winter in Acadia. This vessel has sailed to-day; we consign it to Father Germain, who is to distribute these provisions among those most in need of them.

The lateness of the season has not prevented Father Lacorne accepting the proposal we made him to return to his mission at Miramichi, in Acadia, in order to convey provisions, ammunition and clothing to his Indians, who are in great want of these supplies.

It is most important for us to preserve these Indians at the present crisis. With this view, M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart has had purchased, for account of the King, a vessel of 45 tons, on board which these provisions and ammunition will be placed. People are busy equipping her and she will sail in a few days.

Arrived, the schooner *La Marie*, commanded by Sieur Chauveau, freighted with 27 Canadians and 14 prisoners, two of whom died on the voyage. She is the last of those that carried the detachment of French and Indians which we sent to Acadia last spring. These prisoners, as well as those arrived by the last vessel, making, in all, 106, have been lodged in the barracks at Quebec. They amount, at present, to 240, including those of this and of last year.

15<sup>th</sup> Five prisoners are brought down to us from Three Rivers; two of those who have been taken in the beginning of September in the direction of Boston say, that they were talking in that town of attacking Canada; that the project has aborted, and that there were at Boston, at the close of August, eight vessels of war, large and small.

<sup>1</sup> N. DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, Duke d'Anville, was born in the beginning of the 18th century and entered early in the French navy. He preserved in that severe service a taste for letters and an elegance of manners which characterise his illustrious family. He was sent, in 1745, with a fleet of fourteen ships of the line to recover Louisbourg, but a violent tempest dispersed his squadron, and he died, overwhelmed with grief, 16th September, 1746, at Chibouctou, where the English have since built the city of Halifax. *Biographie Universelle*; *Hutchinson's Massachusetts*, II., 348. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> St. Peter's, Cape Breton.



20<sup>th</sup> The three merchantmen that M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart had loaded with provisions are ready to sail.

The five sloops of the eight that started from Acadia under the command of M<sup>r</sup> Péan, and which had fallen behind, have arrived. The Canadians and the prisoners have suffered extremely for want of provisions.

16<sup>th</sup> We are dispatching couriers to Beaubassin. We inform the Duke d'Enville of the news we have received of his arrival at Chibouctou. We advise him that M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart has put provisions on board some merchantmen to be sent on the first advice we shall receive from him, when others will be loaded and joined to the former, and sent to the same destination.

M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart sends Father Germain, by this opportunity, 2000<sup>l</sup> in specie to provide for the special wants of the service at Beaubassin.

23<sup>d</sup> Sieur Barin,<sup>1</sup> who has been all summer on the lookout at Cape Chat, is returned; he has seen nothing in the river.

Father Maurice Lacorne, missionary to the Micmacs of Miramichi, left to-day in the vessel that we have had armed. He is supplied with provisions and goods for the relief of his Indians, who are in extreme want. This missionary is to obey the Duke d'Enville's orders to send the Micmacs wherever he will think proper; he is even to accompany them.

We write by this occasion to the commander of the fleet respecting the uneasiness we feel about the arrival of our ships from Rochelle, and how necessary it is for the welfare of the Colony that they reach us.

We adopt measures for wintering the frigate *La Martre* in the little River St. Charles.

25<sup>th</sup> Arrived a schooner from Martinico; left Port St Pierre on the 18<sup>th</sup> of August; she was commanded by Sieur Dailleboust de St Vilmé, who died on the passage.

27<sup>th</sup> It is a fortnight to-day since we received news of the arrival of the fleet at Chibouctou, and it is 37 days since it anchored in that port; 'tis impossible that no new couriers have been dispatched from Beaubassin with letters from the Duke d'Enville, since the 27<sup>th</sup> of September, the date of the last dispatches from that place. We fear that some accident has arrived. In our uncertainty as to the necessities of the fleet, through want of advice, which, however, we expect every moment, we have not considered it our duty to defer any longer the sending to Chibouctou some supplies in provisions and refreshments. These supplies consist of 6 thousand quintals of flour, 200 ditto of codfish, 500 minots of oats and 40 tons of iron. They will be put on board the following vessels:

Note.—*Le Lion* was already loaded with provisions for account of the owner; she was destined for Martinico. Mr. Hocquart stopped her and the cargo, payment for which will be made to the owner at the rate of purchase, besides the freight.

Ship	<i>La Déesse,</i>	Captain Iriard.
"	<i>La Ste. Croix,</i>	Captain Alzouët.
"	<i>La Ste. Julienne,</i>	" Monsegue.
"	<i>Le Lion,</i>	" Bionneau.
Brigantine	<i>Le Soleil,</i>	
Snow,		belonging to M <sup>r</sup> Hiriard.
Brigantine	<i>St. Esprit,</i>	" Sieur Sallaberry.

Of all these vessels the brigantine *Le St. Esprit* only remains to be loaded. We calculate on dispatching them within 8 or 10 days at farthest. Of the provisions which had been prepared for the fleet, there will remain at Quebec about 2000, 3 or 400 barrels of flour and vegetables, which we will be able to forward this year if circumstances permit; if not, next spring, and others can be prepared during the winter according to the requisitions the Duke d'Enville will make on us.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Qu<sup>o</sup> Bazin. See *supra*, p. 65. — Ed.



We send off to-day Ensign Beaujeu de Villemonde, by way of the River St. John, with despatches to the commander of the fleet, whom we advise of our resolution to send him some supplies to Chibouctou, and of all our consequent arrangements.

November 4. Chevalier de Beauharnais is arrived; he left Chibouctou on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of last month. We report what we have learned through him.

13<sup>th</sup> November, 1746. Report of M. de Repentigny, who arrived this day at Quebec.

This officer being, twenty-one days ago on the high road between Orange and Sarasto, with a party of thirty-seven men, four of whom were Frenchmen, heard a great noise; they halted and concealed themselves in a wood thirty paces from the road. The chief Nautagarouche, of the Lake of the Two Mountains, was dispatched to find out what the matter was; on his return, reported having seen a number of men on horseback and on foot, and a great many wagons. Our party withdrew into the wood and, whilst there, heard wagons and horsemen continually passing until one o'clock in the afternoon. Chevalier de Repentigny went forward with a cadet, two Iroquois and an Outagas, about a quarter of a league in the direction of Orange, and lay in ambush about fifteen paces distance from the road, where he saw a wagon passing, under an escort of eighteen fusileers, in which were some barrels that he thinks contained powder; others followed to the number of eighty or ninety, each escorted by three or four armed men; they were loaded with casks, barrels, sacks, mattresses and muskets behind. Among these vehicles were ten or twelve caleches containing some well dressed persons, apparently officers, with laced coats. When this manœuvre and observation was concluded, Sieur de Repentigny withdrew into the wood, and at sundown heard several drums beat; it was the head of the enemy's camp; some attentive Indians heard that night, and next morning, the noise of drums in the direction of the head of said camp, and at its extremity, which was three-quarters of a league distant from the head.

There was a fresh scout next morning. Chevalier de Repentigny went forward in person to ascertain the cause of the noise heard by the Indians: from the top of the hill he saw a large force collected and heard the roll of the drums. He, then, came down with all his party, and went and lay in ambush about fifteen paces from the road where this force was to pass; he saw about one hundred and fifty men march in good order, four deep, on the main road, whom the Indians would not attack; next came, at a distance of about half an *arpent*, two carts followed by twenty others. The Indians then determined to attack the two first, and killed two men attached to them, one of whom remained in one of the wagons that they pursued to the top of the hill at the bottom of which they had attacked them. The wagon having upset, they scalped one of the men they had killed. Sieur Deselle, who was following them with another Canadian, perceived, on the top of the hill, a number of men on horseback and a-foot, and some loaded wagons proceeding to the head, and other empty ones returning to the tail of the camp.<sup>1</sup>

The blow being struck, the Indians retired into the wood, where Chevalier de Repentigny proposed to them to follow the enemy until the latter would appear to make a decisive stand; but the Iroquois having refused the belt he offered them for that purpose, he determined to send three well disposed Outaouacs after the enemy. On rejoining him, four days after, these Indians reported that they had left the camp at the same place, always engaged in the same manœuvre. 'Tis about thirty leagues from Fort St. Frederic.

<sup>1</sup> The *head* of a camp is that part which fronts the enemy, or the open country; the *tail* is the line drawn in the rear, directly opposite the head of the camp. *James*. — Ed.



*Abstract of the Despatches received from Canada.*CANADA.—*News.*

No sooner was the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor-General of Canada, informed that war had broke out with England than his first care was to endeavor to secure to himself all the Indian nations of the Continent.

These nations having appeared in general disposed to side in this war with the French (except, however, the five villages of Iroquois, who, up to the present time, adhered to their system of neutrality), he organized, in the month of December,<sup>1</sup> one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, a detachment of five hundred men, partly Canadians and partly Indians, under the command of Sieur Marin, to attack the English settlements on the River Connecticut, which are not very considerable.

Sieur Marin set out from Montreal on the first of the said month of December, and marched until the eleventh, without communicating his destination to the Indians. But so soon as they were informed of it the Iroquois and domiciliated Hurons, who acted as guides to the detachment, set up so many difficulties to the execution of the enterprise that Sieur Marin, in order not to repulse them on an occasion when there was question of engaging them seriously in the war, agreed to the proposal they made him to proceed towards Orange, called by the English Albany, where, it appeared by a map they drew for him, they would have an opportunity of capturing three little stockaded forts built by the enemy.

He consequently marched until the twentieth, when the Indians again changed their mind, and asked to go towards Sarastau, where there was a fort of that name, and some considerable settlements.

Sieur Marin, whose principal object always was to get them to attack the English, consented to the new change.

Arrived at the English settlements he learned that the fort at Sarastau was garrisoned by a pretty strong force, whereupon he prepared to approach it with caution, in order to carry it by escalade, but the Indians, too impulsive, having attacked the houses in the vicinity too soon, the fort was secretly evacuated, and Sieur Marin found no person in it when he wished to make the attack.

After having burnt this fort he ordered the adjoining settlements to be laid waste, which order was so well executed, particularly by the Indians, that in a single morning the whole of the buildings, the principal of which consisted of four mills, were burnt, the cattle killed killed, and all the provisions destroyed within a circle of four leagues. One hundred and nine persons were taken prisoners, but only twelve or fifteen men were killed, the English, for the most part, having offered no resistance.

The Indians feeling vexed, after the expedition, that they had not had an opportunity of fighting, required of Sieur Marin to send two of the prisoners to Orange, to tell the Commandant at that town that they were about to return by short marches, in order to afford him time to pursue them, if he were disposed, but they returned undisturbed.

Since that time twenty-seven detachments of Indians have been formed, with a certain number of Canadians always at their head, to make incursions on the enemy's flanks, and not one of those has returned without killing or capturing some persons. The number of prisoners was, at the date of the departure of the ships from Quebec, about two hundred and eighty.

<sup>1</sup> Ought to be *November*. See *supra*, p. 38; also, *Smith's New-York*, II., 76. — Ed.

But of all these parties the most important one was that which the Marquis de Beauharnois organized in the month of August last, on the receipt, repeatedly, of intelligence that the English were preparing to attack Fort St. Frederic. This party was composed of about seven hundred men, both Canadians and Indians. Its command was conferred on Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Major of Three Rivers; it was designed at first to cover the fort, on the supposition that this was about to be attacked, but orders were issued at the same time to go in quest of the enemy to their own country, should it be ascertained that the attack on Fort St. Frederic was abandoned.

Sieur de Rigaud repaired, at first, to Fort St. Frederic, and having been informed, on his arrival, that the news received respecting the attack on this fort had no foundation, he set out for New England. It having been deliberated, in a council held with the Canadians and Indians, that an attack should be made on the fort called Massachusset, after the name of that Province, Sieur de Rigaud arrived, after a march of ten days in the neighborhood of this fort. He commenced the attack on it on the morning of the 30<sup>th</sup> of August, keeping up an incessant fire from both sides until the following day, when the garrison surrendered at discretion. Three women and five children were found in it. The loss on the part of the English, was not ascertained, as they had buried all their dead, except one. The French loss was one man killed and twelve wounded. Sieur Rigaud was among the latter. The fort was burnt on the same day, and the prisoner having stated that a reinforcement was to arrive from Dierfil, Sieur Rigaud detached sixty Iroquois and Abenakis on the route they were to come. These Indians having met this reinforcement, which consisted of only nineteen men, defeated it, and brought in four prisoners only, all the remainder having been killed.

After this expedition Sieur de Rigaud ordered the pillage, and all the settlements were burnt and sacked and the harvest laid waste within a circle of twelve to fifteen leagues. Only fifty-six prisoners were, however, made in this foray, almost all the settlers having had time to take refuge in Boston, Deirfil and Orange.

These incursions spread alarm throughout the whole of New England; almost all the rural settlements were abandoned in the month of September last, and the Colonists no longer went abroad except in parties and armed. But, on the other hand, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beauharnois and Hocquart state that the enemy were forming, last October, a camp between Orange and Sarastau. This camp has been reconnoitred by a detachment under the command of a Canadian officer,<sup>1</sup> who attacked two loads of ammunition. The report he has made was annexed. There is no doubt but the troops which were being collected were destined for a winter attack on the Colony from the south. The Marquis de Beauharnois was engaged in measures to counteract these plans, and there is reason to hope, so long as the English will not have regular troops with them, that the Canadians will not succumb. From the course they observe, it appears that they have lost nothing of their ancient valor, whilst the Indians, on their side, act better than they used to do in the last war, for they fight well in the open field, which they did not formerly do; and it is to those who compose the village of the Lake of Two Mountains that we are indebted for this. 'Tis they who have given the example both in that regard and in taking up the hatchet when the Marquis de Beauharnois proposed it to all the nations.

17 January, 1757.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. de Repentigny's report, *supra*, p. 75. — Ed.



*Capitulation of the Garrison of Grand Pré, Nova Scotia.*

Capitulation granted by His Most Christian Majesty's troops to those of His Britannic Majesty at Grand Pré.

## 1.

A detachment of his Most Christian Majesty's troops will form themselves into two lines in front of the stone house occupied by his Britannic Majesty's troops, who will take their departure for Annapolis-Royal within twice twenty-four hours, with the honors of war, six days' provisions, haversack, one pound of powder and one pound of ball per man.

## 2.

The English prisoners in the hands of the French, will remain prisoners of war.

## 3.

The shipping seized by the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, cannot be restored to his Britannic Majesty's troops.

## 4.

As pillage was committed only by the Indians, the booty cannot be restored.

## 5.

The sick and wounded belonging to the English, actually in his Britannic Majesty's hands, will be conveyed to the River Aux Canards, where they shall be lodged by order of the French commandant, and supported at his Britannic Majesty's expense, until they be in a condition to be removed to Annapolis Royal; and the French commandant shall furnish them with letters of protection, and they shall be at liberty to retain one of their surgeons until they be restored to health.

## 6.

His Britannic Majesty's troops, actually at Grand-Prée, will not be at liberty to bear arms at the head of the Bay of Fundy, that is to say, at Minas, Cobequitte and Beaubassin, during the term of six months from the date hereof.<sup>1</sup>

On the acceptance and signing of these conditions on the one side and the other, his Britannic Majesty's troops will bring with them a flag, and march to-day from their guard-house, of which his Most Christian Majesty's troops will take possession, as well as of Grand Pré and all the munitions of war, provisions and artillery which his Britannic Majesty's troops now have.

Done at Grand-Prée, the 12<sup>th</sup> of February, 1747.

(Signed) COULON DE VILLIER, commanding the French party.  
BENJAMIN GOLDTHWAIT, commanding the English,  
who has signed with thirteen others.

For copy.

(Signed) DE RAMEZAY.

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson says, incorrectly, "one year." *History of Massachusetts*, II., 385. — Ed.

*Expedition against Fort Clinton, New-York.*

An Account of an Expedition commanded by M. de la Corne St. Luc, who had under him Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Carqueville and St. Ours, Jun<sup>r</sup>., twenty Frenchmen, or thereabouts, and two hundred Indians of different nations.

1747. 23<sup>d</sup> June. Started from Fort St. Frederic at midnight for Sarratau, to endeavor to find an opportunity to strike some good blow on the English or Dutch garrison at Fort Klinton,<sup>1</sup> as they call it.

26<sup>th</sup> Left his canoes and slept near the River of Orange, which he crossed, the first in a little pirogue. Had five canoes made of elm bark (*ecorce d'orme*). Left Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Carqueville and St. Ours to cross their men; all were over at two o'clock in the afternoon.

28<sup>th</sup> At early dawn the Abenakis told him he was exposing his men very much, and they wished to form an ambuscade on a little island in front of the fort, in order to try and break somebody's head. He told them they must go to the fort.

He addressed the Iroquois of the Saut and the Hurons and Nipissings, who made answer that they had no other will but his, and that of Ononthio. He sent Sieur de Carqueville with seven Indians of the Saut and Nipissings, to see what was going on at the fort.

They reported that some forty or fifty English were fishing in a little river which falls into that of Orange, on this side of (*en deca*) the fort. He sent Sieur de Carqueville, a Nipissing, and an Abenaki to examine where the fort could be approached. M. de St. Luc said he should give his gun, which was a double barrel, to the first who would take a prisoner, and told them that after the first volley they should charge, axe in hand. He said the same thing to the French. Sieur de Carqueville arrived, and said that the English had retired into the fort. I sent M. de St. Ours to see where the river could be crossed, and to watch the movements of the fort. He returned to say that he had found a good place; that several Englishmen were out walking. They crossed the river and spent the remainder of the day watching the enemy.

29<sup>th</sup> The nineteenth<sup>2</sup> they all crossed, half a league above, though the Abenakis were opposed to it. Waited all day to see if any person would come out. Sent twenty men on the road to Orange, who returned, under the supposition that they were discovered, passing near the fort. Made a feint, to induce them to come out. He demanded of the Chiefs six of their swiftest and bravest men; commanded them to lie in ambush, on the banks of the river, within eight paces of the fort at daybreak, to fire on those who should come out of the fort, and to try and take a scalp, and if the fort returned their fire to pretend to be wounded, and to exhibit some difficulty in getting off, so as to induce the enemy to leave the fort.<sup>3</sup> Those in ambush [neither saw any persons] nor heard any noise; they came to say they thought they were discovered. The chiefs assembled around the officers and said that they must retreat; that they were surrounded by four hundred men, who had just come out of the fort. These gentlemen told them that it was not the custom of the French to retire without fighting, when so near the enemy, and that they were able to defend themselves against this number of men, should they

<sup>1</sup> Fort Clinton was situated on a hill a little south of Batten Kill, in the present town of Easton, Washington co., N. Y., as appears by a MS. Map of the Province, by Cadwallader Colden. A description of the fort is to be found in *Kalm's Travels*, II., 289. It was burnt by the English themselves in 1747. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic*, but evidently a mistake for the twenty-ninth.

<sup>3</sup> Kalm corroborates this. *Travels*, II., 288, 90.



be so bold as to come and attack them. The young braves of the Sault, Iroquois, Nepissings and Hurons said that they would not abandon him; they were ready to die for the French, and should give him a proof of it. The Abenakis of several villages were constrained to say the same; but it was only the good example of the Iroquois, in whose praise, as well as in that of the Nepissings and Hurons, on this occasion, too much cannot be said.

They sent out six scouts to lie in ambush at their appointed place, and to pass the night on their arms. He commanded the French and Indians to discharge their pieces, in case a large number of people came out, and to let them return the fire, and then to rush on them axe in hand, which was done.

30<sup>th</sup> Those who lay in ambush fired on two Englishmen, who came out of the fort at the break of day on the thirtieth, and who came towards them. The fort made a movement to come against our scouts, who withdrew. About a hundred and twenty men came out in order of battle, headed by two lieutenants and four or five other officers. They made towards our people, in order to get nearer to them by making a wheel. They halted at the spot where our scouts had abandoned one of their muskets and a tomahawk. *Sieur de St. Luc* arose and discharged his piece, crying to all his men to fire; some did so, and the enemy fired back, and the fort let fly some grape, which spread consternation among the Indians and Canadians, as it was followed by two other discharges of cannon ball. [Our men then rushed on them axe in hand]<sup>1</sup> and routed the enemy, whom they pursued within thirty *toises* of the fort fighting. Some threw themselves into the river and were killed by blows of the hatchet, and by gun shots.

Forty-five prisoners were taken and twenty-eight scalps. The number of those drowned could not be ascertained. One lieutenant, who commanded, with four or five other officers, was killed, and one lieutenant was taken prisoner. Only one Iroquois of the Saut was killed. He was attacked by three Englishmen; five were slightly wounded.

The attack being finished, *Sieur de St. Luc* collected the arms and withdrew his men. He remained with three Frenchmen and as many Indians, watching the enemy's movements. About one hundred and fifty men, as well as they could judge, came out of the fort, without daring to advance. Of the hundred and twenty or thirty who might have been in the sortie from the fort, some twenty or twenty-five only appeared to have reëntered it.

The fort might be one hundred and fifty feet long by one hundred wide, with six wooden redoubts, for barracks; four in the angles of the fort and two in the centre of the two main curtains, which have been protracted to enlarge the fort that was one-half too small when it was first visited by *Sieur Marin*; but experiencing such harassing from the French and Indians, they apprehended some new attacks from us; however, it had not been rabbetted when *M. Marin* was there.

'Twill be seen by this account, that *Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Carqueville* and *Ensign St. Ours, Jun<sup>r</sup>*, have acquitted themselves very well [on this occasion] as well as on the other expeditions in which they happened to be. They deserve to be remembered.

Lieutenant *Herbin* and his party took, in one instance, three prisoners and nine scalps; one was killed whose scalp could not be had. On another occasion they defeated ten persons, including those taken prisoners and those scalped. He has frequently been in expeditions towards *Sarrantau*.

BOISHEBERT.

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets in this Document are supplied by the Editor.



*Indian Incursions into the Island of Montreal.*

Report of an incursion into the Island of Montreal by a party of English, Dutch, Mohawks, Senecas and Oneidas of the Five Nations. 1747.

June 14<sup>th</sup> Four Indians belonging to the Sault St Louis, having noticed in the little Lake St. Francis, fifteen leagues from Montreal, seven large elm canoes and a small bark one, hid in the wood extending to Chateauguaye (in which canoes, according to their calculation, from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and thirty of the enemy might have passed on their way to attack the Montreal settlements), came on the same day to notify the fact to Captain de Lavaltrie, the commandant at Sault St Louis, who informed M<sup>r</sup> de Beaujours, the Governor, thereof; the latter issued his orders on the fifteenth of the same month, at one o'clock in the morning; he had three guns fired and the drums beat to arms. The people assembled in the Place d'Armes, where a detachment was formed consisting of two hundred men, whereof I had the command; I marched at six o'clock in the morning in pursuit of the enemy, with ten canoes equipped with twenty men each and twenty officers. On arriving at La Chine, I detached M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre with five officers, fifty militia and one hundred and twenty Indians of the Sault, whom he was ordered to go and get there for the purpose of scouring the woods next day between the Sault and the Cascades, where I had fixed his rendezvous, which was well executed. For fear of being discovered by the enemy, I waited until night to set out from La Chine for the Cascades. Two leagues from La Chine I inquired of a man who was passing on horseback, whether there was any news? He told me he was carrying a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Perthuis,<sup>1</sup> parish priest of St. Anne, to M<sup>r</sup> de Beaujours, with information that three Frenchwomen belonging to his parish had been captured at three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, above Fort Senneville.<sup>2</sup> I told him to make haste and to tell the Governor that I was going to blockade the passage across to the Cascades. I landed at Point Claire fort, and sent an order to all the captains of the concessions, to march to Bout de l'Isle, to seize the enemy's canoes in case they were still there. I diligently continued my route towards the Cascades, and at one o'clock in the morning, about a league off (*au large des*) the Cascades, saw a canoe and paddled with all speed towards it. When within sound of the voice, I cried 'out to them *Oukanéguen*, Who are you?'<sup>3</sup> To the third challenge they answered, Seneca. Seneca ho! 'Tis for you we are looking. The Indians cried *Oukanissé*, who are you? Reply. *Onnontio Sagejen*, Onnontio's children.<sup>4</sup> The Indians answer; we're dead. I overtook them with much difficulty; they were moving as well as I. As soon as I overtook this canoe, the three women who had been captured the night before, rose up and threw themselves into my canoe crying and laughing all at once. In that canoe were four Senecas, one Oneida and a Dutchman. This last spoke Indian like themselves; he had his hair arranged, and was dressed like them. When the nine were embarked I proceeded to the Cascades, where

<sup>1</sup> Rev. SIMON LOUIS PERTHUIS arrived in Canada 21st July, 1742, and left that Province 18th August, 1775. *Liste Chronologique*, No. 805.

<sup>2</sup> On the northwest end of the Island of Montreal, about midway between the Islands Perrot and Bizarre.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, who goes there in the water! from *Agannon*, to go, and *onnega*, water; or, Who goes there in a canoe! from *gannio*, to pass in a canoe. *Bruyas*. — Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, Onnontio, his sons, *Sagejen* being derived from *Sa*, his, and *gaienne*, son.



arriving, day began to break, and I recognized the Dutchman who was closely interrogated as well as the Indians and the three women. Each, individually, said that no other than that canoe, containing six men, visited the Island of Montreal, where they captured the three women; that *Thoianoguen*,<sup>1</sup> White Head, a Mohawk, had gone with four Dutchmen and thirty-two Indians of the Five Nations, near Chateauguay, to make canoes to cross to the Island of Montreal and make a foray there. As I had sent M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre opposite the Cascades, nothing more urgent was left for me than to go to their *cache* on the South shore of the little Lake St. Francis, where I arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon, and found seven elm canoes capable of carrying, each, fifteen @ twenty men; all their provisions, powder, ball, deer skins, shoes, awls, blankets, wampum-belts, kettles, &c., which I gave to the nine Indians of the Sault S<sup>t</sup> Louis and sixteen Nepissings of the Lake of the Two Mountains who had accompanied me. I had the canoes cut; had mine also concealed in the woods, and I lay in ambush until two o'clock in the afternoon of the next day, when I received two Frenchmen and three Indians sent me by M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre, to inform me that he had heard nothing of any enemy. I sent back the five men to M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre, with word to range along the bank of the river for about half a league, opposite the island, where the enemy were to pass, in case some canoes should escape me; that I was going to pull up (*me mettre en panne*) at the Cascades at nightfall to wait for them, and if they did not make their appearance in the course of the night, I should conceal myself in the island with my canoes during the day. At two o'clock in the morning I heard and saw M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre firing at four canoes which were landing at the place where he lay in ambush. I immediately repaired thither with my whole force. M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre had taken nine men prisoners, two of whom were English, one Dutch and six Indians. An Indian who accompanied me in my canoe made another prisoner on arriving there; two others of the enemy's canoes made off higher up at daylight; the two canoes were found but the men had escaped. *Thejanoguen*, with three Dutchmen and ten Indians in two canoes, separated in the traverse, and had been to Chateauguay to strike a blow, having missed doing so on the Island of Montreal, whence they were coming. Being perceived by the Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains, they abandoned the canoes on the South shore. As *Thejanoguen* was about landing at Chateauguay, he saw M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pierre firing on his people, whereupon he went ashore and abandoned his canoes, which were found, and he struck into the depths of the forest. Of twenty-four men who escaped in all, only eight reached Corlar; the rest died of hunger on the road. *Thejanoguen* got there with two Dutchmen who have been a month sick unto death, as we have learned from a number of prisoners from those parts. After all was done, I proposed to the Indians of the Sault S<sup>t</sup> Louis to go all together in pursuit of the enemy; they told me 'twas useless, that they would die on the way, and, moreover, that we had no provisions, which was the truth. The Indians of the Sault have done wonders, having tied their brethren of the Five Nations and repaid one hundred and twenty-five *livres* which the King gave them. It is one of the greatest strokes that could ever be made to get them to attack the Five Nations, who openly threaten them. I arrived to-day at Sault S<sup>t</sup> Louis at eleven o'clock of the forenoon, and handed over all the prisoners to the chiefs who asked them from me, to make them sing after their fashion. At one o'clock in the afternoon I demanded them back; they were brought to me, and I arrived at Montreal with the sixteen prisoners, whom I surrendered to M<sup>r</sup> de Beaucours, Governor, who detached

<sup>1</sup> From *Anonjee*, a head. *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, II, 312. — Ed.

me to proceed with them to Quebec and to deliver them to the Marquis de Beauharnois, which I did. They are in prison, in irons, since three months. We hear no more of the enemy.

NOTE.—Before this last blow, these Indians captured and killed thirty to forty persons and scalped one, who is still living, whom they left for dead at Chateauguay. His wife, who was with him, was killed at his side and scalped.

Done at Montreal, the 8<sup>th</sup> of October, 1747.

(Signed) CHEVALIER DELACORNE.

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*Report of M. Boisherbert on Indian Affairs.*

**Expeditions against the Indians.**

I shall not be able to have the honor to make a fuller report to his Grace this year, being too much troubled by the French and Indians. I shall begin with the subject of most interest to this country, namely, a great confusion caused by a general conspiracy of the red skins against the whites. Though manifestly known, we continue still to dissemble, and endeavor to arrange matters as well as possible. Our domiciliated Indians refuse us their assistance, not being willing to strike those who have killed us. One of the Iroquois cantons adjoining the Dutch, that on slender pretences came here to speak, met on their way home, loaded with presents, some carpenters at Ile de la Mothe,<sup>1</sup> beyond our frontiers. They were nine, who took one of our carpenters, killed one, and wounded another. Their comrades fled. The reason of this is, that our Indians of the Saut, especially, were the first to leave the Mohawks, who have established this village; as the Iroquois are most feared and respected by all the nations as well as the Hurons, they possess a great ascendancy over all the rest. The Five Nations are long since sending Belts to all the other nations as well as the Hurons, with whom they are intimately connected. At length, they have recently been wishing to raise the hatchet at Detroit, where Sieur de Longueuil commands.

The Hurons were ready to massacre all the French were it not that a Squaw, going into a garret in search of some Indian corn, overheard their conspiracy below. She went immediately to advise the Jesuit lay brother thereof, who informed M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, the commander there, of the danger. They were to sleep that night in the fort, as they often did before, and each was to kill the people of the house where he lodged.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil called together all the principal chiefs; spoke to them so as to stop them and they excused themselves the best way they could. We, too, have Indians on our side who appear much attached to us. M<sup>r</sup> d'Enyel came down with a Father; they bring news that the Sauteurs had attacked two French canoes, one of which was entirely destroyed, the men killed, and the merchandise pillaged. The other escaped by throwing the merchandise overboard, in order to be more light. M<sup>r</sup> d'Enyel was near being destroyed also by the same Indians.

<sup>1</sup> In Lake Champlain. — Ed.



This conspiracy is fomented by the English, who, by force of presents and lies, excite the Indians against us, insinuating into their minds that we are not in a condition to furnish them with any supplies; that we have no goods, as they take all our ships, and that Quebec has been already captured. This is their ordinary language, the falsehood of which they shall, please God, soon learn by the arrival of the convoys commanded by Ensign Dubuisson, of the infantry, who is well escorted; besides the conductors of the canoes, all the Indians return hence loaded with presents, which will have a good effect.

Shortly before the Detroit conspiracy, the Hurons had assassinated five Frenchmen at Sandesqué, sixty leagues from Detroit, where the Hurons plant, and frequently go to concoct plots against us with other Indians and, may be, with the English.

Of all the Indians who are going home, there are many very faithful ones who are most anxious to get back to their own country to labor, as was seen here, to reëstablish peace. They belong to the River St. Joseph, and are principally the Poueatamis, who are all allied with the Miamis, Sacs, Foxes and Folle Avoine. Their first harangue was delivered with energy to convince us of their fidelity and attachment to the French, whom they would rather die with than ever abandon. The Outaouas are divided. The whole of them were to come down [but] their acquaintances stopped them; otherwise they would all have descended; they had faithfully promised M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne to do so when he visited them that winter; he was commandant at Michillimakina. Should affairs not be arranged by Father La Richarvie, ancient missionary of the Hurons, who is going to form a new establishment in that country, Canada would be to be pitied; we should be in need of great assistance from France to support ourselves here.

The French are in the midst of an immense forest, which is intersected by the great River St. Lawrence, and many others that disembogue therein. When ascending those rivers that are very rapid, 'tis necessary to go close to the shore. The enemy, lying in ambush in the woods, can easily defeat us. When they want to attack the French they descend these rivers and conceal their trail and canoes in the woods, then, marching in the rear of the settlements, they pounce on them, kill men, women and cattle of all sorts, burn the houses and barns, as we do theirs. It consequently requires a large force to preserve a country in which it can with difficulty be ascertained when and where they will strike.

Good officers are stationed at the frontier posts where we keep garrisons. As, for example, at Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic, the seat, at present, of the hottest of the war; it adjoins the Dutch, and is passed also on the way into the Boston government on the east, and that of Orange towards the S. W. M<sup>r</sup> de Celeron is commandant there; an officer of great capacity, who has commanded with distinction in several posts, at Michilimakina, where he preserved good order among the Indians, who are all around, and the French, making himself loved, both by the one and the other. He was sent thence to the Chicachas in 1739, and was the only officer commanding the party that went with the Canadians and Indians to that village. He came down to Quebec, was ordered next year to go to command at Michilimakina, and to make the establishment there such as the General desired; thence he went to command at Detroit. He came here; war broke out; was sent to Niagara, where he remained two years; returned to Montreal; was sent by the General to Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic, where he has been during the last six months. He has acquired the esteem of everybody; deserves promotion, being one of the best officers we have, and even one of the oldest Captains.



Captain de Vercher has had orders to command at the Bay. He is a worthy officer, who has often commanded in the upper posts, and has so well acquitted himself that he has been always employed by the General, whenever his services were required. It is the opinion that he could return to Michilimakina were M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne employed elsewhere. He has managed the Indians equally well during his sojourn, and went this winter with some influential domiciliated Indians to invite the Nations down,<sup>1</sup> who were very quiet.

Captain de Noyan has also been in command at Fort Frederic. He is a man of talent, who has governed well on two different occasions; a proof of his capacity.

Sieur D'Enyelle, Jun<sup>r</sup>, commanded at Michilimakina, M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne, the commandant at that post, having been recalled by the General for duty. Affairs were very bad when he left, and M<sup>r</sup> de Vercher was sent to prevent a more serious difficulty, which was caused by the Hurons of Detroit having stopped them up there; and since this officer's departure we are ignorant of the situation of affairs.

Sieur de Belletre, known and loved by the Indians of the River St. Joseph, accompanies them to that post; he is an Ensign of excellent conduct, who served through the Chicaches campaign, and marched to the villages under M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron, an officer of whom I could not speak too highly, as he deserves great praise. Sieur de Belletre is a brave fellow, who pleases every one that is with him. He accompanies Father de la Richardie as far as Detroit. Lieutenant de St. Pierre, of the infantry, went through the Chicaches campaign, and was sent by the [French] to the village to negociate with the Chiefs, accompanied by our domiciliated Indians; I saw some of their chiefs<sup>2</sup> at Fort L'Assomption. The negotiation seemed prosperous and pacific, and would, to all appearance, have been permanent, had not our Iroquois broken, by a foolish act, what had been so well concluded. But on quitting the camp of L'Assomption they encountered some Chicachas men and women, who were going to their hunting grounds, and killed a number of them, which left things in their previous bad condition.

Captain Duplessy, commanding at Niagara, where he fell sick of fatigue, conjoined to bad diet, having been in want of fresh meat, as the Senecas no longer supplied him with any, has been obliged, through bad health, to ask leave to come down to recruit. He is a good officer, well sustained among that nation in a very critical time, when it was impossible to calculate on anything very settled; though they have always appeared to get along very well with the French, we doubt, at present, their fidelity. Sieur de Joncaire, who has resided so long among them, having become dangerously ill, sends us scarcely any news from thence at present; they have not come down to Montreal, and some of their people have been in the parties that made attacks on us this year.

M<sup>r</sup> de Contrecoeur, who was his Lieutenant, remains commandant of the place. He is a reliable officer, being wise, possessing a talent to command well, and to maintain good order in his fort. Of the Iroquois cantons, it is the farthest from the French. He is vigilant, and will omit nothing that can contribute to the security and preservation of his post; he may be confidently relied on.

He has good officers with him, to whom he can show a good example for the proper performance of their duty, in the execution of the orders he will have to give them. M<sup>r</sup> Péan,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> " *Courirs les nations a descendre.*" I suppose the original is *convier*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> " *dont je vint quelques chefs.*" Dont je vis?

<sup>3</sup> HUGUES PÉAN was a native of Canada; his father had been Adjutant, or Town Major of Quebec, a situation to which the son succeeded, on the arrival of M. de Jonquière. His wife was young, lively, spiritual, mild and obliging, and her conversation amusing. She succeeded in obtaining a considerable influence over the Intendant, M. Bigot, who went regularly to spend



his nephew, is in the post of Major at Quebec, since he went to Montreal, and has been on an expedition in our enemy's territory, where he behaved very well; he is very active and vigilant, as an officer ought to be on such business. He has been on all occasions in Acadia, where it was necessary to do the King good service, and acquired honor by the manner in which he acted.

Captain de Cabanac is at Fort Frontenac, where he has some good officers. He sees every day some Iroquois there, especially Onondagas, who, so to speak, occupy the front rank. Some of them even reside thereabouts who hunt, and supply the French with venison and game, for which they are paid in small wares, according to their custom. All the Five Nations appear quiet, and live in good understanding with the French. But being neighbors of the English, our rivals and enemies, they must be distrusted. Many of the Chiefs of that village came to see us; there is a number of them at Quebec who see a great many ships there.

The Mohawks began early in the summer to declare themselves, and to attack us; at the Cedars, the last settlement on the river going up, some fifteen (*quintes*) Mohawks, made an attack on as many men, women, girls and children, a portion of whom they carried away prisoners; others, who were unable to walk, they killed, and removed their scalps, which they have been as far as Orange to exhibit.

In the posts bordering on our frontier settlements we also have some small garrisons where some soldiers are stationed with their officers to maintain good order for the defence of those places. Some militia are adjoined to them, to increase the number. Lieutenant de Sablay commands at St Therèse; he is a veteran officer, considered capable of doing his duty.

Lieutenant de Rouville is at Chambly; a good officer, very vigilant and active, ever ready to do his duty exactly. Of late, there is only one officer in those small posts with a few Indians to act as scouts when they are willing to coöperate with us, for since the alliance contracted by all the Indians, they serve us so badly that they are suspected of having favored our enemies in their attack on us.

The enemy has frequently made his appearance at Chateau[guay], a small fort near the village of Sault St Louis; they have, however, killed only one woman, whose husband has been scalped, though he is not dead, notwithstanding he received several wounds as well on his head as on other parts of his body.

M. de Valterie, a brave captain and a worthy, quiet man, has had the command at Saut St Louis, with a resident officer under him. It is the largest village of our domiciliated Indians, and inhabited by Iroquois. One officer only is left in the other posts, the deputies having been withdrawn in consequence of the scarcity of officers among us. The Indians at that post had some difficulty in receiving that little garrison of twenty soldiers, owing to divers bad reasons that were alleged, into which certain secret interests entered. They live quietly there at present, only on condition that the General will withdraw that garrison so soon as peace shall be concluded; this feeling never existed before, and the majority is strongly of a contrary opinion, and [I am] very glad to see it.

his evenings with her. She became at length the channel through which the public patronage flowed. Péan in a short time saw himself worth fifty thousand crowns. Bigot, the Intendant, requiring a large supply of wheat, gave Péan the contract, and even advanced him money from the treasury with which the wheat was bought. The Intendant next issued an ordinance, fixing the price of wheat much higher than Péan purchased it. The latter delivered it to the government at the price fixed by the ordinance, whereby he realized immense profit; obtained a seignior, and became very wealthy. *Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 63. He was afterwards created a Knight of St. Louis. *Smith's Canada*, I., 221. — Ed.



And since a very long time soldiers have constantly been there, with whom the Indians were well pleased, and [now] were any detachment ordered out, all the men would exclaim that their wives and children were abandoned; even the women join in the cry, which proves that evil councils prevail.

Lieutenant Dumui,<sup>1</sup> whose father had been appointed Governor of Mississippi, has been sent to command at the Lake of the Two Mountains. He is a prudent, wise and sedate man, and a very exact officer in all that appertains to the King's service. He has returned from there a few days ago, in consequence of indisposition with which he was attacked. He was well received by the gentlemen of S<sup>t</sup> Sulpice, who superintend the Indians in the capacity of Missionaries, and on the part of all the Indians. His deputy, Sieur de Beaudicourt, a lad of discretion and mildness, and a good officer, remains there, in command, until further orders. He it is who carried the colors in the Chicachas expedition, and performed all those duties during that campaign with perfect correctness.

I can name some other good officers who have also faithfully performed and executed their duties, among whom are a number of gentlemen cadets, whom it has been more difficult to restrain than to stimulate. Of these are the three young Mess<sup>rs</sup> Bleins, grandsons of M. Raimbeau, Lieutenant-General of Montreal, who used to return only to go back, as well in winter as in summer. Such was their ardor to go in search of the enemy that they even incurred expenses, in order to muster Indians to accompany them on war excursions. When there is question of commanders for Indians, 'tis well to bear in mind that these never submit to observe any regularity on the march; that is to say, they are not commanded like the French, and ordinarily do as they please, and it takes a good deal of persuasion to induce them to march.

We must examine what sort of people these are, and the need we stand in of them. They are conversant with the forests and the paths through those vast wildernesses, and follow the trail of men, as of wild beasts; and whether in wet or dry soil, calculate on the autumn leaves, their number pretty nearly as correctly as if they saw them. Their knowledge, in this regard, surpasses all imaginable ideas; but they often abandon you when the fancy takes them, or they have got all they can. They act bravely when they please; risk much to secure the scalp of a man they have killed, which they have sometimes taken amidst a storm of musket balls, and are very adroit in surprising their enemies. They would be a great assistance to us, were they willing to serve us faithfully, and we are always in need of some of them. But with them we must always be the strongest, and be giving them [presents].

I think I have stated that they serve us badly ever since the Red skins made a treaty some years ago not to kill one another, and to let the whites act against each other, we have a certitude that they have favored the parties of our enemies who attacked us, without putting themselves to the trouble of defending us, but we do not suspect them of having struck us on those occasions up to the present time; 'tis presumed that such will be the case even among our domiciliated tribes.

The Hurons of the Upper country have, as has been seen, killed five Frenchmen at Sandosqué; the Sauteurs have defeated one French canoe and plundered the goods, and the other has escaped; the Outaouas have killed some; the Foxes at the Bay, the Scioux and the Sacs, in a word, all the nations, so to speak, have struck whenever an opportunity presented; we dissimulate, as we are unable to do anything else; their bad excuses are received as sincere and ours refuse to do the like (*de le faire*).

<sup>1</sup> See IX., 670, note 2. — Ed.



This Detroit conspiracy has proved it; efforts are making to re-plaster the matter as well as possible, in order to gain some repose. Sieur de Belletre is, as I have said, about to accompany the Rev<sup>d</sup> Father de la Richardie, who is going to Detroit. I am often guilty of repetition in collecting a few of the different facts, having no time to place them together in their true point of view. I am too much beset by different persons who think only of their own interests, and not at all of what is paramount. I hope his Grace will make allowance for my embarrassment, by procuring for me, in fine, the favor I take the liberty of soliciting, that is, my discharge agreeably to my necessities and services, and not to forget therein my wife.

The Rev<sup>d</sup> Father de la Richardie<sup>1</sup> left Montreal for Detroit on the 6<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1747, as I have already observed. It is to be wished that he may succeed. Things are in a bad condition in that country; their consequences may be unfortunate if we do not obtain a reinforcement of troops.

The expenses necessary to maintain trade, and which are very heavy, are not to be thought of, and those people are always craving without its being possible to satisfy them. The Rev. Father de la Richardie told me he was so infirm as to make him fear that his arrival would be very late, and that he should suffer considerably from the lateness of the season, but that nothing had obliged him to attempt going but superior orders. Others have said, that when at Quebec he appeared to like to go, and that he goes thither only to show his importance (*pour se faire valoir*). He goes well equipped, in order not to lose his time, and will be sure to sweeten his troubles by the profits he will realize.

M<sup>r</sup> de Perrelle is an excellent officer; he acted as Adjutant at Rochefort and Isle de Ré. I continue to employ him, having remarked great capacity and special talent in him to discharge the duties of that office; he, moreover, is a very neat draughtsman. He has executed several designs of fortifications both in whole and in part, and has been very correct in their details.

Inclosed are the military operations performed by Lieutenant Herbin, Jun<sup>r</sup>, of the troops on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, in the direction of the Dutch, with thirty Canadians and four Indians. They brought in four prisoners and six scalps to M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, commandant of Fort St Frederic.

On the 22<sup>d</sup> April, with 50 Canadians and seven Indians, they took three prisoners and twenty scalps, and brought them to Montreal with a great quantity of English letters.

M<sup>r</sup> de Lignery has made the campaigns of the Foxes, the Chicacas at Fort L'Assomption<sup>2</sup> and Acadia; was at the defeat of the Mohawks and Dutch by Chev. de la Corne and M<sup>r</sup> St Pierre at the Cascade<sup>3</sup> of the Island of Montreal. M<sup>r</sup> de Blainville, the senior ensign of Infantry, commanded at the River St Joseph. He was with M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud, when they captured a little English fort in the Boston government.

During the late troubles among the Upper Nations, there was imminent danger of being assassinated, not knowing the secrets of their hearts. They are, in truth, all very treacherous, without our being hardly able to distinguish the bad from the good, for, in fine, all are bad. It is very difficult to protect oneself against them. They are numerous, and are everywhere, frequently in the place where they are by no means expected, so cunning are those people.

BOISHERBERT.

November, 1747.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. JUSTINIAN DE LA RICHARDIE, S. J., came to Canada (according to the *Liste Chronologique*, No. 429) in 1716. He served many years in the Huron country, also in the Illinois, and died in February, 1758. *Ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> See VII., 777, note 1. It was called the Fort of the Assumption, because 'twas on that day (15 August, 1739) the army landed. *Memoires Historiques sur la Louisiane, par Dumont*, II., 238. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> en cascade. *Text*.



*Journal of Occurrences in Canada; 1746, 1747.*

Abstract, in form of a Journal of the most interesting occurrences in the Colony, in reference to military movements, and of the various intelligence received, since the departure of the ships in November, 1746.

1746. November. In our last letters in the fall we informed the Minister of the attack, by a party of Mohawks in the beginning of this month on Soulange, wherein 3 or 4 persons had been killed and 5 or 6 carried off. We also informed him that the second attack at Ile à la Mothe on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, on 15 carpenters employed in getting out some building timber, was made by 9 Indians, also Mohawks, on their return from Montreal, where they came as a deputation in the beginning of this month; in this last attack one man only was killed, three were wounded, and one taken prisoner by these Indians.

19<sup>th</sup> 100 Indians of the Acadian village who are wintering in the neighborhood of Quebec, are sent by the General under the command of Lieutenant de Villiers to Montreal to be thence distributed among the different garrisons established on our frontiers towards Fort St. Frederic, and to be employed as scouts in observing the enemy, in case any movement be made in that direction.

25<sup>th</sup> The brigantine *Le S<sup>t</sup> Esprit*, one of the vessels that was loaded with provisions for Bay Verte, has returned to Quebec, having been forced back by the ice. We reported this circumstance to the Minister by our letter to M. de la Jonquière of the 30<sup>th</sup> instant, copy whereof we have addressed him.

NOTE.—These despatches have not been sent from Beaubassin until the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, 1747, by Sieur Cheron, in consequence of the fleet having sailed when they arrived at Beaubassin.

3<sup>d</sup> December. A party of Abenakis belonging to Medoctet,<sup>1</sup> brings us in a prisoner whom they took 50 miles from Casco, a little before All Saints' day. He reports that there is considerable talk at Boston of an expedition against Canada.

At the close of this month the commandant of Fort St. Frederic sent 3 cadets and some Indians on a scout towards Fort Sarastau, to ascertain what was going on there, and whether the troops encamped at that place in the beginning of the month, were still there. They reported that there was no longer any camp, but that the fort had been enlarged by more than one-half; that the English had a large storehouse erected quite convenient to it, and that the garrison in the fort might consist of 300 men.

1747. January 13<sup>th</sup> We learn by couriers from Beaubassin that the fleet has returned to France in consequence of the sickness of the crews and the lateness of the season; that M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment, which had reached Port Royal, had retired to Beaubassin where he is awaiting orders; that the brigantine *La Judith*, which had been loaded with the rigging of the frigate *La Marthe*, was captured off Mount Louis; that the two vessels with provisions for Bay Verte have arrived there; that Sieur Lelarge, commanding a snow, had returned to Beaubassin, whence he was to sail in a few days; that M. de Saliés, commanding *La Sirène*,

<sup>1</sup> See IX., 733, note 1. — Ed.



made his appearance off the East coast at the end of November, and had returned on learning that the fleet had sailed.

In the existing scarcity of salt in the Colony, the Intendant has resolved to send *Sieur Perthuis*, the elder, to *Camouraska*, where we are assured there are saline springs. He is to test them.

24<sup>th</sup> *Sieur Perthuis*, the elder, has returned; he brings samples of salt that he has made. It is an excellent but a feeble resource on account of the slowness and expense of the operations. Nevertheless, the Intendant issues orders for its manufacture; 'twill be always a trifling aid in case the vessels from France do not arrive in season.

The General is dispatching *Captain de Lalorne*, the elder, from *Montreal*, in company with *Messrs Dubreuil, Lalorne and Belestre*, to visit all the Upper Nations and to invite them to come down next spring to *Montreal*, to fight the common enemy, should he make any attempt on this Colony.

30<sup>th</sup> We are sending expresses to *Beaubassin*. The General is determined that the detachment of Canadians, composed of about 300 men, which remained there, shall winter in that country, not only to protect the inhabitants of those parts against the English, but also in the hope that his Majesty will be at liberty to continue his designs against *Acadia* and succeed in executing them.

February 4<sup>th</sup> In consequence of what we have written to the Minister last fall, regarding the guards to be established next winter on the river at different points, we dispatch the man named *Olivier* with three others, across the woods to the *Grand river*, where he is to take a boat to proceed to *Cape Desrosiers*, as soon as the navigation will permit, with orders to observe the ships which will pass or appear off that coast, and give us notice thereof; we have handed him the extract of the news we have received, in order that he may communicate it to the captains of the King's ships, if any appear off *Cape Desrosiers*.

7<sup>th</sup> We receive letters from *M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay* and *Father Germain*, dated *Beaubassin*, 9<sup>th</sup> of January; they inform us that 200 @ 250 English arrived overland at *Minas* at the end of December, under the command of *Messrs Gorham*<sup>1</sup> and *Phips*, with the intention of erecting one or several blockhouses there; that they even had conveyed to that place in two small craft, the timber necessary for that structure; that they were calculating to pass the winter there, and to wait for a reinforcement in the spring; that the enemy think the detachment of Canadians has returned by the *River St. John*, having seen *Sieur Lelarge's* snow passing that way; that the *Acadians* who remain faithful to us, have taken refuge with their families in the woods. *M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay* adds, that he is preparing to send his detachment to *Minas*, to drive the enemy thence if possible. We have, likewise, advice that the ships *La Déesse* and *La S<sup>te</sup> Croix*, two of the three vessels loaded with provisions and destined for *Chibouctou*, had entered that port on the 6<sup>th</sup> of December; when having been informed of the departure of the fleet, they set sail again on the 9<sup>th</sup> for *Martinico*, according to the orders we had given them; the ship *Le Lion d'Or*, the third vessel destined for *Chibouctou*, did not, as yet, make her

<sup>1</sup> Col. JOHN GORHAM was a native of Massachusetts. In 1745 he was stationed at *Annapolia, Nova Scotia*, which being threatened by the enemy, he was sent to *Boston* to recruit. He was then invited to raise a number of men and join the expedition against *Cape Breton*; was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in his father's regiment, and put in charge of the whale boats. He accompanied the expedition, and on the death of his father at *Louisbourg*, was promoted to be Colonel. He returned to *Annapolis*, and in 1749 was appointed a member of *Cornwallis' Council* at *Halifax*. Gorham, in *Maine*, is called after the family. *Massachusetts Genealogical Register*, IX, 110; *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, I, 139; *Williamson's Maine*, II, 226, 374; *Parsons' Life of Pepperell*, 240. — Ed.



appearance, having been separated a few days before. It is supposed that this third vessel had been forced to continue her route to the islands.

24<sup>th</sup> We send back the couriers to Beaubassin; we direct M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay to adopt the best measures for the expulsion of the English from Minas, where they would not fail to form a new establishment with a view to cut off all our communication with Port Royal; that this is of so much the more consequence as we are always in hopes that his Majesty will make a new attempt on Acadia this year. We add, to dispatch a vessel to France as soon as the season will permit, to inform the Minister of his situation and of the success attendant on this expedition against the English at Minas. Uncertain of the circumstances in which M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment will be placed after the Minas expedition, and fearful that the enemy obliged him to return to Quebec by the River St John, we send to Lake Temisquata, in the interior of the country, 25 leagues from the St. Lawrence, about a hundred quintals of flour and other provisions to be forwarded at the very opening of spring to that detachment, should it have been obliged to quit Beaubassin.

March 5<sup>th</sup> After all the hostilities committed by the Mohawks on our borders around Montreal, the General did not hesitate to declare war against them, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month, in a council held at Montreal, which was attended by the major portion of the Iroquois of the Saut and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, who have accepted the hatchet against the Mohawks and promised to make use of it. The domiciliated Abenakis, the Nepissings, Algonquins, some Poutouatamis, Outaouas, Puans, Sacs, Illinois and Hurons, who were also present at Montreal, have done the same; all these Indians, with the exception of the domiciliated Iroquois, have gone out to fight in different parties to the number of 8 or 10, in the direction of Connecticut, Corlac and Orange. The General has detached, at the same time, M<sup>r</sup> de la Chauvinerie, interpreter of the Iroquois language, to the four other Iroquois cantons, with instructions to enable him to explain to them the motives of his late proceedings.

6<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of intelligence from Beaubassin; we learn the details of the occurrence at Minas on the 11<sup>th</sup> of February last, which are as follows:

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay being unable to march, in consequence of a severe bruise he had received on the knee, on his journey to Minas, the detachment of Canadians, consisting of about 300 men, including French and Indians, under the command of Captain Coulon, started on snow shoes from Beaubassin on the 23d of January for Minas, to drive off the English, who had come to settle there. It arrived at Pegiguit<sup>1</sup> on the 10<sup>th</sup> of February. The commander having reconnoitred the enemy's position, divided his force into 10 detachments, for the purpose of making a simultaneous attack on as many houses in which the enemy was quartered to the number of 500, instead of 250, as had been already reported. After having marched all night he found himself, at three o'clock of the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup>, in a position to commence the attack, which he did. The enemy had sentinels at each house, and kept good watch. Sieur de Coulon, shortly after the first shock, received a musket ball in his left arm, which obliged him to retire, from loss of blood. The ten houses that were attacked were all carried, with the exception of one only, which had cannon, and had been abandoned by the Micmacs, four of their men having been put *hors de combat* by the first fire. The command having devolved on Captain Chevalier de la Corne, he attacked and carried the house occupied by

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 66, note.—Ed.



Colonel Noble<sup>1</sup> and his brother, with Mr Haw,<sup>2</sup> member of the Council at Port Royal. He remained in the house, and with a part of the detachment which rejoined him, prevented the approach of the enemy, whom he obliged to take refuge in a stone house, in which they had some cannon. The firing had been unceasing from the commencement of the attack in the morning until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when the battle ceased. In this space of time the enemy have had 130 men, including 6 officers,<sup>3</sup> killed on the spot, 34 wounded and 53 taken prisoners. On our side, we have lost 6 men, to wit, 3 Canadians, a farmer from Port Toulouse, and two Micmacs; and had 14 wounded, including Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Coulon, and De Lusignan, a cadet. Captain How being dangerously wounded, requested Mr de la Corne to send for an English surgeon to staunch his wound, the French surgeon being at the time engaged in attendance on Mr de Coulon. This occasioned the sending of hostages on our part, and a suspension of hostilities until the English surgeon was sent back. It was then that two English officers came out of the houses and advanced with a French flag towards the house where Sieur Lacorne lay, who sent out to receive them. They proposed to him a cessation of hostilities until 9 o'clock the following morning. He granted them their request, but perceiving at a very early hour next day that they were leaving their houses, and collecting the cattle, he sent to notify them that if they did not return to their houses at once the armistice should terminate. Mr Goldwhait,<sup>4</sup> the English Commandant, came to see Sieur de Lacorne, in company with another officer, and after having excused himself ordered all his men to retire, asked to capitulate, and submitted his terms in writing; Sieur de Lacorne agreed to a portion of these, after having taken the advice of his officers, and told Mr Goldwaite to make haste with his decision, as a prompt renewal of the attack had been determined on. The capitulation was then signed, and the following is an abstract of the articles it contains:

The French detachment being formed into two lines, the English troops, to the number of 330 men, shall file off from the stone house into which they retired, within twice 24 hours, for Annapolis Royal, with the honors of war, 6 days' provisions, haversack, one pound of powder, and one pound of ball per man.

Those who have been taken shall remain prisoners of war.

The French will retain the two sea vessels they have taken.

The booty is not to be restored, as it was taken by the Indians.

The English sick and wounded in the house shall be conveyed to the River Aux Canards, and lodged by orders of the French Commander, and maintained at the King of England's expense, until in a condition to be removed to Annapolis Royal; and until they recover may retain their surgeon, and all shall be furnished with letters of protection.

His Britannic Majesty's troops actually at Grand Pré shall not be at liberty to bear arms at the head of the Bay of Fundy; that is to say at Minas, Cobequit and Beaubassin for the space of six months from the date hereof.

<sup>1</sup> Col. ARTHUR NOBLE was Lieutenant-Colonel of Waldo's regiment at the siege of Louisbourg, in 1745. His brother James married the widow of Lieutenant-Colonel William Vaughan, *supra*, p. 45. The town of Nobleborough, Lincoln co., Maine, is called after the family. *Williamson's Maine*, II., 250, note.

<sup>2</sup> EDWARD HOWE was afterwards, in 1749, one of Gov. Cornwallis' Council at Halifax. *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, I., 139, 319. A Mr. Howe was killed near Beaubassin by Indians in 1750 or 1751, but whether he was the gentleman mentioned in the text we have not the means of ascertaining. Compare *Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 14, and *Smith's History of Canada*, I., 217. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel Noble, Lieutenants Lechemere, Jones and Pickering, and Ensign Noble. *Haliburton*, II., 132.

<sup>4</sup> He was from Maine and commanded a company in Colonel Waldo's regiment in the expedition against Cape Breton, in 1745. *Parsons' Life of Pepperell*, 247.



The King of England's troops thereupon marched out of their guard-houses, and the French troops took possession of them, as well as of Grand Pré, of all the provisions, warlike stores and artillery, consisting of two 4 pounders and 3 swivels.

This expedition has had a good effect on the minds of the Acadians at Minas,<sup>1</sup> who at present make no difficulty in furnishing the detachment with whatever refreshments it requires. The enemy quartered at Grand Pré on the farmers; took the tenth of their grain and cattle from them, and hoisted their flag on the church, which proceeding irritated the greatest portion of the people.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay adds, that he recalled the detachment to Beaubassin, which was the most convenient position to be guarded, and the one in which the provisions and ammunition are stored; that he sent an officer with a detachment to Chibouctou to receive the French ships that will appear in that harbor, and to inform them of what is occurring.

20<sup>th</sup> We send Sieur Aubert, a captain of a ship, to Rimousky, where he is to arm a biscayenne, to go to Cape Desrosiers at the opening of the navigation. He is the officer who is to have the command of the guard to be posted there early in the spring to watch the vessels that will pass, and to transmit and receive intelligence.

21<sup>st</sup> Ensign de Gannes, of the troops, has arrived from Fort St<sup>e</sup> Frederic. We learn that a party consisting of 30 Frenchmen and Indians, under the command of Lieutenant Herbin, had struck a blow near Fort Sarastau, killed 6 and took 4 Englishmen. The remainder, numbering 15, took to flight, and abandoned their arms; two of these four prisoners who remained behind at Fort St. Frederic, sick, have been examined there, and a third at Montreal. They report that there are 12 cannon at Fort Sarastau; 6 18's and 6 8's; that the garrison consists of about 300 men; that 5 or 600 bateaux had been built at Orange and about 100 at Sarastau, they think for Fort St<sup>e</sup> Frederic; that sickness prevailed all winter at Orange, where a great many people died; that it is still raging there and at Sarastau, where a great number have died this winter; that two pretty large vessels belonging to our fleet and pretty well loaded, have been taken and carried to New-York about two months ago; that the prisoners taken at Soulange last November by a party of Mohawks, have been conveyed to New-York where they have remained; those taken at Ile à la Mothe were carried to the same place by four Mohawk chiefs. And finally, that the 3 or 400 men who came last autumn to Sarastau were only to garrison the fort and protect it from the incursions of a large French force, of which they were apprehensive at that time.

22<sup>d</sup> We send back to Beaubassin the couriers who arrived on the 16<sup>th</sup> We write to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay on different subjects appertaining to Acadia; we recommend him anew to dispatch a vessel early to France, if he have not already done so, to inform the Minister of the particulars of the affair at Minas, of the situation of the detachment, and generally of whatever he will be able to learn of the movements of the enemy.

27<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de La Corne, Lieutenant Beaujeu, Ensign Mercier, and Cadet Marin, Jun<sup>r</sup>, arrive from Beaubassin, which they left on their return from Minas. We learn by them that the prisoners, taken at Grand Pré, all say, that Canada will be attacked in the spring by land and by sea; that a citizen of Boston writes to his son, an officer at Port Royal, that a force of 9,000 men have been marched for Fort St. Frederic; that Admiral Warren had sailed from

<sup>1</sup> In that part of the township of Horton which borders on the basin was situated the French village of Minas, of which frequent mention is made in the history of Nova Scotia. No traces of it are now to be seen except the cellars of the houses, a few aged orchards and groups of willows, the never failing appendages of an Acadian settlement. *Haliburton*, II., 115. — Ed.



Boston for Old England in the month of December, to solicit the command of the fleet destined to ascend the Canada river; that the English who were at Minas, were intending, at the time of their defeat, to march against Beaubassin for the purpose of driving therefrom our detachment, which, they understood, was still there; seizing that place and Bay Verte, where they expected to go on board the ships which were to arrive there in the spring and convey them to Quebec. These prisoners say, and the same is stated by Acadians returning from Port Royal, that two English ships on their way from Boston to Port Royal, at the close of the season, were wrecked on Menane island and Mount Desert; that of 800 men who were on board of each, only 40 escaped, who wintered on the spot; and that a vessel has been dispatched from Port Royal to Boston, which was to pick them up on the way. We presume that these troops were to join the 500 men who came to Minas to seize all the posts in Acadia, and so deprive us of all means of renewing any attempt against that Province.

April 8<sup>th</sup> We dispatch *Sieur Depleine* to establish, as usual, signal fires and smokes all along the South shore, from *Rimouski* to Quebec, to give notice in case of the approach of an enemy's fleet. We issue orders at the same time to the inhabitants along that shore, to prepare huts and parks in good season, in the rear of their lands, for the security of their families and cattle, in case the enemy should make any attempt, and as soon as the enemy's fleet will be discovered, to repair themselves to Quebec with their arms, blankets and one month's provisions.

Orders are, in like manner, issued to the Captains of *St. Barnabé*, *Green island*, *Camouraska* and *River Ouëlle*, to stop any English packet boats that might land, take the letters and send them to us, and detain said packet boats until the receipt of our answer.

13<sup>th</sup> The General sends *Lieutenant de la Naudière* to the south side of this government, to enrol 175 men, to be sent to *Isle aux Coudres*, as soon as advice shall be received of the enemy's fleet, for the purpose of properly working the five rafts which have been constructed on that island and its neighborhood. He is to search for and impress the necessary transport for that service.

21<sup>st</sup> We receive letters from *Sieur de Joncaire*, resident among the *Senecas*. He informs us that the Five Iroquois Nations have accepted the hatchet from the English; they took it (they say) only to get rid of them; that the attack on *Soulange* was made by a party of Mohawks, with whom was one *Onondaga*, and that the affair of *Isle à la Mothe* was the work of Mohawks who have been to *Montreal* last fall; that there are ten French prisoners, the proceeds, no doubt, of these two attacks; that there is a secret understanding between the Five Nations and our domiciliated Iroquois, to allow the whites to fight each other without interfering with them on either side; that the Dutch, with whom he had conversed, had assured him of the capture of a large ship belonging to *M<sup>r</sup> d'Enville's* fleet, whose chaplain's name was *M<sup>r</sup> Le Major*; that the spy sent in February by him, *Sieur Joncaire*, to *Orange*, has reported to him that the artillery destined for *Fort St. Frederic*, had left on the 15<sup>th</sup> of that month; that it consisted of twelve guns and 2 mortars, and that more than 200 persons have died at *Orange* of the fever.

21<sup>st</sup> *Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt* and *Michel* inform us of the different precautions they are adopting against surprise, and to protect the *Montreal* frontier. They have established guards in the different outposts, to secure our settlements from insults both of the enemy and of the Mohawks, who might be tempted to strike a blow in that direction.



27<sup>th</sup> We dispatch two well armed biscayennes with 4 months' provisions to Cape Desrozier, to reinforce the guard posted there under the command of Sieur Aubert.

We send Sieur Masse, a ship-captain, to Cape Chat, to command the guard to be posted there; we have furnished him the same as last year, with the signals the King's ships are to make, if any appear in that offing. He is to note all the vessels that will pass, and advise us of them.

27<sup>th</sup> We also dispatch Sieur Rouville, Lieutenant-General of the District of 3 Rivers, to command, as usual, the guard at St. Barnabé. He has the same signal.

We destine Sieur Cartier to command and manœuvre the fire rafts of Ile aux Coudres, The Little river, Bay St. Paul and La Gribanne,<sup>1</sup> and to float them against the enemy's ships when they enter the river. The General issues to the captains of these 4 small settlements, similar orders to those of the South shore, to stop the packet boats; also, to the inhabitants of said settlements to build huts in the rear of their lands, to secure therein their families and cattle against all hazard.

The General issues like orders to the captains of the five parishes of the Island of Orleans, explains to them the necessity of abandoning their settlements should the enemy ascend the river, in which case, and on the receipt of the first intelligence, they are to send their families and cattle, and the greatest quantities of provisions possible, to the North and South shores, according to the situation of the parishes; that 40 bateaux will then be sent them to facilitate this removal, and to intimate, moreover, to the settlers the adoption of measures beforehand for the construction of holes (*caches*) in the woods, to contain what they will not be able to remove.

May 4<sup>th</sup> We receive letters from Beaubassin. They contain nothing of interest.

7<sup>th</sup> A party of Abenakis, belonging to Becancourt, bring us in a prisoner<sup>2</sup> they took at Whiscasick, a village 150 miles from Boston, and 15 miles from the sea. Reports that he learned, personally, from a Captain of a merchantman at Whiscasick, that Admiral Warren was expected every day from Old England, with 18 ships of war, exclusive of transports, for the expedition against Canada; that a master of a vessel which arrived at that place has reported, that two French men of war, complete wrecks, were taken near Martinico, belonging to the French fleet that had come to Chibouctou; that he had heard that men were enlisting at Boston, and that several men of war were in that port, and that General Martin had done much damage in France.

Lieutenant Herbin arrives with three more prisoners, one of whom he took in the neighborhood of Sarastau, in a journey he made at the end of April. This prisoner reports that there are about 300 men in that fort, but many are sick; that the garrison is greatly dissatisfied, not having been paid, and being almost entirely out of provisions; that he had heard that a French ship had been taken and carried to New-York last winter; that there may be 100 bateaux at Sarastau; does not know how many there are at Orange.

<sup>1</sup> La Gribanne landing is a few miles east of Cape Torment, below Quebec.

<sup>2</sup> Captain JONATHAN WILLIAMSON was an emigrant from the West of England, where he was born in 1718. He was one of the earliest and most respectable settlers in Wiscasset; had already been taken prisoner in 1746, and detained in Canada six months. After his second capture he remained a prisoner until 1748, when he was exchanged, and returned home by way of Boston. *Williamson's Maine*, II, 246, 252. He died in 1798. Wiscasset is situated in Lincoln county, Maine, on the western branch of Sheepscot river, about twenty miles from the Island of Seguin, which lies two miles off the neck or point of land that separates the entrances into the Rivers Kennebec and Sheepscot. 1 *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, VII, 164, 170. — Ed.



Sieur Herbin handed us some letters written in English, which had been found in the clothes of an officer at Sarastau, who had been killed, and who commanded a small detachment that was going to Orange; some of the letters mention an expedition whereof M<sup>r</sup> Livingston, the Commandant of this Sarastau,<sup>1</sup> is awaiting the result and execution; he adds that all his soldiers are ill; that the garrison is in a miserable condition; that about 100 men only are fit for duty; that he is in want of every succor, and expresses himself in these words: *Were we killed in this expedition against Canada 'twould have been an honor for us.* That the fort is in the worst condition that can possibly be imagined, and that he pities the man who is to come to relieve him. In another letter this officer says, I am content, as far as I am, myself, concerned, and would be so were I at the Carrying Place, and could I be of any use. [Note. Wood Creek (*Rivière du Chicot*) is the only spot in the neighborhood of S<sup>t</sup> Frederic known as the Carrying Place.] Another letter written to Captain Trente at Saratoga says: *The old story is always afloat.* [Note. This is, doubtless, the expedition against Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic.] That the clothes for the new levies are at Orange; that a general meeting had been held there on this subject; that some propositions were not agreed to; that the articles concluded on were sent to the Governor of Boston; a certified statement at the foot of a muster roll of Captain Trente's company mentions that the soldiers composing it have been levied by that Captain *for the expedition against Canada.*

7<sup>th</sup> We learn by a courier just arrived from Montreal that in the last days of April a party of Mohawks and English had fallen on 21 French scouts near Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic, and killed and scalped five of them; Sieur Laplante, an officer, had been very badly treated on that occasion, having received 7 gun shot wounds. This unfortunate occurrence was the result of too much confidence on the part of the French, who have been surprised.

11<sup>th</sup> The Deputies from Sault S<sup>t</sup> Louis have returned; we have satisfied their demands respecting the stone inclosure they formerly requested for their village. A garrison, composed of an officer and four soldiers, has been stationed there.

Our uncertainty respecting the enemy's designs against this country, whether by land or by sea, the extraordinary consumption of provisions daily occurring in the Colony by the domiciliated and foreign Indians, who have wintered in the neighborhood of Quebec, for whose support provision has to be made, the hope which we always entertain of the possible arrival of ships at Chibouctou, this year, to execute operations already projected, to which fleet it will be necessary to send supplies of provisions; the necessity of providing for the subsistence of the Canadian detachment at Beaubassin; all these considerations have determined M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart to purchase all the vegetables and wheat that come down from Montreal to Quebec, belonging to the merchants who trade in these articles; he has the wheat manufactured into flour, so as to be prepared for every event; the merchants of Quebec, on the other hand, are notified that absolutely no provisions will be exported this year for the islands.

12<sup>th</sup> We send a small vessel to Mount Lewis, 80 leagues from Quebec, to take on board 30 *minots* of salt which were left there last fall by a citizen of Quebec. The Colony is in absolute want of this article, and we have, as yet, no news of any vessel in the river from France bringing us a supply of it.

14<sup>th</sup> We learn that M<sup>r</sup> de Niverville, an officer who left two months ago with a party of French and Indians, consisting of about 60 men, has returned to Montreal. He brings no

<sup>1</sup> Captain LIVINGSTON commanded at Saratoga from November, 1746 to March, 1747. *Journal of New-York Assembly*, II., 209. — Ed.



prisoner, his party has only a few scalps, but he has committed great depredations in the enemy's country, and this is what occurred on his march :

He proceeded, first to attack a fort on the height of land opposite the mountain called by the Indians Oquari.<sup>1</sup> He fought there during 4 days, at the end of which the fort<sup>2</sup> asked to capitulate ; the Lieutenant<sup>3</sup> came out, and Sieur de Niverville granted him quarter for all his people who would be prisoners of war ; whilst this Lieutenant was conveying the answer to the fort, our Indians becoming impatient, fired some shots on the other side of the fort, which prevented the English surrendering ; Sieur de Niverville has been obliged to retire with his force and to try his luck elsewhere beyond Dearfields, and below the White river ;<sup>4</sup> and after having gone past several abandoned forts and hamlets, as far as a sort of village, situated near a fort, where, in like manner, there was not any person, but, which doubtless served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants in case of alarm, he ambushed his men in that place in the hope of striking a blow, and for fear of creating the least alarm, arranged with his Indians not to fire unless the enemy were more than 8 or 10 ; if less, they were to be attacked, tomahawk in hand, so as to take them alive ; finally, two of the enemy made their appearance, but the young Indians, in emulation, one of the other, fired 30 shots at them, and alarmed the whole country ; they were obliged to be satisfied with these two scalps, and to think of a retreat ; on their return they burnt within 30 or 40 leagues, 5 small forts that were abandoned, 3 meeting-houses, about 100 dwellings, mostly of two stories, furnished even to chests of drawers, the decorations of which the Indians carried off ; several fine barns, and killed 5 @ 600 sheep and hogs, and about 30 horned cattle. This devastation is well worth a few prisoners or scalps.

16<sup>th</sup> We learn that Sieur de la Chauvinerie, Iroquois interpreter, whom the General had sent as a deputy to four of the Five Nations, returned to Montreal on the 13<sup>th</sup> instant, with 12 or 15 Onondagas, exclusive of the women and children the Chiefs of that Nation gave him to convey back to Montreal in safety, whilst all the Chiefs of all the villages have assembled to come down forthwith. This officer gives assurances of the perfect neutrality of the Onondagas, Senecas, Tescarorins, Cayugas and Oneidas ; that they are all very well disposed towards us ; that they are at variance with the Mohawks, the English and the Dutch ; more than that, they have not had any correspondence with them since the council was held last fall at Orange. The interpreter of the Dutch followed them into the villages, to induce them to make use of the hatchet they had accepted. The Iroquois would not listen to him ; they

<sup>1</sup> Fall Mountain, Charlestown, New Hampshire. *Dwight's Travels*, II, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Called, at this time, "Number 4." In 1736 a committee of the General Court of Massachusetts recommended the laying out a range of townships between the Merrimack and the Connecticut, and on each side of the last mentioned river. These townships were numbered 1 to 9. Of these, "Number 4" was afterwards called Charlestown, in honor of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles. *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*, IV., 102, 103, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Captain PHINEAS STEVENS, of Charlestown, New Hampshire, was a native of Sudbury, Massachusetts (whence his father moved to Rutland, New Hampshire), and at the age of 16 was carried off by the Indians to Canada ; he volunteered to join the projected expedition against Canada in 1746 ; was afterwards ordered to the frontiers and employed either at Fort Massachusetts or at "Number 4," and at the latter post made the gallant defence in the latter end of March, 1747, against Niverville, whom the New England authorities persist in calling Debeliné. *Belknap's New Hampshire*, III., 192 ; *Dwight's Travels*, II., 90 ; *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, I., 184 ; IV., 109. For his bravery on this occasion he was presented with a valuable sword by Commodore Knowles, and continued in the command of the fort until 1750. In 1749 he was sent to Canada with letters from Governor Shirley, and has left a journal of his visit, which is printed in *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, V., 199. On the incorporation of the town of Charlestown, in 1750, he was elected one of the selectmen, and died in 1756, in the service of his country.—Ed.

<sup>4</sup> In town of Hartford, Vermont.



took the War Belt they had received in the council, and broke it under a large stone, and wholly rejected it. The interpreter has returned home. Such is the account the Indians have given to *Sieur la Chauvinerie*. Six Onondagas set out this spring for a meeting appointed at Orange, by the council of the Fall, but the Mohawks and English stopped them at a new settlement,<sup>1</sup> before coming to the Mohawk village, and told them they should speak henceforward only at that place, and not go to Orange. The Onondagas returned home. Some Indians of that nation told *Sieur la Chauvinerie* that a great many people had died at Orange, Corlac, and even among the Mohawks. (There is reason to believe that they are unwilling to let the 5 Nations see the bad state of their affairs.) The Governor of Philadelphia has offered considerable presents to the Flat Heads to take up the hatchet. The Chief of that tribe, who is Sovereign, laughed at him.

*M<sup>r</sup> de la Chauvinerie* also reports that the 5 Nations have offered all possible insults to the people of Orange, pending the Council in the Fall; they killed their oxen, cows, horses at their doors, within the town, and threw ashes on the members of the Council.

The Onondagas stated, on arriving at Montreal, that they had been detached from their village to conduct *Sieur de la Chauvinerie* in safety, but only were preceding the Chiefs of the 5 Nations, who were assembled for the purpose of coming down, and that they would all come to offer their bodies to, and run the same risks as, their Father.

19<sup>th</sup> We dispatch expresses to Beaubassin. We write to *M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay* not to quit Acadia, unless forced, or so ordered by the Commander, who will be sent from France, or by those whom the General will send him. We continue to communicate to him news from our parts.

May 20<sup>th</sup> A courier from Montreal is arrived. *Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt* and *Michel* write us that two Mohegan squaws, who have been taken at Corlac, by a party of 22 Iroquois of the Saut, report that the English have abandoned all their small forts, and withdrawn all the families into the town, or large villages, with a view to collect all the men at Orange, in the design of coming to attempt an attack on Fort St. Frederic; that all these people are collected from Orange as far as the Fort of the Half moon, which is midway from Sarastau; that the Commander of this army was to set out on his march from Orange six days after that on which these squaws were taken.

These two women also assure, that this body of troops is led by Mohawks and other Indians, who were told by the Commandant not to fatigue themselves on this campaign, as he should confine his operations to Fort St. Frederic, which he would take with less trouble than he did Cape Breton; that he should form a considerable settlement there, so as to be able to come to Canada next year.

We learn, likewise, that a party of Mohawks, consisting of 7 men, have just made an attack a league and a half from the Fort at Chateaugué, on a house occupied by a man named Brindamour, his wife and child; the last escaped by throwing itself from the top to the bottom of the hill, and went to alarm the fort; during this time the woman was killed and scalped; the man, after having warded off seven musket shots, finally fell by the sword and the tomahawk; the Indians abandoned him after having removed his scalp; this man was brought to the hospital at Montreal; it is hoped he will recover from his wounds. (*Note.* This man has providentially been cured.) A detachment was sent from Chateaugué fort in pursuit of these Mohawks. We are also informed that another party, consisting of 13 or 14 Mohawks, has been

<sup>1</sup> Johnstown, N. Y. — Ed.



discovered at La Prairie de la Madeleine. Sieur Marin, who commands a guard at St. Thérèse, has sent a detachment in pursuit of them.

21<sup>st</sup> From all that we have already learned of the enemy's movements in the direction of New England, conjoined to the report of Sieur de Niverville, who found the forts and houses he passed, deserted, we are to presume that the enemy are really making preparations to attack Fort St. Frederic. The Onondagas, who have come down to Montreal, have again said on this occasion, that the Mohawks and Dutch object to their passing the line they had drawn above Corlac, and to their coming to Orange. It is to be hence concluded, that the enemy do not give the Onondagas any credit for favorable dispositions towards them; they were unwilling to give them any cognizance of the preparations making there, and notwithstanding all this, the Onondagas constantly assert that they intend to come here next year. It appears, besides, from Mr Livingston's letter, whereof mention has already been made, that the enemy propose coming by the Wood creek carrying place. That creek was incumbered last August by the detachment under the command of M. de Rigaud, but it is not sufficiently obstructed to stop the enemy a long while, and to afford us time enough to oppose their designs. Under these circumstances we considered it indispensable to adopt the most effectual measures to reinforce Fort St. Frederic, in case of its being attacked, as is probable; or to ravage the New England settlements, in case the enemy do not make any movement in that direction. The General issues his orders in consequence, for the levying at Montreal of 5 or 600 men, and even more, if possible, and for trying to unite to them the Upper country Indians now at Montreal. He sends orders, in addition, to Three Rivers for the levy of 100 militia and 30 to 40 Indians of the two villages; and to equip, forthwith, this detachment, to which is conjoined 30 or 40 Indians belonging to the River St. John and Acadia, who have wintered in the neighborhood of Quebec. The General could not make up his mind to detach any settlers from the government of Quebec, being apprehensive that the first news will inform him of a meditated attack on Quebec by sea. The Marquis de Beauharnois has appointed M. de Rigaud, town Major of Three Rivers, to command the detachment. He has orders to repair direct to Fort St. Frederic to oppose any attempts the enemy may make on that Fort, and in case he ascertain for a certainty, by scouts he will send out, that the English are not making any movement of that nature, he is to direct his march towards New England and against such place as will appear most advantageous to him, particularly against Corlac, or even against the village of the Mohawks, exposing his men, however, as little as possible.

21<sup>st</sup> The most of the voyageurs destined for the (Indian) posts are actually arrived at Montreal and ready to start. We have great reluctance to interpose to the Upper country trade any obstacles whereby the Colony would be deprived of a considerable commerce. But this profit does not enter into any comparison with the preservation of the country, for in saving the Colony we save all; therefore, we shall not hesitate to issue orders at Montreal to employ in M. de Rigaud's detachment these voyageurs, or at least such of them as have deferred their departure; except, only, we add, the canoes of the West sea,<sup>1</sup> of the Ouyatonons and of the Miamis.

24<sup>th</sup> A party of Indians belonging to Pannaouamské brings us an Englishman who was taken prisoner near Fort St. George 17 days ago; he is 64 years of age, and by trade a shoemaker. They had no news from Boston at that fort since last fall.

<sup>1</sup> "Mer de L'O." The head of Lake Superior was so called. — Ed.



Evening of the 28<sup>th</sup>. Sieur Lagroix, taken on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, 1745, in a King's schooner, at the mouth of the Little Brador, returned with 5 other Frenchmen who were sent back from Boston to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, in exchange for M<sup>r</sup> How, who was taken prisoner at Minas and sent home on his parole.

Sieur Lagroix left Boston on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April, with a pass from Mr. Shirley; he reports that the English had made preparations and collected provisions last July and August for an expedition against Canada, as they gave out; even the people of his suite have been employed in packing biscuit into dry casks. They then merely mustered 6 or 700 men from the country; since winter, he has not heard when this expedition was to take place. Sieur Lagroix has counted 50 to 60 vessels, bateaux, schooners, snows, &c., in Boston harbor. The English do not deny that a great number of them have been taken by the privateers of Martinico and those of France.

Evening of the 28<sup>th</sup>. Goods are exorbitantly dear at Boston; the pound of bread is worth 3 shillings, which is equal to 12 *sous* of our money, and meat is one shilling dearer than bread. Paper money is so common and so discredited there, that Lagroix assures us when he was first put in prison, he changed a dollar for 25 shillings, and at his departure he got 50 shillings for them.

The English sent this spring some people to Louisbourg to replace those that died. These were so numerous that the first cemetery at the Maurepas gate was full, and they were carrying their dead to the White Point.<sup>1</sup>

Mutiny and disorder had prevailed at Louisbourg; the soldiers are dissatisfied with the Governor; the English say that the conquest of Ile Royal is fatal to them, ruinous to their people and provisions.

That the battle at Minas created great sensation at Boston; the English have put it in their gazettes; they were about to levy 2000 men to destroy or drive off the Canadians at Beaubassin, and to revenge the death of Colonel Noble, who has been sincerely regretted.

Sieur Lagroix says that the English did intend, in the very beginning of this winter, to attack Fort St. Frederic; they have sent a vessel from Boston to New-York freighted with artillery, bombs, snow-shoes and other stores; if there be any expedition, 'tis his opinion that it will be against that fort.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Shirley and Waren conversed in Lagroix's presence about the Canada expedition; the places where they could winter their ships; spoke of Tadoussac Cove, St. Patrick's Hole; that they would post themselves on the Island of Orleans, to prevent any succor being received from France; that they would land at St. Joachim and lay waste the country as far as Quebec, and that they were aware we had fire rafts. They say, on this occasion, they would leave their large ships at Bic, and would send up schooners, bateaux and other small craft by the south.

Evening of the 28<sup>th</sup>. Sieur Lagroix handed to the General a letter M<sup>r</sup> Shirley wrote him, dated the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, O. S., in which he proposes, among other things, a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners.

Sieur Lagroix hands us two letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, the first dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of April, wherein that commander informs us that he is in receipt of news from Chibouctou of the 28<sup>th</sup> of March; that only one English vessel had made her appearance at that place; that she had

<sup>1</sup> Pointe blanche or White Point, is on the east side of the mouth of Gabarus bay, one mile west of Louisbourg. — Ed.



fired on 4 Acadians who had abandoned a pirogue, which the English subsequently carried off. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of March, 2 large ships were seen sailing in the direction of Ile Royal; he adds, that the vessel he designed for France, sailed on the 7<sup>th</sup> of that month of April, by which opportunity he had transmitted a report of every occurrence in Acadia, since the preceding autumn. Sieur de Ramezay informs us in his second letter, dated the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, that the English had come on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April to Minas with a 24 gun brig, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> Rowsse,<sup>1</sup> and two armed schooners and 300 men. After being assured by the Acadians that there were no more Canadians in that place, they landed to the number of 150, posted themselves in the stone house which they formerly occupied, hoisted their flag for an hour only, told the settlers that they re-took Grand Pré by force of arms. The enemy retired after a sojourn of four days, without landing anywhere else. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay transmits us a return of the provisions remaining at Beaubassin for the subsistence of the detachment and Indians at that place; he estimates having enough at most for one month; adds, that he is obliged to feed a number of strangers from the Island of St. John and elsewhere, who have abandoned their settlements; that if he do not receive supplies of provisions in the course of this month, he will be forced to conclude on returning. This last circumstance has greatly surprised us; we have always calculated according to the different quantities of provisions that reached Beaubassin last fall, that the detachment had, at least, one year's supply. In truth, the other settlers from the environs have augmented the consumption. Sieur Lebé, the Intendant's deputy, writes to him, in the month of March, that a great deal of provisions had to be in store, inasmuch as they had to be sold to all those who applied, in payment of the King's notes which were scattered throughout Acadia.

Evening of the 28<sup>th</sup>. He again informs him, on the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, that the consumption of provisions is considerable in consequence of the number of strangers, exceeding 600, whom they were obliged to assist, so not to be left to perish of hunger; that, notwithstanding this great outlay, the resolution that had been formerly taken to return, within a short time, to Canada, had caused the destruction of a large quantity of provisions and effects; that he was, at present, entirely out of everything. We fear that M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay will be obliged to resolve on returning. However, we hope by the measures that officer will have adopted for economizing the provisions, that he will be able to wait for those we are to send him, and for the transmission of which M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart is about to make immediate arrangements.

29<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the schooner *L'Aimable Marthe*, Captain Simonin, which sailed from Martinico the 15<sup>th</sup> of April. This Captain gave the letters intrusted to his care to Sieur Aubert at Cape Desrozier, who has dispatched a canoe to bring them to us. Sieur Simonin has informed us that the three vessels loaded with provisions for the King's account, which sailed from Quebec last fall for Chibouctou, had arrived at Martinico; that a ship had arrived 3 days before he left, with news that peace had been concluded between the King of France and the Queen of Hungary. Sieur Simonin has handed over to us 4 prisoners belonging to a prize he took on his voyage.

29<sup>th</sup> Arrived, an express from Montreal. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel write us on the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup>. The following is whatever of interest their letter contains.

The 200 men, levied by M<sup>r</sup> de Beaucourt for Fort St. Frederic to be employed on scouting parties which are indispensable under existing circumstances, are to set out on the 25<sup>th</sup> under

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 59, note. — Ed.



the command of Chevalier de La Corne, who is to return immediately on the arrival of that detachment at the fort.

Another levy is being made for M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud's detachment, in the equipment of which every diligence is used.

The Mohawks have recently made another attack at the Buisson, 9 leagues from Montreal, where they have seized and carried off 3 men, viz<sup>t</sup>, one Delisle, his son, and the last surviving son of the man named Montreuil, previously taken at Soulange ; some Nepissings and Iroquois of the Lake have gone in pursuit of them, but in vain.

The Mohawks struck another blow at the same time at the Little Rapid, a league below Chambly, where they have killed a child, and taken 2 men, 2 women and 4 children. Lieutenant de Vassant, commanding a guard at St. Therèse, immediately sent a detachment to the River Aux Sables,<sup>1</sup> to intersect the passage of the enemy ; but it returned without having discovered any trail ; this led to the suspicion that the enemy are encamped above Chateaugué. M<sup>r</sup> de Beaucourt, in consequence, detached Lieutenant St. Pierre, with 80 voyageurs and citizens by the Cascades to Lake St. Francis, so as to surprise them, and return by Chateaugué. Eight Abenakis of Missiskouy, have followed this officer ; word has been sent to those of the Lake to go and meet him at the Cedars ; it was not thought proper to invite the Iroquois of the Saut, as 'twas feared at Montreal that they are treacherous, and favor the Mohawks in their incursions on our settlements ; they are even suspected of giving the enemy notice when we are in pursuit of them, by firing three shots when the detachments are approaching their camp. On this subject well studied messages have been sent to them, which they have respectfully received, and have come to Montreal to answer, in a Council held on the 25<sup>th</sup>, when they gave very lame excuses, and presented a War Belt, in the name of the entire village, in presence of some Onondagas, to affirm their intention of going to attack the Mohawks ; promising to behave better in future. They were told, in reply, that their promise was considered sincere, but constant and palpable proofs were necessary to confirm it, and to this end several joined M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre's detachment.

Those gentlemen inform us that the government of Montreal is wholly stripped of people, by the different considerable levies necessary to be made, as well for the guards on the frontier posts, and for the detachments sent to Fort St. Frederic, as for the convoy of the canoes of the hundred (*du cent*), which employ a great many men. Wherefore they request us to send to Montreal 300 men, from the government of Quebec, to garrison the posts and guard houses. This will enable them to furnish M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud with a larger detachment, by adding to it the militia in the different posts.

The merchants of Montreal are very reasonable on the subject of the postponement of the departure of their canoes for the Upper country. None of them expect to get away before we receive some favorable news. The majority of the voyageurs destined for these canoes are daily employed in the different detachments sent out in pursuit of the Mohawks.

The Onondaga deputies have, of their own accord, requested to come down to Quebec, which renders it probable that they do not entertain any evil intentions. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel have induced them to send a portion of their people back to the village, so that their brethren may not be uneasy, and to advise them that the deputies have been well received. These Indians have agreed to the proposition, and promise to tell the Mohawks to stay the fury of their people ; this cannot fail to have a good effect.

<sup>1</sup> South boundary of Clinton County, New-York — Ed.



We learn, by the same channel that the canoes of the Hundred (*du cent*) heretofore sent to Fort Frontenac, with provisions and goods, had safely reached there, and were about arriving at Montreal.

We also learn, through another channel, that the late attacks of the Indians at the Buisson and the Little Rapid, had caused a number of people of the River Chambli to abandon their settlements, and to remove their families to the North shore, where they feel more secure. Should these Indian incursions continue they will seriously injure the southern settlements, in the government of Montreal, but we hope that the frequent parties, sent in pursuit of the Indians, will eventually relieve us of their troublesome importunities.

29<sup>th</sup> We send back the courier to Montreal to notify Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel that the General is issuing his orders for the levy of the 300 men they require, and that these will be soon sent them.

31<sup>st</sup> Another courier arrives from Montreal. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel inform us on the 28<sup>th</sup> that by intelligence received from the Upper country posts, they learn that the 5 Nations are behaving well at Forts Frontenac and Niagara, and that the Senecas have also assured M. du Plessis, the Commander at this last post, that they would not intermeddle in the affairs of the Mohawks, even were these to demand aid. So much the worse for them, say they, if they get into trouble with our Father; that officer was expecting the Chief of that Nation.

We learn by the same occasion, that a farmer named Desloge, who lived at Ile Perraut, within two leagues and a half or three leagues of the fort, has been carried off by the Mohawks, with his wife and seven children, without any person being aware of it; his son who settled within half a league of his farm, was to see him on the previous Monday, the 22<sup>d</sup>. No news has been heard of him since, and the neighbors discovered only on the 27<sup>th</sup> that the house had been rifled, and that no person was in it.

Great activity prevails at Montreal in fitting out M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud's detachment, which is composed of 400 Canadians recently levied there, of the 200 who have already started for Fort St. Frederic, and of the 100 others levied at 3 Rivers, exclusive of all the Indians, those sent from Quebec, domiciliated Abenakis and Iroquois, &c., making, in all, eleven to twelve hundred men.

June 1<sup>st</sup> The Onondaga Indians came down to Quebec to-day, only 9 in number, the other 20 having been sent back to their village in consequence of what they had projected; we shall detain the latter as long as possible, until we see what course things will take among the other nations. We will treat them well, and have some festivities occasionally prepared for their amusement.

3<sup>d</sup> The express entrusted with the letters from Martinico has arrived at last; there is nothing of interest in those letters, but we have received several New England Gazettes, which this captain has intercepted in the prize he has taken. Some of them make mention of English expeditions in Europe, attended, apparently, by no very great success; others treat of different objects. The following are of the most interest:

There are two paragraphs from Louisbourg. One states that Governor Knowles<sup>1</sup> had a stroke of paralysis, and was seriously ill; another, that he has recovered and was about to leave for England immediately. This is all the papers contain respecting Louisbourg.

A number of persons, including several lords and others, accused of high treason, have been executed in England on account of the Scotch rebellion.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Knowles. — Ed.



The affair at Minas last February is related at length in the Gazette of the 16<sup>th</sup> of March, but they admit only 70 men killed and 60 taken prisoners, and add, that on our side we have had 20 men killed and as many wounded. The English regard this expedition as the most daring that could be made.<sup>1</sup>

An article dated New-York, 3<sup>rd</sup> February, says: *We learn that the brave Commodore Lee has returned from Antigua without once approaching the fleet convoyed by Le Magnanime. It was currently reported that he had received 5 ₤ cent from the French for allowing it to pass; it is to be hoped that this general will receive, on his return to England, the reward he merits.*<sup>2</sup>

Another extract, of which the following is the tenor, has appeared to us of more interest:

*Extract from the Philadelphia Journal of the 24<sup>th</sup> of February.*

*New-York, 16<sup>th</sup> of February.* Captain Witer, who arrived from Carraccas on Thursday last, touched at Turks' island, and took on board the effects taken out of a French transport destined for Canada, which was captured by the *Castor*, *Pollux* and *Triton*, privateers. These articles consisted of cordage, muskets, swords, soldiers' clothing, shoes, hats, camp-kettles, church bells, soap, oil, and divers other effects.

This news is confirmed in a Pennsylvania Gazette of the 12<sup>th</sup> of March.

*Article, dated Philadelphia, 10<sup>th</sup> of March.*

We learn from New-York that one of the ships captured by the *Triton* and *Pollux*, privateers fitted out at New-York, whereof we have already made mention, had arrived at that port on Thursday last.

NOTE.—From the place where the vessel in question was captured and the nature of its cargo, we doubt not but it was *Le fort Louis*.

The same express from Cape Desrosier hands us a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Aubert, who is on the lookout at the said place; he reached his post on the 27<sup>th</sup> of April, and found Sieur Barré there, who had organized a guard, pursuant to the orders we had already given him. Sieur Aubert sends us copy of his journal, which contains the declaration of one Jean Chicouanne, a resident of Point St. Peter, Malbay, who has reported that on doubling the (Island of) Forillon on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November, on his voyage from Quebec last fall, and when Gaspé bay had just opened to his view, he perceived a vessel in said bay, bearing N. N. W. from him; the wind N. E., and, according to the account given him by one Arbour, a resident of that bay, that vessel had been two days tacking in said bay, her white flag hoisted, and when near shore occasionally firing a gun, and that she anchored every night at the Barachois,<sup>3</sup> St. John. Said Chicouanne has added that this ship might be about 250 @ 300 tons, but he had not seen her close enough to distinguish the number of guns she might have; asserts she was deeply loaded or well down (*bien ras*), to all appearance; that the wind always continuing north or northeast, a great deal of ice along the shore, nobody having gone on board this vessel, she determined to sail on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December; fired one gun, hoisted a white flag and shoved out her broadside, the wind being north, the Cape wearing southeast, and disappeared. This ship must have been an English privateer.

<sup>1</sup> The article above referred to, is republished in the *Massachusetts Historical and Genealogical Register*, IX., 108.

<sup>2</sup> He was soon after ordered home. *Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I., 319.

<sup>3</sup> The name *Barachois* is applied, in this country, to small pools adjoining the sea from which they are separated by a strand or ridge of stones. *Pichon's Cape Breton*, 18. — Ed.



This same Chicouanne has again reported that being hunting at Point St Peter on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April last, he remained there more than three hours examining the manœuvres of a three-masted, but apparently small, vessel that he had discovered. She steered towards (*portrait son bord dans*) Gaspé bay, the wind being northeast, the cape north-northwest. He kept her in sight as far as the other side of Whale head, which is inside Point St Peter,<sup>1</sup> where she tacked, the cape bearing E. S. E., and disappeared. This must be an English ship.

3<sup>d</sup> We receive letters from Montreal. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel inform us on the first instant that M. de St. Pierre's journey has been fruitless in consequence of a bad move of the Iroquois of the Saut. This officer had discovered a settlement formed by people of the Saut at the mouth of the River St. Louis, at the head of Lake St. Francis, the place where the Mohawks pass when they are coming to attack our settlements, which has created the suspicion that these same Indians might favor the Mohawks. What more surprised them was, that some of the Saut Indians who accompanied M. de St. Pierre endeavored to take the lead when they supposed themselves near the Mohawks, and were so bold as to fire the three shots again as a signal, which have been repeated whenever these Indians have been pursued. These gentlemen have sent some messages, expressive of their displeasure, to the people of the Saut who received them with much attention and have promised to behave better in future. M. de St. Pierre has brought back with him the Indians who had settled at Lake St. Francis, and had broken several bark and elm canoes there which had been constructed by Mohawks.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel add, that M. de Muy, commanding at la Prairie, informs them that two couriers are arrived from a party of Saut and Lake Indians, who have had one man killed and one wounded. These two messengers report that the party had struck a blow in the vicinity of Corlac, where they have taken one prisoner, who states that Toyennoguen, the Mohawk chief who deceived us last year, had set out with seventy braves to make an attack on the settlements around Montreal.

5<sup>th</sup> The three hundred Canadians levied in the district of Quebec, have sailed this day for Montreal, where they are to serve, either in the frontier garrisons or as scouts, or otherwise.

We receive a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Tonnancourt, dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of this month, wherein he informs us that the Indians of St. Francis had just arrived to the number of eighty warriors; that they are like lions; that they all demand to be equipped so as to avenge the blows the Mohawks have struck both on us and on them; that M. Begon has done all in his power to oblige them to guard their village, but they had answered that they had left forty warriors there, who sufficed to protect it; that they were desirous to take advantage of the fine season to drive off these insolent Mohawks, the most treacherous of all the nations, whose friends the Indians of the Saut Saint Louis, had better be careful, otherwise they should not spare them.

We dispatch expresses for Beaubassin, to advise Mons<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay of the approaching departure of the vessel that M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart is loading with provisions and ammunition for his detachment. We advise him that we hope he will have stretched the provisions until the arrival of the vessel now in course of dispatch; also, that we have been informed of the necessities of the detachment too late to provide assistance for them as promptly as was desirable.

<sup>1</sup> Whale Head and Point St. Peter are the south limits of Gaspé bay, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. — Ed.



6<sup>th</sup> Messengers arrive from Beaubassin. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay writes us on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May. He informs us that he has just received news from Louisbourg of the 25<sup>th</sup> of December only; that sickness was prevailing there and carried off 6 @ 7 persons a day; that only one bomb-ketch had wintered there; that he was also in receipt of news from Chibouctou, in which port only two English vessels had made their appearance, but did not land. We continue to have scouts and pilots there; that he has just been informed that four deserters from Port Royal had set out for Minas, who, having lost their way through fear of being pursued, three were forced by hunger to return; the fourth, who is a sergeant, arrived very ill at Minas. (He intended to send for him.) He learns, at the same time, that the sickness has penetrated the fort, where great numbers are dying.

This officer adds, that M<sup>r</sup> Coulon suffers considerably from his arm, which utterly incapacitates him from rendering any assistance when occasion requires; he, therefore, requests the General to send him an officer to replace M<sup>r</sup> Coulon. He has not one month's provisions in store; there is, however, a good deal of rice and peas, with which he has just assisted one hundred families of the Island of St. John, thirty of whom have come to represent their wretchedness to him. The detachment is in want of everything, particularly of shirts, stockings and shoes.

Contrary winds have retarded until to-day the departure out of port of the schooner *L'Angelique*, Captain Gosselin, of sixty tons burthen, which we send to Bay Verte, with provisions, munitions and goods for the detachment. She sailed with a good breeze from the southwest, and we hope will have a quick passage. The Captain is to take good care to arrive at Bay Verte; he has orders to touch at one of the ports on the southwest point of the Island of St. John, whence he is to send a scout to Cape Tourmentin, to ascertain whether there be any danger in entering the bay. M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay is advised of all by the couriers whom we sent him on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant.

11<sup>th</sup> A. M. Messengers have arrived from Beaubassin. We are in receipt of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's despatches dated the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo. He informs us that an English craft, carrying eight guns and as many swivels, came to the head of Beaubassin bay; that he kept his people on the defensive during two days, but no persons came on shore; that since the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May, the detachment has no more provisions than will suffice to return, in case he be forced to leave precipitately. The Commandant has, consequently, been obliged to notify the settlers of Beaubassin, that he was about to go back, unless they adopted measures to furnish him with necessaries for the subsistence of his troops; whereupon they made some efforts and gave a supply of bread for fifteen days, and a little more meat, on which provisions the detachment was then subsisting in the hope of the arrival of succors from Quebec, before the consumption of those supplies.

Three settlers, whom he had sent express to learn news from Louisbourg, arrived at Beaubassin on the twenty-second of May. They have been at St. Esprit,<sup>1</sup> whence they sent three men to Louisbourg, who, on returning, assured them that there were, in that port, only one bomb-ketch, three schooners and two bateaux, which had recently arrived from Boston, where, it continues to be reported, a great famine prevails; that the English had lost about 500 men at Louisbourg between the fall and Christmas; since which time, however, sickness has pretty well ceased; that the garrison consists of about two thousand men; that the English publicly report at Ile Royale that they will come this year to Canada, and will force

<sup>1</sup> A small harbor on the Island of Cape Breton, west of Louisbourg. — Ed.



the Acadians on board their ships. They appear dissatisfied with the latter, whom they accuse of having taken up arms against them in the battle of Minas.

There was nothing new at Chibouctou, on the 18<sup>th</sup> May, except two small English vessels which go out in the morning and come back at night, without landing.

Intelligence has been received that three vessels had appeared on the 24<sup>th</sup> of said month within six leagues of Bay Verte, in the direction of Port Lajoie.<sup>1</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay sent a detachment of Frenchmen on the scout. On being informed in the evening that these vessels had entered the bay, he sent off a second detachment, composed of all the Indians, who would have been in time to receive them had not these privateers, not knowing that our vessels lay hid in a little river, retired in the course of the night towards Tamigouche. They have not been seen since. He learns from M<sup>r</sup> De Senclave,<sup>2</sup> the missionary priest at Port Royal, who wrote him on the 6<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of May, that news had recently been received from Boston to the effect that a vessel, arrived at that port, had reported that Admiral Warren had sailed from London with fifteen vessels of war for the Canada expedition, which was placed under his direction; that he is expected to bring orders from the Court of London for that expedition; that it is the opinion at Port Royal that forces will be sent from Boston to Minas and Beaubassin; that 'tis thought, however, that no movement will be made in this matter until after this Admiral's arrival; that news had been received at Boston of the return to France of seven men of war and several transports belonging to the Duke d'Enville's fleet; that the English captured *L'Ardent*, *Le Mercure* and *Le Mars*, belonging to that fleet. It appears from this same letter, that the vessel which had arrived at Beaubassin came from Boston without touching at Port Royal, where it afterwards entered. This circumstance leads M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay to suppose that this vessel had come to see whether the detachment of Canadians was still at Beaubassin so as to bring a superior force there and execute their original design against the inhabitants. This Commandant adds, that he is under the necessity of giving us notice that should he not receive news from France or further orders from the General before the beginning of June, he will be under the necessity of immediately setting out for Canada, which he will be able to defer until the 8<sup>th</sup> of said month, when it will be no longer in his power to remain for want of provisions; in which case he proposes to leave an officer at Beaubassin with thirty men and some Indians to block up all the roads and deprive the enemy of the knowledge of his departure.

13<sup>th</sup> The General sends Captain de Fouville to Beaubassin to replace M<sup>r</sup> de Coulon, whom M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay is to send back; he adjoins Lieutenant de St. Vincent to him. We reply, by this opportunity, to M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo. We always expect that this Commandant will have found some assistance at Beaubassin to enable him to wait for the relief we have sent him by the schooner which sailed on the 9<sup>th</sup> instant.

14<sup>th</sup> A party consisting of 14 Pannaouamské Abenakis have arrived, who struck a blow in the vicinity of Fort Saint Georges on fifteen Englishmen, twelve of whom they killed, captured two, whom they have brought to us; the fifteenth escaped.<sup>3</sup> These two prisoners do not know anything new.

<sup>1</sup> Charlottetown, P. E. Island.

<sup>2</sup> Reverend JEAN BTE. DESENCLAVES belonged, originally, to the diocese of Limoges, in France. He is represented as having come to Canada in 1728. *Liste Chronologique*, No. 506. He was parish priest of Port Royal as late as 1753 (*Collections of Literary and Historical Society, Quebec*, 1838, p. 32), soon after which date he returned to France, worn out by age and labor. *Rev. Mr. Taschereau's MS. Notes on the Missions in Acadia*.

<sup>3</sup> A large company of about 100 (Indians) next made their appearance in the territory of Sagadahock, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> May commenced a furious attack on the fort and people of Pemaquid. Five soldiers of the garrison and five recruits belonging to Purpoosuck were killed, and three others, who were inhabitants of Falmouth, were taken prisoners, Lovel and a lad only escaping. *Williamson's Maine*, II., 252. — Ed.



18<sup>th</sup> Captain Vitré, of the *St. Jacques*, arrived from Bay Verte with seven militiamen, of whom two or three are sick, and eleven prisoners who were taken in the affair at Minas.<sup>1</sup>

19<sup>th</sup> Sieur Beaujeu de Villemonde arrives from Beaubassin; he delivers us a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who writes us on the sixteenth instant, that he is at Rimousky with his entire detachment of Canadians and prisoners; that he left Bay Verte on the 5<sup>th</sup>, being unable to remain any longer without exposing his detachment to the danger of perishing of hunger, some of whom even are very sick.

We learn at the same time that Sieur de la Fontaine, who is returned from his post at the North, had seen off Manicouagan a Snow from Bourdeaux, Captain Ducasse, which had sailed on the 20<sup>th</sup> March, and told him that she was the bearer of the first despatches from Court.

21<sup>st</sup> We receive an express from Montreal. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel inform us that the Mohawks had made another attack at the upper end of the Island of Montreal, on two or three houses beyond Fort St. Anne, from which they had taken and carried off three women; that Chevalier Lacorne had been immediately sent off with a detachment of one hundred men, and had arrived at Soulange on the morning of the sixteenth; that this officer had seized a canoe full of the enemy, to the number of six; to wit: five Indians, whereof 4 were Senecas and 1 Oneida, the sixth was a Dutchman, who speaks French and is dressed like an Indian, wearing even a scalp-lock. The three women taken on the previous night have been found in the canoe and liberated.

These prisoners have reported that they had started 35 days ago from the Mohawk village to the number of 43, in 7 canoes; had separated at Lake St. Francis. The other six canoes had gone to *Iles à la Paix*, near Chateaugué, for the purpose of crossing thence to the head of the Island of Montreal. On this intelligence Lieutenant St. Pierre was dispatched without delay with a second detachment of 150 men, and joined Chevalier de la Corne at the foot of the Cascades, where the two detachments formed a junction. Four of the enemy's canoes which had been discovered, fell on the night of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>, into an ambush laid by these gentlemen, who had forbidden any to fire before these canoes were pretty close; but one Canadian, who was too anxious, having fired, all our people, who were then discovered, were obliged to fire in the dark, not knowing where to aim. Sieur Le Duc, a voyageur, has been killed by one of them. Sieur Godefroy, a brave and strong young man, having thrown himself on the bow (*la pince*) of one of the enemy's canoes which was nearest the shore to stop it, received several mortal gun shot wounds from them. This canoe was the only one taken; on board it were found two men killed and nine who are prisoners; of these, three are Dutch and six Indian; the three other canoes of the enemy having put off and gone ashore in order to escape, our people pursued them, but were obliged to return to Montreal, having concluded, from the enemy's trail, that it was impossible to overtake them. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel add, that the Indians of these three canoes went away without provisions, powder or shoes, and had left even their clothes behind. 'Tis expected that some of them will perish by the way. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Corne and Saint Pierre give great praise to the Indians of Saut Saint Louis, who have behaved creditably on this occasion. Thus, they are determined to do what is expected of them. On the next day another canoe belonging to the enemy was discovered upset, floating on the water without any one being able to tell what became of those on board. Those prisoners, to the number of 15, have been conducted to Montreal where the Mohawks and other Indians have been imprisoned and put in irons. When the last of the enemy's

<sup>1</sup> Now Cornwallis, N. S. — Ed.



canoes was attacked, a Saut Indian seized a Mohawk who was running towards the woods ; all these prisoners are to be sent down to us at Quebec, where we shall have them guarded until circumstances change in respect to these nations.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel also inform us of an accident that has happened to one of our bateaux, which on her way down was wrecked in the Saut St. Louis. Nine or ten of the 25 men on board were drowned.

The inhabitants in the government of Montreal are more than ever on their guard ; some detachments are always on the scout.

M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud was still at Thérèse on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant, where he was still recruiting for his detachment, which will consist of 11 @ 1200 men, including French and Indians and the 200 men that had set out some time before him.

By the same courier we receive letters from Captain de la Corne, who was detached by the General to all the Upper Nations ; he writes us from Michilimakinac, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of May, that all the nations whom he had visited had voluntarily and readily offered to go down to Montreal, and that he had not met any difficulty in his mission, in which he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations. He expects to arrive at Montreal on the 20<sup>th</sup> of this month at soonest ; he does not tell us the number of Indians, nor the names of the tribes that are to follow him.

We receive also letters dated Fort St. Frederic, the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month ; there is nothing new at that place, at least of interest ; M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron, the Commandant, merely mentions his sending a detachment of 40 @ 50 Frenchmen and Indians on a scout towards Sarastau, to ascertain what is passing at that fort.

22<sup>d</sup> at night. M<sup>r</sup> de Coulon is arrived from Bay Verte in a skiff ; his arm still embarrasses him. 10 militiamen came in that vessel.

23<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay arrives in the brigantine *le Soleil Levant*, with militiamen and prisoners.

A courier dispatched by M<sup>r</sup> de Rouville from Rimouski, brings us the earliest intelligence from Court, wherewith Sieur Ducasse was entrusted ; we receive by these letters the first orders from his Majesty.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Fouville and St. Vincent have returned. They had learned at the Temisquata portage, the return of M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment.

Arrived the schooner *La Marie*, Captain Laronde, one of our vessels coming from Bay Verte with . . . . .

24<sup>th</sup> Arrived, also, *La Ste. Julienne*, Captain Monséguir, the third vessel from Bay Verte, with 60 militiamen.

Arrived a courier from Beaubassin, with letters from Father Germain, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> instant. He acknowledges the receipt of our despatches of the 17<sup>th</sup> May ; but M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, who left on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, had no knowledge of them. Sieur de Repentigny, who has remained at Beaubassin with a detachment of 30 men, did not expect to leave before the 20<sup>th</sup> or 25<sup>th</sup> instant. We wish much that the schooner with the provisions may arrive at Bay Verte before his departure, so as that he may receive those supplies and place them in security ; otherwise, Sieur Gosselin will be greatly embarrassed as to the course he will have to adopt, should none of our people be at Beaubassin. This circumstance causes us much uneasiness, having reason to fear that Beaubassin may be wholly abandoned. The English, who are already at Bay Verte, might return to the charge, and having no force to oppose them, will find no difficulty in seizing our schooner, which is not able to make any defence.



The Acadians are now more exposed than ever to the resentment of the English ; the latter are aware that some of them had borne arms in the affair at Minas, and that several among them favored the French expeditions.

26<sup>th</sup> We dispatch expresses to Rimouski, Cape Chat and Cape Desrosiers, to advise the commanders of these posts of the departure from France of a fleet for Canada under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, so that we may be seasonably informed of its approach, in order to have an opportunity of sending it, in advance, some refreshments, of which the crews and troops on board will possibly be in want.

We send the same message to Sieur Cartier, the commander of the Fire rafts at Ile aux Coudres, so that he may not make any movement with these rafts until he be certain that the ships, which will probably appear in number, are enemies.

We receive letters from Montreal. M<sup>r</sup> Michel writes us, on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, that M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud marched on the 19<sup>th</sup> instant from St. Thérèse with his whole force, consisting of about 600 French and 300 Indians, exclusive of the 200 French already arrived at Fort St. Frederic.

We send the necessary orders to Montreal, for the dispatch of the canoes destined for the posts of the Upper Country, which it is impossible to detain any longer in view of the necessity that exists of sending goods to the Indians who are absolutely in need of them. These canoes are to be convoyed by about 100 Frenchmen and Indians, for fear of surprise, principally from the Mohawks. Ensign Dubuisson, who commands this convoy, has orders to escort the canoes as far as Niagara. On his arrival there, he will leave half his detachment at that post, to provide the necessary firewood for the garrison, and pursue his voyage with the remainder of his men as far as Detroit, whence he will conduct the canoes destined for the most distant posts and places.

26<sup>th</sup> at night. The man named Douville arrives in a bateau, from Bay Verte, with 11 prisoners and 5 militiamen. This is the balance of the Canadian detachment that wintered at Beaubassin, except thirty, who have remained there under the command of Sieur de Repentigny. All these militia returned in a very wretched condition, and almost wholly naked, with nearly 50 sick. Two of them died on the voyage from Bay Verte to Quebec. We have these militia well treated to recruit them from the fatigues of the voyage, and pay them 30<sup>ll</sup> each, in lieu of pay and clothing. This economizes so far the goods remaining in the public stores.

The prisoners arrived from Beaubassin to the number of . . . . are partly sick ; they have been placed with their comrades in their new lodgings.

Arrived, a schooner from Martinico, Captain Boulau ; sailed from Trinity the . . May, loaded with Rum and Molasses. Saw no vessel in the Gulf.

The snow *Le Jean Joseph*, Captain Ducasse, of Bourdeaux, cast anchor in the harbor.

28<sup>th</sup> The Indians taken by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Corne and St. Pierre, have been brought to Quebec to the number of 10, viz<sup>t</sup> 4 Senecas, 4 Oneidas, 1 Mohegan (*Loup*), 1 Mohawk and 4 Dutchmen, dressed like Indians. We sent word to all the Indians around in Quebec, to the number of 300, who were in attendance on the arrival of these prisoners, and have observed the ceremonies usual on like occasions. They promenaded them through the entire town, made them dance and sing ; we had these prisoners removed to the jail where they are safely guarded and in irons. One Mohegan has remained behind at Montreal sick, and one young Mohawk taken by those of the Saut.



29<sup>th</sup> We receive couriers from Beaubassin. Father Germain acknowledges, on the 10<sup>th</sup> ins<sup>t</sup> the receipt of our despatches of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of May. He informs us that there is nothing new since he wrote last; that he does not intend to quit Beaubassin, until all hope be abandoned of receiving in Acadia some news from France, or 'till we recal him. We have, at present, some reason to hope that Sieur Gosselin, Captain of the schooner *L'Angelique*, having arrived at Cocagne,<sup>1</sup> or some port of the Island of St. John, will have communicated his arrival to Father Germain.

30<sup>th</sup> We dispatch couriers to Beaubassin; we write Father Germain that we expect, according to his last letters, that he will be found at Beaubassin on the arrival of Sieur Gosselin, who will have immediately informed him of the circumstance; that in such case we feel no uneasiness about the disposition he will have made of the schooner's cargo; that should we be in time to indicate to him the employment of the cargo, it is desirable that he should sell at least a good portion of it, either for money, or notes he will have taken up; that, moreover, the French settlers from other parts (*étrangers*) will stand in need of provisions and clothing, and he will be under the necessity of relieving them; that the same will be the case with the Indians, as well his own as those of Father Lacorne, and even with the Micmacs who must be naked; that, therefore, he will find opportunities in one way or the other, to employ the provisions and merchandise in a manner suitable to the interests of his Majesty, his subjects and his allies, and to the maintenance of friendly dispositions among the last. We add, that we cannot prescribe any more positive rule to him, and that we submit the whole to his prudence.

The General informs Sieur de Repentigny that he supposes he is on his return march, agreeably to the orders he received from M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay.

July 1<sup>st</sup> 8 o'clock, P. M. Midshipman de Réal Boscal is arrived. He landed yesterday at the Pilgrims from the frigate *L'Emeraude*, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière de Taffanel. This officer informs us of the unfortunate encounter M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière had with 16 English men of war, to which he gave battle;<sup>2</sup> he could not furnish any positive information about it, being at too great a distance; he adds, that he is in the river with 7 merchantmen, transports, &c., in which there are 14 officers, 150 soldiers and 30 Swiss, and that he had seen 3 more some days after the battle.

4<sup>th</sup> We receive a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Michel, dated the 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo, wherein he advises us that he learns at the moment, from M<sup>r</sup> de Sabrevois, commandant at Ile Perrot, that the deputies of the Five Nations, with the exception of the Mohawks, had arrived at his post to the number of 75 Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscarorins and Cayugas, and that M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire was to arrive at an early day at Fort Frontenac with the Senecas in, probably, an equally large number. The Onondagas have kept the promise they had given to M<sup>r</sup> de la Chauvinerie. We expect to see all these Indians at Quebec; there will be question of negotiating with them, and principally respecting their people whom we have prisoners.

5<sup>th</sup> The frigate *L'Emeraude*, the ship *L'Auguste* and *Le Brillant*, freighted for the King, and *Le Louis Auguste*, have cast anchor this morning in the harbor.

Messengers are arrived from Beaubassin. Father Germain writes us on the 20<sup>th</sup> June, that he had learned on the 18<sup>th</sup> that the schooner *L'Angelique*, Capt<sup>n</sup> Gosselin, had arrived in a little harbor on the Main, named Cocagne, 15 to 18 leagues distant from Bay Verte. This

<sup>1</sup> A harbor on the east coast of New Brunswick, opposite Prince Edwards Island. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of this engagement, see *Holmes' Annals*, II, 174.



missionary caused that vessel to remain in that harbor until he should receive orders for the disposal of the cargo; he has merely drawn some effects for the wants of the detachment of 30 men. Sieur de Repentigny expects to remain at Beaubassin with his little force until he receive further orders; M<sup>r</sup> Desenclave, the missionary priest at Port Royal, writes to Father Germain, 7<sup>th</sup> of June, that M<sup>r</sup> Knowles, Governor of Louisbourg, was then at that fort with two vessels of war, but the object of his arrival was not known.

6<sup>th</sup> The ship *La Renommée*, Captain Trolon, freighted by the King, anchored this morning in the harbor.

7<sup>th</sup> Expresses arrive from Acadia. Sieur de Repentigny and Father Germain inform us, on the 23<sup>d</sup> June, that they have just learned by two settlers from Minas that 10 or 12 Acadians who left Port Royal on the 17<sup>th</sup> of said month, had reported at Grandprée that M<sup>r</sup> Knowles, who had remained in the basin with his ships since the 10<sup>th</sup>, had, on the 15<sup>th</sup>, embarked for Ile Royal on board a vessel which had just arrived; that this same bateau had been dispatched from Boston by Mr. Shirley to inform M<sup>r</sup> Knowles that Louisbourg was already besieged; that these same settlers report that two Acadians of Port Royal, named Suret and Poirier, have assured them that they had heard from the mouth of Dion, the pilot of the bateau in question, that the French had effected their landing on the 2<sup>d</sup> of June; they add that this Dion was engaged to convey, by day or night, the Governor to his post in a bark canoe with which he had taken care to provide himself. We have paid no regard to this news, and if it be true that a fleet has appeared before Louisbourg, it is probably only that of Admiral Warren, who is expected a long while in those seas, with 12 or 14 men of war destined, say the English, for the Canada expedition.

We have reason to presume that when the Minister will have been informed of what had occurred to M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquières on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, he will be anxious to learn what has become of the frigate *L'Emeraude* and the two merchantmen freighted for the King's account, which had separated from the fleet. This circumstance induces us to dispatch the schooner *L'Aimable Marthe*, Captain Simonin, to France, to inform him of the arrival of some of those vessels and of the succors we expected.

8<sup>th</sup> We receive an express from Montreal. M<sup>r</sup> Michel informs us, on the 4<sup>th</sup>, that five Malecites Indians of M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud's detachment had just arrived with an English prisoner; they report that M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud had, on arriving at Fort St. Frederic, detached M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc with 200 Frenchmen and Indians on a scout to Sarasto; that on coming to the vicinity of this fort he had sent 5 men towards it to ascertain what was passing; that one of these scouts having inadvertently discharged his gun they were discovered, which made him think of sending all the Indians back. M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc profited by this conjuncture to make a feint, by showing 15 men in front of the fort in order to induce the enemy to come out, whilst our people waited for them in ambush and concealed. This having been executed, M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc saw 100 men leave the fort; he surrounded them, and, according to the report of these Indians, took 41 and killed 29 of them; others were drowned, and they assert that only 15 or 20 had reëntered the fort. The English prisoner reports that the English were in want of provisions and necessaries, and were beginning to despair of Admiral Warren.

We are informed also that the 4 Nations of Iroquois had arrived at Montreal to the number of 70 men, women and children; there remain but the Senecas, who, 'tis said, are on the road. The former appear well disposed and censure the conduct of those who have been taken; they assure us that those prisoners joined the war party contrary to the advice of the



villages, which warned them to be on their guard against the intrigues of the Mohawks and Dutch, who had seduced them whilst they were in liquor.

We learn by a letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> that M<sup>r</sup> de Lacorne, the elder, had just arrived with 192 Indians from Michilimakinac, River St Joseph, and the Baie, about 80 of whom are women and children.

The ship *La Chimerre*, the snow *Le Dragon*, and the brigantine *L'Aimable Jeanne* have cast anchor in the harbor.

9<sup>th</sup> The 9 Onondagas who are here for the last 40 days, have finally left on their return home. They learned with pleasure the arrival of their chiefs, and those of the other cantons, at Montreal; we made them many presents, and they appear to have left satisfied; we expect that those who are at Montreal will be desirous to see the General and will come down to Quebec.

10<sup>th</sup> The 5 Malecites Indians of M<sup>r</sup> de St Luc's party have just arrived with the prisoner they took in the action. He confirms what occurred in St Lacorne St. Luc's adventure, and adds that no more than 150 men remain in the fort; that 21 months' pay was due to the soldiers, which excited general dissatisfaction. He was at Orange about 20 days ago; he says that 40 companies of 100 men each had been formerly levied in the provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Jersey and Maryland, and they are now reduced by desertion to 40 or 50 discontented men; that these companies were dispersed in different forts; that the one at Half-moon, between Orange and Sarastau, has been abandoned, and that Admiral Warren was no longer expected. We will be able to be more certain when we shall have seen the other prisoners.

12<sup>th</sup> We dispatch, to-day, the schooner we are sending to France, under the command of Sieur Simonin. We inform the Minister, in our letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>, of the arrival of a part of the fleet separated from M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière's squadron, and of the most interesting occurrences in the country since the spring. Sieur Simonin has orders to make the first French port, where he will hand our despatches to the Intendant, or Harbor-Master, to forward them to the Court, by an extraordinary courier.

7 English prisoners are sent down to us from Montreal; one of them is an officer; they are the result of Sieur St. Luc's attack.

13<sup>th</sup> Five or six Abenakis, belonging to M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc's party, bring us an English prisoner taken in the same affair.

16<sup>th</sup> Sieur de Repentigny writes us from Beaubassin that he has just received, by a farmer coming from St. Esprit, intelligence from Louisbourg contradicting those contained in his letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> June. This man had had a conversation with some inhabitants of St. Esprit, who were returning from Louisbourg and had arrived on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, who told him that the Governor had not got back there;\* that the English continued of the opinion that a considerable French Fleet would sail, but they knew not when, nor whither; that Admiral Warren was waiting to learn what course this fleet would steer to oppose it vigorously. This same farmer has brought to Beaubassin, from Ile Royale, 3 deserters, who had left on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May; they report nothing more precise; they only confirm the general discontent of the garrison, which consists of about 1500 men.

\* NOTE.—He had gone to Boston, and was to proceed thence to Port Royal.



The General receives, by way of Acadia, a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Knowles, Governor of Louisbourg, dated Annapolis, the 27<sup>th</sup> May last, where he then was. He proposes to M<sup>r</sup> de Beauharnais to send to Louisbourg the English soldiers taken last year at the Island of St John, who he has learned had been sent to Quebec; and proposes that he add as many other prisoners to them as he shall deem proper, on condition of giving in exchange as many, grade for grade, or to promise to do so when M<sup>r</sup> Knowles shall have any in his possession.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel write us the 13<sup>th</sup>, that they had just received a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, dated Fort St Frederic, the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, informing them that a party of his Indians abandon him; that the diversity of sentiment among them totally changes the plans he had laid down respecting his voyage; that he has determined to proceed to the head of *La Grand Baie*,<sup>1</sup> where he will be in a position to execute his instructions, which are mainly to protect Fort St Frederic; that he will send out frequent scouts to watch the enemy; that after having taken all these precautions, he will determine on what course he is to pursue in his subsequent proceedings.

These gentlemen write us on the 15<sup>th</sup> that they have heard and answered the Indians whom M<sup>r</sup> de La Corne had brought down; that they intend to send them off immediately with that officer to join M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, or to make a special attack, should they not find him. These Indians number about 90, including those who have come down with M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne and the others who have wintered at Montreal.

The vessels lately arrived from France bring very little salt; it is distributed in the ratio of only a quarter of a *minot* to each family. We dispatched, 6 weeks ago, 4 small armed vessels to the north coast of Newfoundland in quest of that article. We are informed that two of these 4 have put back to Gaspé, where they are to take in codfish. The apprehension that the King's ships belonging to M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière's fleet, which were loaded with salt, will not reach us this year; the indispensable necessity of curing considerable provisions, for the movements which are daily occurring, and for the support of the people; all these motives have determined us to dispatch a vessel of 80 tons to Newfoundland for a cargo of that article, if any can be had in the different harbors, where the ships from St. Malo formerly fished. This vessel is fitting out, and will be ready for sea in 8 or 10 days.

17<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the snow *L'Amiable Jeanne*, Captain Iriard, which also had separated from the fleet.

18<sup>th</sup> We send back some of the couriers who arrived within a few days from Beaubassin; we expect that Sieur de Repentigny is on his way back with the rest of his detachment.

19<sup>th</sup> Father Maurice Lacorne, the Missionary to the Miramichi Indians, has just arrived by land; two English privateers having, on the 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo, captured, within 8 leagues of Gaspé, the vessels in which he had embarked, he is content with having been able to escape on shore with his crew, numbering 10 men. The privateers consist of a large snow of 20 to 30 guns and a bateau.

20<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of letters both from Montreal and Detroit; those from Detroit are very interesting. Chevalier de Longueuil, commanding that post, writes us, on the 23<sup>d</sup> June, that some Hurons of Detroit, belonging to the tribe of the war chief Nicolas, who, some years since, had settled at Sandoské, have killed 5 Frenchmen who were on their return from the post at the White river, and stolen their furs; that all the Indians of the neighborhood, except the Illinois, had formed the design to destroy all the French of Detroit on one of the

<sup>1</sup> South Bay. — Ed.



holidays of Pentecost, and afterwards to go to the fort and subject all to fire and sword; that some Hurons, having struck too soon, the plot had been discovered by a Huron squaw who came to give Chevalier de Longueuil notice of it; that this conspiracy is the fruit of the Belts the English have had distributed among all the tribes by the Iroquois of the 5 Nations; that on this notification he caused all the settlers to retire within the fort in order to be prepared for any new treachery. The Outaouas have spoken at Detroit, and have given assurances that they had no participation in this bad business. Other Hurons of Sastaredzy and Taychatin's\* tribe came, also, to speak to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, and have, in like manner, assured him that they had no share in the misconduct of Nicolas' people, meanwhile, asking pardon, they endeavor to exculpate themselves, and propose settling near Detroit. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has given them no positive answer, and has referred them to the General. Nicolas' tribe continues, nevertheless, to reside at Sandoské,\*\* where, says M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, they doubtless expect not only to maintain themselves but even to harass Detroit by small war parties. They have attached to them several families of vagabond Iroquois, *Loups*, &c. 'Tis even asserted that there are some Saut Indians among them. Father Potier,<sup>1</sup> the Jesuit Missionary, has abandoned the village on Bois Blanc island,<sup>2</sup> and retired to Detroit, where he is to remain. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil adds, that if the Nations do not declare in our favor, even though they remain somewhat inactive, it will be out of his power to get the harvest saved; that already the cattle of several of the farmers have been killed and carried off by the Sauteurs, some houses in the country pillaged by unknown Indians; that the chiefs, 'tis true, disapprove highly of the misconduct of these wretches and endeavor to restrain them, but that affords no assurance of their good intentions.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beacourt and Michel, in sending us the letters from Detroit, inform us of the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre, who was sent last winter with M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne; he brought with him 8 or 10 Outaouas of Detroit, 4 Hurons of the same place, among whom are Sastaredzy and 2 Senecas, and some Hurons of Lorette, who acted this winter as his guides.

Private letters mention the murder of the 5 Frenchmen; with circumstances which show that the Hurons of Sandoské have perpetrated the greatest cruelties on this occasion.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beacourt and Michel write us, on the 20<sup>th</sup>, that M<sup>r</sup> de St Luc, who arrives from Fort St Frederic, informs them that M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud is returning with his entire detachment; that he had been three days before Sarastau without having been able to accomplish anything, as the garrison, having already lost more than 100 men, did not any longer stir out of the fort, which could not be carried except by a regular siege, as it was provided with considerable artillery; the desertion of the greater portion of the Indians, and their indisposition to march against the Mohawks, have, besides, obliged M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud to retire.\*\*\*

22<sup>d</sup> We answer M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, informing him in detail of all the precautions he has to take in his future negotiations with all the Detroit tribes for the restoration of peace, if

\* *Sasteradzy*, the principal chief of the Huron Nation; *Taychatin*, another chief, were not present at the attack.

\*\* Sandoské is a lake to the south of Lake Erie, 40 or 50 leagues from Detroit.

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS ANTOINE POTHIER, in the *Liste Chronologique*, No. 609. Mr. Shea gives the name *Peter Potier*. The former authority fixes his arrival in Canada in 1742. He was at St. Joseph's in 1751, and frequently visited the Illinois country down to his death, which occurred at Detroit 16th July, 1781. He is called the last Jesuit in the West. *Shea's Missions*, 376, 482, 501.

<sup>2</sup> At the mouth of the Detroit river.

\*\*\* A Mohegan, named Germaneau, had deserted from Mr. de St. Luc's party; the other Indians were afraid that they should be surrounded by the enemy with a stronger force than ours, the said Germaneau having gone to Orange, where he had given an account of the condition of our forces. — Ed.



possible. We have great confidence in the adroitness of this officer to place the nations again in our interests. In regard to the Hurons, the General sends Messages whereby M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil is to demand of them the surrender of the murderers, to be disposed of according to his pleasure; meanwhile they must declare against the English, who instigated them to commit the crime; they must attack them, and furnish proofs of their repentance by a great many prisoners; that, otherwise, their Father will become their sworn and irreconcilable enemy. We send orders to Montreal to dispatch immediately the canoes for Detroit and the other southern posts, with the convoy; this is of great consequence in order to place M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil thereby in a position to act. This convoy will take the route by Niagara, where Sieur Dubuisson had orders only to land 20 men of his convoy, to cut wood for the garrison belonging to this fort, and to continue his voyage to Detroit with the remainder of his escort, so as, thereby, to secure the arrival of the canoes. We leave M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil at liberty to retain at his post all the people belonging to this convoy, and even the voyageurs and servants, if there be cause to fear any treachery on the part of the Indians; but he must not take advantage of this permission except in case of absolute necessity, and then it would not be just to subject the voyageurs and farmers to the expense of wintering there. Wherefore, we advise this officer, before hand, that we shall defray it.

The ship *St. Ursin*, Captain Paris, has anchored in the harbor.

23<sup>d</sup> The deputies of the 5 Nations, to the number of 61, accompanied by 4 Iroquois of the Saut and 2 of the Lake, have just arrived on business; we are expecting the Senecas, whom Sieur de Joncaire is to bring down.

Cadet Langi, dispatched by M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, is arrived. That officer, he informs us, has returned to Montreal with his entire detachment.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel inform us, on the 21<sup>st</sup>, that 66 warriors of the Lake of the Two Mountains, have just brought in 6 prisoners, of whom one is a young man, 3 are boys, one a woman and one a child, whom they took near Orange. These prisoners say that Admiral Warren continues to be expected, and when he will be near Quebec with his ships the English are to make a simultaneous attack on Montreal, by way of Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic, which they expect to carry in passing.

24<sup>th</sup> Sieur Belestre arrives from Detroit with 8 Outaouas Chiefs, 4 Hurons (Sastaredzy, the principal Chief, and Tayachatin, another Chief, are among the latter), 2 Senecas and 8 other Indians, some of whom are Hurons, from Lorette, who accompanied him last winter to Detroit. 8 other Outaouas, whom M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre brought along, have remained at Montreal, and are to join the party commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de La Corne.

26<sup>th</sup> We send Sieur Langi back to Montreal, whither we transmit orders to send 50 @ 60 Frenchmen and 30 @ 40 Indians to Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederic; these ought to be more than sufficient to cut wood for the garrison next winter, M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud having had the greater portion of it cut by his detachment.

In the evening. An express is arrived from M<sup>r</sup> Aubert, the commander at Cape Desrosier, who sends us what Sieur Barré, a resident of the Grand river,<sup>1</sup> wrote him under date, the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month. This individual informs him, that on the 2<sup>nd</sup> inst., 3 English vessels, to wit, a schooner, a snow and a sloop (that is Father Lacorne's), had passed Point Verte under a French flag and streamer; that said Sieur Barré had fired a gun at them; next inquired of them whence they came; they answered him that they were from Guadeloupe, and were looking for

<sup>1</sup> Qu<sup>i</sup> in the Bay of Chaleurs. — Ed.



a pilot to go up the river; Sieur Barré told them to send a boat ashore, when he should ascertain who they were and send a pilot to them. This they did not do, whereupon Sieur Barré caused the fishermen, who had collected there to the number of 30 @ 40, to give them a volley of musketry. The enemy made no reply; the schooner steered towards Pabo, but being annoyed by the discharges of musketry, was obliged to alter her course after firing two guns, and came to an anchor within pistol shot of the shore, where she furled her sails and discharged several guns and swivels, as well as some musketry. The Snow, which was farther off than the schooner, kept up a continual fire of 4 pounders; the little bateau kept always off. Sieur Barré did not cease firing at the two vessels, especially at the schooner, which was the nearest. The contest lasted 6 @ 7 hours, when the night fell; these vessels then hauled off. They were within ear shot; wished Sieur Barré good night, and assured him that they would return in the morning to him, which, however, they did not do. Sieur Barré assures, that these two vessels have fired as many 300 cannon and swivel shots, exclusive of musketry, and that he, on his side, fired more than 80<sup>lb</sup> of ball within pistol shot. He thinks that he diminished the number of the schooner's crew, having seen the snow's boat coming to her three times full of people, and returning only with the crew. Sieur Barré asks ammunition from Sieur Aubert, as he apprehends that the English will return to the charge. At the same time that M<sup>r</sup> Aubert transmits us Sieur Barré's letter, he informs us that the latter had on the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, descried, about 5 leagues off, a 3 masted ship, the form of whose sails he could not distinguish, as she passed at a distance of about two leagues; she appeared to him to be steering South, on the starboard tack, carrying foresail and spanker; she changed course two hours after, the cape bearing E. N. E., the wind blowing N. E. pretty fresh. This ship, though at a distance, appeared to him very large. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9 in the morning she was hull down. He is of opinion that this vessel was English. In communicating Sieur Barré's adventure to us, Sieur Aubert states that he has very little ammunition, and is unable properly to assist Sieur Barré under existing circumstances, and requests us to send him ( M<sup>r</sup> Aubert ) immediately some ammunition as well as provisions for the people at his post, as his supply is nearly exhausted.

We dispatch a biscayenne to-day with provisions for Cape Desrosiers, on board which we have put 200<sup>lb</sup> of powder and ball in proportion; we write to Sieur Aubert to divide the ammunition with Sieur Barré, to enable him to retain his position at Grand river, should the English return and attack him. We express, at the same time, to Sieur Barré our satisfaction of his conduct in his affair, and exhort him to continue to oppose the attempts of the English, should they renew them at Grand river and its vicinity.

29<sup>th</sup> The vessel we have fitted out for Kerpont<sup>1</sup> to procure a cargo of salt, has not been able to get off until to-day. Sieur Boucherville, captain of this vessel, has orders to coast along the North shore, and to avoid all encounters. On arriving at Kerpont, he is to apply to the Malouin and other captains who fish there, to procure him his cargo, or, at least, to point out to him where he will be able to obtain it.

We jointly address them a circular letter, exhorting them to assist in relieving the necessity of the Colony in this article, by mutually contributing to the loading of Sieur Boucherville, reserving to ourselves to report to the Minister the manner they will act on this occasion, when such vital assistance is in question.

August 2<sup>d</sup> The schooner *L'Angelique*, Captain Gosselin, sent heretofore to Bay Verte, returned to-day with a part of her cargo; she sailed the 18<sup>th</sup> ultimo. We learn that Sieur de

<sup>1</sup> The Island of Quirpon, off the N. E. point of Newfoundland. — Ed.



Repentigny was to start, two days after, for the River St. John with his detachment, pursuant to the orders he had received. Father Germain's health appeared to be improving.

Two English prisoners who were taken by the St. Francis Indians in M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc's attack on Sarastau, are brought down from 3 Rivers.

The ship *le Philibert* has anchored in the harbor; she formed part of M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière's fleet.

3<sup>d</sup> We are in receipt of letters from Montreal dated the 31<sup>st</sup> inst.; the convoy for Detroit has set out at last, not without considerable difficulty on the part of the farmers employed in that service, in consequence of the risks, and under the apprehension that they are to winter at that post. Threats, and even castigation became necessary to oblige them to march.

4<sup>th</sup> Died, Sastaredzy, grand Huron chief of those who came down from Detroit with M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre.

7<sup>th</sup> The ship *La Vierge-de-grace*, Captain Larregni, fitted out as a packet, sailed to-day for Boston with 180 English prisoners.

8<sup>th</sup> Sieur Lebé, storekeeper to the Acadia detachment, is arrived; he informs us that Sieur de Repentigny will arrive in a few days with his detachment. Father Germain continues convalescent and remains at Beaubassin with a guard of 50 @ 60 Micmac Indians.

200 Indians, men, women and children, arrive from Father Lacorne's mission; they come in quest of their supplies. They must be clothed, and we will send them back as soon as possible. We are over-crowded by all these people.

9<sup>th</sup> We receive letters from Cape des Rosiers. Sieur Aubert informs us that about 2 o'clock of the afternoon of the 17<sup>th</sup> ultimo, the wind being N. and N. N. W., a ship was distinctly seen coming down from the North, about five leagues off. The wind falling at twilight she was lost sight of about 6 @ 7 o'clock in the evening. He saw nothing afterwards until the 20<sup>th</sup>, when he wrote us that he had been informed, by a settler who remained two months at Grand river, that 11 English prisoners, on board a Bayonne vessel, commanded by Sieur Samson, who was fishing at Port Daniel,<sup>1</sup> had escaped in one of the ship's boats which they had carried off; that it appears certain that this Captain had purposely connived at their escape to save whatever expense they might be; for going ashore with his hands to work at his fish, he left only two men on board with a boat, which the prisoners carried off in open day with what provisions they required. It is not known what route they took.

9<sup>th</sup> The Hurons of Detroit have spoken in Council. They have requested, among other things, that Father Larichardie, their former Missionary, should return with them in order to labor effectually in the restoration of tranquillity among that nation. We concluded that this could have only a good effect, under existing circumstances, considering the derangement of affairs at Detroit, and the special confidence these Indians repose in this Missionary; we therefore have not hesitated to grant them their request. Father Larichardie readily consented to the arrangement; he is to leave in a few days for Montreal and proceed thence to Detroit. The General has just appointed Ensign de Belestre to command at the River St. Joseph. He will remain at Detroit, under the orders of Chev<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, as long as that officer will deem it necessary for the good of the service, who will permit Sieur de Belestre to go to, and come from, the River St. Joseph whenever he shall think proper. This officer will accompany Father La Richardie. We send word of all this to Montreal in order to the preparation there of the provisions, ammunition and the effects necessary for the voyage and the winter's residence of both. We write also to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, in consequence of all

<sup>1</sup> Bay of Chaleur. — Ed.



these arrangements, so that he may, on his part, contribute as much as will depend on him, to the restoration of everything if possible.

10<sup>th</sup> Sailed to-day, for Louisbourg, the brigantine *St. Esprit*, fitted as a packet, having on board about 80 prisoners.

11<sup>th</sup> Sieur de Repentigny arrives, with his little detachment, from Beaubassin.

12<sup>th</sup> Sailed, ship *Andromeda* of Rochelle, for St. Domingo; she wintered at Quebec.

Sailed, also, the snow *Jean Joseph*, for the same port; she came this year from France.

13<sup>th</sup> Captain de Noyelle and Sieur de La Verendrie arrive from Michilimakinac, and deliver to the General a letter dated at that post, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> July, and addressed to him by Sieur de Noyelle, Jun<sup>r</sup>, commanding in the absence of M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne, Senior, and by other officers who arrived from the other Upper posts, and happened to be then at Michilimakinac. The General is informed by this letter of the confusion that prevails among all the Nations of that post and neighborhood, Outaouas, Sauteurs and Mississagués. The Outaouas of Saguinam, have killed 3 Frenchmen who were coming from Detroit to Michilimakinac. Two French canoes, which had gone *en prime* from Montreal to the West Sea,<sup>1</sup> have been attacked by the Sauteurs, about the place called *La Cloche*,<sup>2</sup> near Lake Michigan; one, containing 8 men, has been wholly defeated; the second, by striking out into the Lake and throwing its cargo overboard, escaped to Michilimakinac. Another Frenchman has been stabbed by the Sauteurs, at a place called *La Grosse Ile*,<sup>3</sup> only 2 leagues distant from the post. These Indians have offered divers insults and threats at the fort, and in the vicinity; they killed all the horses and other cattle that they could not catch; they designed to surprise the fort, but were discovered, and obliged to leave, by ringing the bell and beating the tap-too, as usual, and even by making some defensive demonstrations. There had been greater reason for presuming bad intentions on the part of the Indians, inasmuch as a crowd of young men had armed themselves with knives, in a council which had been held at their request, on the 3<sup>d</sup> of July, and which terminated in recrimination. The Indians have not been since permitted to enter the fort, except under certain restrictions. Some Frenchmen from Point Chagouamigon, and M<sup>r</sup> de Noyelle, Sen<sup>r</sup>, on his usual return from the West Sea, arrived a few days after. Certain intelligence had also been received there from Detroit. This reinforcement will somewhat tranquilize the fort, which contained, before this arrival, only 28 men. An Outaoua Indian, named Nequiouamin, arrived on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July, at the post, to communicate in secret to the Commandant and the Missionary that the Iroquois, the Huron and the Flathead, had come to an understanding with the English to destroy the French and drive them to the other side of the sea; that the Outaouac of Detroit, is in the plot; that the Poutouatami will coöperate; that the Mississagué and Sauteur are gained over; that the Outaouac of Saguinam, has already struck; that the Outaouac of Michilimakinac, would have taken part against us had it not been for the portion of the village which is at Montreal, and that they would yet possibly declare against us on the arrival of 70 men from Saguinam, who are to be reinforced by the Sauteurs of *Grosse Ile*; that they were to leave in a few days, and to come in the night to speak to the Outaouas of the post, and that it were well to allow no person to go hunting, and to keep strict watch. M<sup>r</sup> de Noyelle, Jun<sup>r</sup>, adds that he will detain, until further orders, at Michilimakinac, the canoes which were to come from Montreal to the different posts, unless affairs changed, and it became

<sup>1</sup> La Mer de l'Ouest. In Carver's Map, the head of Lake Superior is called the West Bay.

<sup>2</sup> An Island north of the Great Manitoulin, in Lake Huron.

<sup>3</sup> An Island immediately north of Mackinaw Island. Map of St. Mary's Straits, in Charlevoix. — Ed.



certain that the dispositions of the Indians at those posts were altered. We are coöperating in the adoption of the most effectual measures, either to restore tranquillity at the post of Michilimakinac, or at least to place it in a proper state of defence against all attacks of the Indians.

15<sup>th</sup> The confusion prevalent at Michilimakinac being only weighed, we have made the best arrangements possible to maintain our possession of that fort. The particulars are as follows:

1. M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères, who is appointed commander at the Bay, and who has accompanied the convoy from Montreal to Michilimackinac, where he is to await the decision of the General, and to command until further orders, is merely to send word to those of the Bay that matters have not permitted his visiting them; that their brethren stop the road on him; that the canoes which were carrying goods to them, are arrived at Michilimakinac, where they will find their supplies; that the accidents which have just happened, have thus prevented their Father sending them goods, and he enjoins them absolutely not to allow any person to go to any other post than that of said Bay, until affairs be settled. 2<sup>d</sup> After the departure of the canoes which are to bring down the peltries to Montreal, 100 @ 150 men are to remain as a guard at the post. It is presumed that they will be provided with food until next spring. Should that not be the case, and the Indians refuse to sell any, he has orders to have recourse to every expedient, even to force of arms, to procure a supply. But doubting, as we do, the possibility of collecting provisions necessary for the wintering of the people of the place, and of the 100 men of the garrison, whom he is to retain, we issue orders to Montreal for the dispatch of 10 good bark canoes, loaded with flour, Indian corn, peas, fat, suet, pork and salt beef, to the extent of 30 thousand weight. These 10 canoes will leave Montreal as soon as possible. The General intends that Lieutenant de Saint Pierre shall serve as M<sup>r</sup> de Vercheres' deputy, and the former is to remain in command at Michilimakinac, in case the latter visit the Bay. We add to M<sup>r</sup> de Vercheres' instructions, that the voyageurs who will be detained at Michilimakinac, are to trade concurrently at the post, and should they make any representations, we shall pay attention to whatever is just.

We send Sieur de la Verendrie, Jun<sup>r</sup>., back to Michilimakinac with our despatches to M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères, in order that this commandant may be early advised of the arrangements we are adopting for the relief of that post.

The sickness of Taychatin, the Huron chief, retards Father Larichardie and M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre's departure.

19<sup>th</sup> Sieur Papepinère arrives from the north coast of Newfoundland with 5 @ 600 *minots* of salt; it is a very opportune relief. He informs us that he saw at Mingan<sup>1</sup> the schooner *La Dorade* that had separated from M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière's fleet; also a schooner from the Islands.

20<sup>th</sup> Arrived from Kerpont, an English ship taken by a Malouin vessel on her voyage from France to the North shore; this ship is loaded with 680 tierces of rice.

21<sup>st</sup> Schooner *La Dorade*, Captain Vincelot, has anchored in the harbor.

Also, schooner *Le Loup Marin*, from Martinico.

Idem. A brigantine, an English prize, loaded with sugar, and taken by a St. Malo ship, that fishes at Newfoundland. By this occasion we learn that the fishery there is very abundant, and that the 7 St. Malo vessels will have full cargoes.

Idem. Sieur Taché's schooner, which sailed two months ago from Quebec for the North Coast, with a cargo of 600 *minots* of salt.

<sup>1</sup> On the north coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, opposite the Island of Anticosti. — Ed.



We are in receipt of letters from Father Germain, dated the 6<sup>th</sup> instant; his health is almost entirely reëstablished. There is nothing new at Acadia.

A party of Abenakis, from Acadia, brings us an Englishman, named William Hilton, whom they took prisoner at Piscatoué.<sup>1</sup> This prisoner reports that a vessel had arrived at Boston from Cape Breton, where, it reports, Admiral Warren had arrived; the news is public at Boston, that, in the battle near France,<sup>2</sup> 5 French ships had been captured and a 6<sup>th</sup> sunk; that the New England levies were to be sent back immediately; that there was considerable talk of peace; that goods were very dear, but provisions abundant at Boston, where the pound of powder is worth 14 shillings. This prisoner also reports that the English had all the Upper country Indians in their interest.

23<sup>rd</sup> The Huron Chief is convalescent; Father La Richardie and M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre started to-day for Montreal, and thence for their destination.

25<sup>th</sup> Arrived, Sieur Fresche, captain of the ship *L'Alexander*, which sailed from Rochelle, with M. de La Jonquière, reports that on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July he calculated himself to be within 16 or 18 leagues S. E. of the Island of Anticostie, the wind at noon being S. and S. S. W., with considerable fog, he steered W. N. W. to reach Bonaventure or Gaspé, and thereby to avoid Anticostie; that the current to the North was so strong, that about 4 o'clock in the afternoon his vessel touched the S. E. point of the Island; that for two hours he did not know which way to turn, not knowing the ground; that he, notwithstanding, made immediate efforts to save some articles from the ship, until the moment a sea struck the vessel a-midship and stove her in, and in an instant he was under water as far as his deck (*plat bord*) on the starboard side; that he saved as much provisions as possible, and landed a league and a half from the ship, with a part of his crew, and sent back for the remainder. This Captain embarked in his canoe, on the eleventh, and proceeded to Cape Desrozières, whence Sieur Aubert, who commands at that post, has sent one of his boats, with some men, to the Island of Anticostie to save the remainder of this crew, numbering 17 persons, who, however, had 2 months' provisions when Sieur Fresche departed.

We receive letters from Father Germain; he demands some provisions and goods to pay the notes he has been obliged to give the Acadians to defray the various expenses which circumstances occasioned. This Missionary proposes a project for the capture of Port Royal, which is actually devoid of any garrison, the soldiers there dying daily.

We receive, to-day, letters from Cape Desrozières; there is nothing new at that post. Sieur Aubert informs us only of the wreck of the ship *L'Alexander*, on the Island of Anticostie.

We are in receipt of letters from Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel, in answer to ours of the 15<sup>th</sup>; he informs us that they are about to dispatch, with all diligence, the convoy of the 100 canoes of provisions destined for Michilimakinac, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de St Pierre.

28<sup>th</sup> The General writes to M. de Verchères; he makes no change in the arrangements for Michilimakinac; he adds only, that should the Indians of the Bay appear to him favorably disposed towards us, of which he will be informed, he leaves him at liberty to send M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Pierre to that post, to sound them, and carry them some presents, should he be of opinion

<sup>1</sup> Boston, August 11, 1747. We hear that a few days ago the Indians surprised and killed, at a place called Wiscasset, near Sheepscot, in the eastern parts, one Mr. Hilton, his son and another man, and carried him captive. *Farmer and Moore's New Hampshire Collections*, III, 386. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Off Cape Finisterre.



that that officer might undertake the journey without danger, and that it is necessary to secure the fidelity of these Indians.

We receive letters from Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Beaucourt and Michel, of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> instant, of which the following are extracts:

*Extract of the letter dated 20<sup>th</sup> of August.* The Poutouatamies of M<sup>r</sup> de La Corne's party having had some discussions with the Outaouas on the day succeeding their departure from Fort St. Frederic, went off to the number of 48, and have been in two divisions to make an attack towards Orange, where they took three prisoners and one scalp; and the other, to Sarastaugué, whence they have returned with 2 scalps.\* On being examined, the prisoners said, that they have had no news from Europe for nearly 3 months; that there is constant talk, in their country, of a great expedition against Canada, without any preparations, however, and that the best informed are of opinion that it is an imposition on the public; have had no news of M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquiere's battle.

The Folles Avoines and Nepisseingues, to the number of 14, who separated from M<sup>r</sup> de La Corne, whom the whole body left apparently in the vicinity of Corlac, arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> at Montreal with the scalps of two Mohawks and one Dutchman; they say that being desirous to follow the Saut Indians who were ahead of them, and not being able to overtake them, they formed an ambuscade near a high road, where three others terminated. They were not yet concealed when a big and tall Mohawk made his appearance, carrying a kettle, a sword and a gun. No sooner did this Mohawk perceive them, than he uttered a loud cry. Lamothe, a Fol Avoine, chief of the party, called to his men to take him alive, but the man named Caron had already fired and killed him. According to the scalp they have presented, and the height, the voice and the marks (*piqûres*) they have described, there is every reason to suppose that they have killed Toyenoguén,\*\* the Mohawk chief who deceived us. All the Indians maintain that it is his scalp, which is remarkable in being clean and white. After this attack, they covered the body and placed themselves in ambush a little further on, and at the same moment a Dutchman and a young Mohawk made their appearance, whose scalps they also took after having killed them. They say that this Dutchman had a great deal of money in his clothes, and they regard him as a man of consequence.\*\*\*

The Poutouatamies demand leave to return home, for the purpose of putting an end to, and counteracting, the misrepresentations that may be circulated among their people and allies. They regard the attacks of the Outaouas and Sauteurs as if made against them, calling themselves good Frenchmen and asking for a commander.

*Extract of the letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August.* M<sup>r</sup> Dubuisson has met, at the upper end of Tonti Island,<sup>1</sup> in Lake Ontario, a canoe full of men, women and children, and a deserter from Choueguen, who represent themselves to be Irish and dissatisfied, and were coming to take refuge among us to avoid a punishment they say they have incurred for having infringed certain prohibitions. They all escaped with their baggage which is pretty considerable. These deserters have been interrogated, and assert for a certainty, that the expedition against Canada

\* These Indians witnessed the arrival at Sarastaugué of the convoy with provisions for the garrison.

\*\* It has been since ascertained that it was another chief called the Big Fish, a man of considerable influence in the Nation.

\*\*\* There is at Orange a Flamandkine called . . . . ., equally influential among the Iroquois, and who visits the villages of the 5 Nations every year.

<sup>1</sup> Off Kingston, C. W. — Ed.



was finally determined on and nearly ready; but the Pretender having returned to Scotland, a fact certain, the English have been obliged to direct their forces thitherward, and that in consequence, no sort of assistance has been received at this side; they assert that for one man that is enlisted, 3 desert; all the Choueguen traders have retired; only 60 persons remain there, including the garrison and officers; the majority are children, the remainder old men, with 300<sup>lb</sup> of powder which is all their supply. He, the soldier, says that if he be allowed 60 men, he will undertake to seize the fort. They have in reserve, in the redoubt, 25 @ 30<sup>m</sup> worth of merchandise, blankets and other French goods, taken last year, which they show to all the Indians to persuade them that they are masters of the French, and that Canada is theirs; they have not taken any prize this year, nor heard any news of M<sup>r</sup> de La Jonquière's fight.

The Governor of Menade, according to his story, wished to corrupt M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire, to whom he offered a captain's commission; but not being successful, he endeavored to corrupt a party of Senecas, who are all divided. M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire has retired with his party and separated from the other villages; the other Iroquois Nations are, likewise, divided, part for the French and part for the English, who are endeavoring to corrupt them by all sorts of means. The chief of these deserters was answered; what reliance could be placed on this intelligence since they were suspected by the English, who, doubtless, concealed from them what they had an interest in keeping them ignorant of.

He replied: that he learned the particulars from the surgeon of the fort, who was his intimate friend during three years that he had traded at, and had not left, that post. These people appear to be sincere; they are to come down here in the first vessel. It is proposed to examine each of them separately; we look upon them with suspicion.

September 1<sup>st</sup> We send back the major portion of the Micmacs of Miramichi and Ristigouche, men, women and children; they had to be provided with provisions and ammunition. We have exhorted them to make incursions against the enemy, either at Ile Royale or Acadia; and to prevent, especially, the transportation of cattle or other supplies from Acadia to Louisbourg.

Arrived, Pindalouan, an Outaouas chief and nine others, and a Sauter of Michilimakinac, who are come to see the General.

3<sup>d</sup> Sailed, the snow *L'Aimable Marguerite*, Captain Foucher, for St. Domingo.

4<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the schooner *La Brunette*, from Martinico.

We learn by a courier from Rimousky, the arrival, at that place, of M. de la Galissonnière, with *Le Northumberland*, *L'Alcion* and *La Gironde*.

6<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Michel writes us of the death of Taychatin, second chief of the Hurons of Detroit, who had come down from Detroit with M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre. We fear that the death of this Indian and that of Sastaredzy, grand chief of that Nation, will create some unfavorable impression on the minds of the Hurons of Detroit in the present conjuncture of affairs at that post.

Pindalouan and the other Outaouas of Michilimakinac have earnestly demanded permission to return home; we did not consider it our duty to induce them to remain, considering the lateness of the season. We have not failed to communicate to them the bad state of affairs at Michilimakinac. They appeared greatly surprised, and gave us to understand that their principal motive in returning immediately home, was to endeavor to put everything again in order. We have treated them well.



There is no reason to apprehend any attack on this Colony by the enemy this year. This circumstance has determined the General to issue orders for the recall of the videttes posted last spring at Rimousky, Cape Chat and Cape Desrosier; similar orders are issued to dismiss the guard of the signal fires posted along the South shore as far as Rimousky.

The brigantine *St. Esprit*, fitted out as a packet, has returned from Louisbourg. Being off (*par le travers de*) Miré, with a favorable wind to enter Louisbourg, a schooner discharged several shotted guns to make her lie to, and she accordingly lay to. Mr Knowles was in this schooner; he had the brigantine taken to Portenove, and thence to Spaniard's bay,<sup>1</sup> whither the Governor proceeded. Two men of war, one of 50 and the other of 60 guns, joined them there. The English prisoners on board the *St. Esprit* have been transferred to the men of war. Mr Knowles answers the General and informs him that there are no French prisoners at Louisbourg. Sieur Lefevre,\* Captain of the packet, reports that he was only 3 days ashore at *L'Espagnol*,<sup>2</sup> where he merely learned that there were no other vessels at Louisbourg than the above two, the Governor's schooner and a bomb-ketch. Mr Knowles told him that he was expecting Mr Waren with eight men of war. He was then aware of the capture of M. de la Jonquière's fleet.

11<sup>th</sup> Father Germain arrives from Beaubassin to make some arrangements for the subsistence, during winter, of the Indians of said place.

Father Maurice Lacorne, missionary of the Micmacs of Miramichy, having lost his vessel at Gaspé, and having run the risk of being taken himself, did not feel disposed to return to his mission unless furnished with another vessel to be loaded with provisions, ammunition and goods required by his Indians for next winter. After having conferred together, we were of opinion that it was of consequence, under existing circumstances, to send Father Lacorne back. The King's brigantine, *Le Soleil Levant*,\*\* which carried some codfish last fall to Bay Verte, was accordingly ordered by Mr Hocquart to be fitted up for the conveyance, to Miramichy, of this missionary, with some provisions, ammunition and goods for the Indians of that mission.

11<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the ship *Blankfort*, Captain Dechateau Brilliant, from Morlaix, freighted on the King's account; sailed from Abreverac, coast of Brittany, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July last.

Sailed for Martinique the snow *L'Amiable Jeanne*, Captain Hiriard.

12<sup>th</sup> Idem. The brigantine *Le Dragon*, Captain Bisson, for the same place.

We learn from Montreal that Father La Richardie and Mr de Belestre left that place on the 10<sup>th</sup> for Detroit, in company with the Hurons and Outaouas. Mr Michel states that all the Upper Country Indians had left, after having emptied the King's stores at Montreal. We have still, at Quebec, the Indians of the Five Nations, whom we detain as long as possible. The Mohawks will not make any incursions as long as we shall have their brethren here, and we profit by this occasion to reinforce Forts Frontenac and Niagara.

Sieur Guillimin, formerly Captain of the Corvet *La Legère*, who was wrecked on Sable Island, in the month of September, of last year, has just arrived in an English packet sent by the Governor of Boston, which place she left on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, with 60 persons, men,

<sup>1</sup> Port Novy, or Puerto Nuevo, is the most eastern part of the coast of Cape Breton. *Haliburton*, II., 213. Spaniard's bay is now Sidney, C. B. — Ed.

\* NOTE.—Mr. Knowles had forbidden the Canadian named Dion, pilot to the English, and the man named Petitpas, to speak to Sieur Lefevre.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney, C. B.

\*\* NOTE.—This brigantine has made several voyages to the Islands and is worm eaten; she is therefore almost unserviceable. The expense of fitting her out is trifling.



women and children, the result, in part, of the evacuation of Ile Royale, with the seamen belonging to *La Légère*. This packet has been stopped at Ile aux Basques, 50 leagues from Quebec, by M<sup>r</sup> de Rouville, who had the General's orders to that effect.

Sieur Guillimin has given us the details of his shipwreck, and what he had learned during his sojourn at Boston and Louisbourg, where the packet touched on her voyage hither. These are the particulars: He went ashore on Sable Island during the night of the 14 and 15<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, after having thrown six guns overboard, and succeeded in saving only a little powder and lead, which were the means of preserving the lives of himself and crew during the winter. Four days after he discovered 3 Englishmen, who conducted him to a miserable cabin, in which he wintered. On the 5<sup>th</sup> day an English schooner passed, on board which he put his pilot, in order to receive assistance from the port where this vessel should touch. He remained on that island until the 13<sup>th</sup> June, when 6 English fishing smacks chanced to pass. They took him and his crew and carried them to Boston, where he arrived on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of the same month. He has been very civilly treated there until he sailed. Heard at Boston that the Government had made a levy of 4000 men, for the Canada expedition, next year. The affair at Minas has made great noise, and the Canada Indians are greatly dreaded there. The packet touched at Louisbourg, where he remained 8 days. Sieur Guillimin has learned from some Frenchmen, who remain still at that place, that when M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay was at Minas, last winter, the English were apprehensive that he would come also to Louisbourg; that under such apprehension, the soldiers were determined to run away from their officers, on the appearance of our people. 12 soldiers had been hanged on that occasion, and others shot in front of the regiment. Some time before Sieur Guillimin's arrival at that port, the garrison had again mutinied; the soldiers had attempted to fire one of the powder magazines, and the confusion and revolt occasioned severe punishments every day. Sickiness appears to have ceased; Sieur Guillimin was assured that the garrison consisted only of 7 @ 800 men. There were at Louisbourg a vessel of war, of 54 guns, and 3 schooners of 12 guns, with very deficient crews. Two of these schooners left the harbor in company with the packet, it is said, on a cruise. Whilst the packet remained at Ile Royale, all the French at Louisbourg, included within the capitulation, to the number of 60 people, men, women and children, applied to M<sup>r</sup> Knowles for liberty to proceed to Quebec by that opportunity; he told them that he could not send them here, but would send them to France in a packet he should dispatch in a month. The people replied that they had been amused for a year past with this sort of answer, which had no effect. M<sup>r</sup> Knowles requested Sieur Guillimin to assure M<sup>r</sup> de Beauharnois, that he should send them. We are going to dispatch a vessel to Ile aux Basques to take on board the French prisoners, and shall send back by this packet 8 or 10 English, who had been taken at Sarastau and had not arrived at Quebec until after the sailing of the two packets we had already dispatched.

15<sup>th</sup> We receive letters from Montreal, dated the 12<sup>th</sup>, informing us that the fleet from Michilimakinac, consisting of 30 canoes loaded with peltries, was on the point of arriving at Montreal. The Marquis de Beauharnois has received letters from Sieur Dégoielle, Jun<sup>r</sup>, commanding at that post, where a little more quiet prevails.

17<sup>th</sup> Captain Boucherville, of a King's brigantine, who has been sent to the north coast of Newfoundland, has just arrived; he could get only 6 to 700 minots of salt, notwithstanding all his efforts in the harbors of that coast, and with the aid of men and boats furnished him by the captains of the Malouine ships.



A number of settlers have arrived within the last 15 days, in several skiffs, from Beaubassin and Port Toulouse, in search of provisions for the support of their families, who are in extreme want, without any resources. M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart could not refuse furnishing them 115 barrels of flour, some vegetables and goods.

Father Germain, who is here, has represented to us the necessity of immediately sending to Beaubassin, at least, 100 @ 120 barrels of flour, for the support of the Malecites and other Indians of different villages belonging to Acadia, with some munitions of war and some merchandise. Should these Indians not receive some aid, it is to be feared that distress will force them to have recourse to the English. We yielded to these representations. M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart has sent two skiffs to M<sup>r</sup> Maillard, the Indian missionary, with 400<sup>lb</sup> of powder and 1000<sup>lb</sup> of lead and ball, 30 blankets and some other articles, to be distributed among them by him, and 50 barrels of flour will be put on board Father Lacorne's vessel, to be kept at Miramichi, whither boats will be sent for them this fall from Bay Verte. All this consumption greatly increases the expenses, but it is impossible to avoid them, without abandoning the Indians of Acadia and the Micmacs, who, of all the nations, are the most faithful to us.

Father Germain has, in like manner, informed M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart that said Sieur Maillard was for the last year performing the functions of Indian missionary at Beaubassin, as he formerly did at St. Peter's, and had, during that time, been supported at the public expense, up to the departure of M<sup>r</sup> de Repentigny's detachment, but now, as there were no longer any public stores at Beaubassin, this missionary was unable to subsist should no provision be made here for him; that Sieur Maillard, besides, receives no salary as Indian missionary, wherefore it would be proper to send him goods to the value of about 600<sup>l</sup>; M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart, consequently, sends said M<sup>r</sup> Maillard, by a skiff, some goods from the public store to the amount of 600<sup>l</sup>.

Mention was made in this journal, in the month of March, of the provisions then sent to Lake Temisquata to remain there in store for M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay's detachment, should it be forced to return by the River St. John. But this detachment having returned by sea, only a part of these provisions has been consumed by the couriers on their way from Beaubassin to Quebec, and more than  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of them still remain; but these have become partially spoiled, during the summer, in consequence of the excessive heat. As there is no longer any French detachment at Acadia, this stock of provisions is useless; it would cost considerable to bring them back to Quebec, owing to the distance and the 25 leagues of portage from Lake Temisquata to the River (St. Lawrence). Moreover, Father Germain has represented that the settlers at the mouth of the River St. John were in extreme want of provisions, their harvest, this year, having totally failed. Under these circumstances, M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart has considered it best to relieve these settlers with the provisions at Lake Temisquata, than to have these brought back to Quebec; the transport would cost as much as they are worth, and he has, in consequence, issued orders to the commissaries at the lake to hand over the provisions, such as they are, to Father Germain, who is about to return to Beaubassin, in order that he may distribute them among the poor settlers on the River St. John.

20<sup>th</sup> A party of Indians belonging to the River St. John, who had wintered at St. Martin, near Quebec, applied to the number of 100, in the beginning of this month, for permission to return to their villages; they have been clothed and supplied with provisions to carry them home; also with some ammunition; 250 of that nation still remain here, they will be dependent on the King's bounty during the next winter.

18<sup>th</sup> The vessel *L'Alcion*, and the flyboat *La Gironde*, have entered the basin.



19<sup>th</sup> A. M. The *Northumberland* has also entered the basin, and cast anchor in the stream; Count de la Galissonnière<sup>1</sup> landed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

20<sup>th</sup> Pindalouan, an Outaouas chief, having been to meet the men of war, remained on board of them 3 days; he has been very well treated and greatly caressed there; he has requested leave to return to Montreal to join his party, which left some days ago; a bark canoe has been detailed to take him back.

Sieur Cartier, commandant of the fire rafts at Ile aux Coudres and vicinity, has been written to, directing him to return home after he shall have secured the King's property of which he was guardian.

21<sup>st</sup> Some 25 or 30 chiefs and Indians of Saut St. Louis, have come to Quebec to visit the Count de la Galissonnière.

Father Germain, the missionary at Beaubassin, departed to-day on his return to his mission.

The schooner which had been sent to Ile aux Basques to convey the English prisoners to the packet there, and to receive the French prisoners she had on board, has returned with 60 Frenchmen, of whom 40 are sailors, who were forthwith distributed, part on board *La Martre* and the remainder on board *L'Emeraude*.

Their speech and the answer are hereunto annexed. 24<sup>th</sup> The Indians of the 5 Nations who have been a long time at Quebec, have to-day received their presents: they made fine speeches and have been answered. They asked for an Oneida and a Seneca whom we have prisoners, who have been given up to them.

François Briant, a settler of Port Thoulouse, who has just arrived by sea, reports having seen off the Bay des Chaleurs, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, 3 sail, one of which was a brigantine, one a schooner, and one a bomb-ketch, which were cruising in that roadstead. He presumes they are English vessels, whose design was to capture a Bayonne ship that was fishing off Port Daniel. He has added, that on leaving Bay Verte, he had heard that news had arrived of the sailing from Louisbourg of two men of war of 60 guns, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, to attack, it was reported, the vessels that are fishing in the Gulf (*la Grande Baie*).

29<sup>th</sup> The Abenakis of St Francis and of Becancourt, and the Algonkins of 3 Rivers and of Missiskouy, and others, to the number of about 200, have come to see M. de la Galissonnière.

A party of Abenakis brings in a young child who was taken prisoner in the vicinity of Casco; they report nothing of interest.

October 3<sup>d</sup> Twenty Abenakis have just arrived from fighting in the direction of Fort St. George,<sup>2</sup> where they happened to be 60 strong; they had divers rencontres with the English; they were unfortunate and allowed themselves to be surrounded. The missionary writes us that the two chiefs had lost, in the last engagement, two of their children, one of whom was the son of Sagouaurabb, and a third son of Louis Mescadoué, who were killed; 4 other Indians have been wounded. Indians say they killed also some of the English; those who come in subsequently bring 5 scalps.<sup>3</sup> It is not to be apprehended that this ill success will discourage our people; on the contrary, we are told it renders them more zealous.

We learn the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères at Michilimakinac. This officer informs the General that he had met, on the way, 5 of the Indian canoes that had attacked the French, and that he had pursued them. The Indians landed and fled into the woods; our Frenchmen

<sup>1</sup> See VI, 532, note.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Frederic, on the east bank of the Pemaquid river, near its mouth. *Williamson's Maine*, I, 57; II, 254; *Farmer and Moore's New Hampshire Collections*, III, 386, 387. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> The Indians killed four men, viz.: John Kilpatrick, Nathan Bradley, John Vose and Benjamin Harvey. *Id.*



caught one of them, whom they tied, and have broken 5 canoes. Some property belonging to Frenchmen, and a scalp, were found in the prisoner's sack; he was asked how he got them; answered, that those at the head of the Bay had made him a present of them. Finally, to other interrogatories, he persisted in saying that he was not guilty. 2 Outaouas' canoes that were in last summer's campaign, arriving next day from Montreal, claimed the prisoner, assuring M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères that he belonged to the family of Koquois, a chief who is attached to the French and known to M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères, who released the prisoner, making the most to them of the favor he did them.

5<sup>th</sup> The St. Francis and Becancourt missionaries have come down to Quebec. The former has informed us of the return of the 3 parties of Abenakis, with 5 scalps, from the English settlements towards Casco and Piscatoué. Several parties from these two villages, still in the field, are expected home.

It is impossible to collect all the expeditions made by our domiciliated Indians belonging to these two villages and those of Montreal; they have been almost continual.

7<sup>th</sup> We have removed the Micmac and Malecites villages that were at St. Michel, 3 leagues from Quebec, to the River du Sud,<sup>1</sup> 5 leagues further and one league in the woods. Being further off they will be less importunate, and less burdensome to us and the farmers. We would have wished to send them all home but have not been able to persuade them to go.

The greater portion of the village of Pannaouamské and Medoctet are still at the River Etréchémis. We are about trying to send them to St. Francis and Becancourt; we employ the missionaries of these two villages, who are actually at Quebec, to induce them to adopt that course.

Arrive 11 Christinaux, who are come to see the Marquis de la Galissonnière.

9<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of letters from Forts Frontenac and Niagara, from Detroit, from Sieur de Joncaire and Fort de Chartres, whereby we are informed that all the Nations in general continue to be very ill disposed towards the French. Chevalier de Longueuil writes, the 14<sup>th</sup> of July, that those of the Lake, Sauteurs and Outaouas, are on the eve of attacking Detroit; that a new attempt was to be made about the time of the full moon; that he has lost almost all the cattle; and fears that they will perish, being all at the discretion of the enemy, and that it will be impossible to save the harvest unless aid arrive; that he is waiting impatiently for the arrival of the fleet, which he thinks to retain for the security of Detroit; that he has learned nothing certain from Sandoské; he has been told that Nicolas was abandoned, but does not believe it. On the contrary, he knows that he is in correspondence with the people of Sagouin and the Sauteurs to come and surprise Detroit; that, should that happen, Miquinac, an Outaouas chief, will declare against us; he receives daily accounts of the ill dispositions of the Pouteouatamis who will side with the strongest, according to all appearances. The tribe of Quinousaki, an Outaouas, is the only one that remains faithful. Tahaké, a Huron, who was supposed to have died among the English, has returned; he has treated the Nations of Detroit, which has had a very bad effect. The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis, who had promised to go and burn the village on Bois blanc island, are no longer willing to execute that project; they excuse themselves on divers pretexts. It is evident they avoid occasions of giving mutual offence, but he will eventually prevent the enemy seizing that post, which they covet in order to block up the passages on us.

<sup>1</sup> River du Sud rises in the mountains southeast of Quebec, and, taking a northeast course, falls into the St. Lawrence at the village of St. Thomas. For description of it, see *Bouchette*, 514, 8vo. — Ed.



M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis, commandant at Niagara, writes the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, that Sieur Dubuisson has arrived with the convoy which left Montreal for Detroit; the portage was passed very promptly and quietly, except the last night, when some drunken fellows of the guard had gravely ill-treated the Grand Chief of the Senecas, who is very much dissatisfied in consequence; but he has sent Sieur Chabert to the village of the Little Rapid, with something to restore the temper of that Chief; that an Algonkin told Sieur Duplessis that M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil had had a reinforcement of 100 Frenchmen, who must be the traders from the Illinois and other posts. A letter from M. de Longueuil states that he is engaged in the harvest, and that the Indians seem apparently greatly disposed in our favor, but he does not trust them. We expect that the arrival of the convoy will restore tranquillity, in one way or the other, to this post.

That the Mohawks have been seven entire weeks in the vicinity of Fort Niagara; that he persuaded the Senecas, at last, to fire on them; they did so, but too soon; that they had spoken very harshly to them for coming to create disturbance in their country, since which time he has neither seen, nor heard of them.

M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis sends us a copy of a letter from Sieur de Joncaire, of the 12<sup>th</sup> of August, wherein he says that the Chief, who had been to give back his crown, has been invited to Orange, and that the council of Boston has sent to Choueguin for him, and that he has left the Seneca Villages with 22 men, apparently to strike a blow on our frontiers, as is generally supposed; moreover, two children, belonging to the Orator of the Village, having been taken prisoners at Montreal, he is very much afraid that their father, who leaves soon for Orange, will collect some warriors in the villages on the way, who, by the time they reach Orange, will form a large aggregate that might make some serious attacks on us; that there is every appearance of war with the Five Nations; that the Choueguin merchants are withdrawing in bodies and are all escorted by detachments of Indians from each nation, all of whom remain at Orange; this leads him to suspect that some considerable party is being organized; he will not omit any opportunity of learning all the particulars, but had he not been up there all the nations would have been gone; besides, a Dutchman had assured him that no news had been received at Orange from England; he suspects that the 100 Flatheads, which were coming against the Senecas, have returned, and that one-half of that, and of the Little Rapid, village is divided, one part being for war, and the other to remain neutral.

10<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the brigantine *Le Dauphin*, sailed on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, from Bayonne, with a cargo of wine, brandy and about 3 @ 400 *minots* of salt.

13<sup>th</sup> Arrived, a brigantine from Martinico, Capt<sup>n</sup> St. Jean Darraq.

We learn from Montreal that Ensign De Lery has been detached in the beginning of this month, with a party of 80 men, French and Indians, of Saut S<sup>t</sup> Louis, on an expedition against the Mohawks.

M<sup>r</sup> De Noyelle, Jun<sup>r</sup>, has also gone, with 40 other Indians of the Saut, on an expedition in the same direction.

14<sup>th</sup> Sieur Masse, who has been the whole year at Cape Chat, has returned.

We receive letters from Michilimakinac informing us of the arrival of Chevalier de La Verendrye, who has found that post very quiet; the Outaouas are beginning to be sorry for what occurred last year.

Sieur Denoyelle, the commandant, sends the General the list of those who murdered the Frenchmen, at the entrance to Lake Huron. Two Sautaux Indians, in order to show that



they were not guilty, have brought to Sieur Denoyelle their share in the division the murderers made; but, 'tis true, that on perceiving their people pursuing and firing on a canoe, they went in with them and did as the rest.

States that Philippes Le Duc, who arrived at Michilimakinac on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August last, had been robbed by the Indians of Camanistigoya,<sup>1</sup> who took from him fourteen packages and 5 fusils; they were collected to the number of 100 and over, at the low lands (*aux pays plats*) on Lake Superior, waiting for the French.

Sieur Denoyelle was advised, on the 24<sup>th</sup>, that the Sauteurs had accepted the hatchet from the English, and were to prepare ambuscades in Lake Superior to prevent any Frenchmen leaving the next spring. Nevertheless, all the canoes have left for the different posts at the north, as usual, keeping one another company until they are past the most dangerous places; they are to rendezvous in the spring to return in the same order.

17<sup>th</sup> Arrived, a schooner from Martinico, Capt<sup>n</sup> Monrejeau.

31 Abenakis arrive from an expedition towards Fort St. George, with only 2 scalps, have not been able to make any prisoners.<sup>2</sup>

Sieur Aubert is returned from Cape Desrosier with 30 men, who passed the summer with him. There is no more talk of English vessels in the neighborhood of Gaspé.

22<sup>d</sup> *Le Northumberland*, *L'Alcyon*, *La Gironde* and *L'Emeraude* sailed at 8 o'clock this morning, with a fair wind from the S. W.; they have been detained until now by contrary winds.

23<sup>d</sup> We learn from St. Francis that 28 Abenakis, belonging to that village, have gone to New England on a war excursion.

28<sup>th</sup> A courier arrives from Acadia. Father Germain writes us, on the 14<sup>th</sup> instant, that he dispatches this courier with information that he is positively assured the English would attack Fort St. Frederic this winter; that the news is a secret, and not much bruited; that, moreover, two English deserters, who came to Beaubassin from Port Royal, have told him the same thing; that the garrison consists of only 250 old soldiers; that they had heard it said that the Governor of Boston would not send any troops to the fort, because those he had sent last year had been defeated at Minas, or had perished by the way.

Abbé Maillard, who is likewise at Beaubassin, communicates the same news to us; he had received the supplies we had sent him and his Indians, whom he will get to act agreeably to Count de la Galissonnière's wishes, and hopes they will get up some expeditions this winter; that he will be obliged to incur some expense in provisions, &c; that the Commandant of Port Royal was aware of the arrival of some vessels at Quebec, and expects to be blockaded.

Sieur Gautier writes to the same effect, &c, and that 40 Englishmen belonging to the garrison of Port Royal, have been detached to Minas to surprise such of the settlers as have formerly taken up arms in favor of France; that they had returned precipitately, on learning, on their arrival at Minas, that one of his children had been to notify the Indians. Sieur Gautier recommends his interests to us.

We sent back the couriers to Beaubassin on the same day.

<sup>1</sup> The French post of Camanistigoya, or the Three Rivers, is now called Fort William; it is situate on the Kaministiquia, which falls into Thunder Bay, N. W. of Isle Royale, on the north side of Lake Superior. No place in the northwest, says Messrs. Foster and Whitney, presents a view of greater magnificence than the vicinity of Fort William. *Report on the Geology and Topography of Lake Superior*, 1850, p. 20. The river is laid down on Charlevoix's Map of the Lakes of Canada, and on Michell's Map of North America. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Farmer and Moore's New Hampshire Collections*, III, 387.



We learn from Montreal that 4 @ 5 negroes, who had been taken from the English during the war, have deserted. Some of the Saut Indians have been sent in pursuit of them, who returned without having been able to overtake them; they are suspected of having favored the escape of these negroes. It will be proper, henceforward, to send all these foreign negroes to the Islands to be sold there.

The canoes of the Hundred have come down from Fort Frontenac, without bringing any news. The King's bark, which had sailed 25 days previously, for Niagara, had not yet returned. No accident is anticipated; on the contrary it is supposed that it has been retarded by the arrival of the canoes from Detroit.

31<sup>st</sup> Arrived the brigantine *La Pupille*, 120 tons burthen, Captain Curodeau, commander, who was sent to Martinico on the 25<sup>th</sup> July last, brings a cargo of rum, sugar and coffee, and some English dry goods and 40 barrels of salt; this last article, though small the quantity, will be an essential relief in our present situation; it will be distributed as usual in small measures among the farmers who have not been able to obtain any in the first distribution. Sieur Curodeau has come through the straits of Belleile; learned at Bay Phelipeaux, that two English frigates and one vessel appeared before Kerpont, and had carried off a St. Malo ship called *Le Grand Joseph*, Captain Deshayes, the crew of which escaped, but the captain would not quit. The Marquis de Caylus writes on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, that Mr Legs<sup>1</sup> is in the Windward Islands channel, with 12 men of war. Said Curodeau took off the North coast the crew of a schooner belonging to Sieur Pommereau, which sailed this fall for the fishery of the Great Mécatina,<sup>2</sup> and was lost near that post. He saw about 4 days ago, the King's ships anchored at the Brandy pots; they were preparing to sail.

November 2. We learn from Montreal that the 4 fugitive negroes have been overtaken and brought back to that place.

6<sup>th</sup> John Gannes, late mate of the ship *St. Joseph*, of St Malo, commanded by Sieur George Deshayes, has arrived from Newfoundland in a boat, with 19 men belonging to the crew of said ship. The following is an extract from his journal.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of September, wind S. W., perceived off the harbor of Grillet,<sup>3</sup> at the distance of half the range of a cannon ball, one 64 gun ship, 3 frigates of 28 to 30 guns, and a 14 gun schooner, all of which set about sounding the points in the neighborhood of the harbor; it was eight o'clock in the morning; after examining the depth of water, they began working up the two channels of the harbor for the space of 6 leagues, carrying no sail. In the evening the large vessel put a spring on her cable in order to bring her broadside to bear; this determined the 3 captains of *L'heureuse Marie*, *le Sauveur* and *le Joseph*, to send an officer with an offer of a ransom on board the English commander, who would not listen to it. Sieur Deshayes and the other captains resolved on surrendering, and he, John Degannes and 19 men, left Grillet the same day at 8 o'clock in the evening, in a boat with some provisions for Kerpont, where they took a schooner (*double chaloupe*) which brought them to Quebec.

<sup>1</sup> Hon. EDWARD LEGGE, 5th son of the Earl of Dartmouth, was born in 1710, and commissioned Captain in the Royal Navy July 26, 1738; in 1739 he accompanied Admiral Vernon in the expedition against Portobello, and in 1745 commanded the *Strafford*, 60, on the Jamaica station. He succeeded Commodore Lee in the command of the West India station, and died there in 1747. He had been recently elected member of Parliament for Portsmouth. *Beatson*; *Debrett*; *Chatham Correspondence*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> On the coast of Labrador, latitude 50° 50' longitude 59° 10'.

<sup>3</sup> Called *Grignot* in modern maps of Newfoundland. It is on the N. E. coast of that island.



The ships *Le Tourneur*, *La Valeur* and a sloop, sailed last evening from the latter port for France.

9<sup>th</sup> Arrived a party of Abenakis belonging to St. Francis, who struck a blow near Fort St. George; they have brought in a young lad about 15 years old, a prisoner; he reports nothing; they killed his father whose scalp they have with them.

We learn that the King's ships passed Rimouski, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of last month, with a favorable wind.

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*Abstract of M. de la Galissonnière's Despatches.*

CANADA.

8<sup>th</sup> January, 1748.<sup>1</sup> Count de Lagalissonnière, Commander-in-chief of the Colony, gives an account of the different war parties, consisting of Canadians and Indians, which had made incursions into the English Colonies during the late war.

It appears from the details he enters into, that these parties have experienced their usual success in the enemy's territory; the number of scalps they have taken amounts to one hundred and fifty, and they captured one hundred and twelve prisoners. Of all these parties only one was unsuccessful; this was composed of ten Canadians and sixty Abenakis Indians from the villages of Saint Francis and Becancourt, and was commanded by Chevalier de Niverville, Ensign *en second* of a company of Colonial troops, who, having proceeded towards Boston, was discovered and surprised by a detachment of the enemy much superior to his. He would have been utterly defeated, but defended himself with so much bravery that he lost only two Indians and had only five others wounded.

The most considerable of these parties has been commanded by Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Major of Three Rivers. It was composed of about twelve hundred men, including French and Indians, and was organized in consequence of repeated advices the Governor-General and Intendant received of the preparations making at Orange to attack Fort St' Frederic. M. Rigaud's orders were to proceed first to relieve that fort, under the supposition that it was attacked, and if it was not in danger, to employ his detachment in some expedition against Orange.

Finding that Fort St' Frederic had nothing to fear, M. Rigaud determined to enter into the Province of Albany to try to take Fort Sarastau, which protects a part of the frontier of that Province.

He first detached Sieur de la Corne St' Luc, Ensign of a company, with two hundred men, to attack the garrison. On arriving in the vicinity of that fort, M. de St. Luc sent out some Indians to ascertain what was going on there; but one of them, having inadvertently fired a gun, they were discovered. M. de St. Luc, not doubting then but the garrison would make a sortie, placed the greater portion of his men in ambush and left only fifteen exposed to the enemy, who did, in fact, come out to the number of one hundred. This detachment, proceeding some distance from the fort, found itself surrounded, and fifteen or twenty men only escaped, all the rest having been killed, drowned or taken.

<sup>1</sup> This is the date of the Abstract; not of the Despatch. — Ed.

Sieur de Rigaud wished to march immediately with his entire force; but the Indians who accompanied him, and composed the major part of the force, being divided in opinion as to what was proper to be done, finished by abandoning the party, and Sieur de Rigaud, finding himself thereby too weak, considered it his duty to return and protect Fort St. Frederic, fearing that the enemy might wish to profit by his retreat to try an attack on that place.

#### CANADA INDIANS.

5<sup>th</sup> April, 1748.<sup>1</sup> Count de Lagalissonnière being desirous to punish such of the Michilimakinac and Detroit Nations as had, at the instigation of the English, made incursions on the French, sent, last year, strong detachments to those two posts; but before that destined for Michilimakinac had arrived, the Indians, who were complained of, came to sue for pardon from the Commandant of the post, and delivered to him the two principal chiefs of the revolted party. Those of Detroit had fled to a distant village of that post, whence they sent deputies to sue for pardon; so that there is reason to hope that peace will be soon established in the Upper country, these Indians being the only ones on this Continent who have made any hostile movements during the war.

But the chiefs of the Michilimakinac rebels having been brought to Montreal, and Count de Lagalissonnière having resolved to send to Quebec, they were put on board a canoe, the crew of which consisted of a sergeant and eight soldiers. These were murdered on going down the river, and there was no doubt but the blow was struck by Indians, who, when drunk, had formed the design of rescuing the two prisoners.

Since the defeat of the two principal parties sent to Canada by the Mohawks in seventeen hundred and forty-seven, these Indians have made no further attempts, and the other Iroquois Nations who came to visit Count de Lagalissonnière have assured him that they did not trouble themselves any more except how to deserve his favor. This Governor has taken advantage of the arrival of these Indians to reproach them with their conduct towards those of the Upper country, whom they wished to attach to the English party. This reproach seems to have made the more impression, inasmuch as Count de Lagalissonnière had given them to understand that it depended only on him to arm against them the most of these same Nations whom they had been seeking to gain over to the English.

He afterwards spoke to them of the pretensions put forth on all occasions, to both their lands and themselves, by the English, who regard them as subjects of the Crown of England, and they have departed resolved to go and oppose this pretension. Count Lagalissonnière observes, thereupon, that they will have used the less management towards the English inasmuch as the latter had been treated with the greatest contempt in the two last Assemblies to which they had invited these Indians. He states, also, that, with a view to favor and increase the credit of the Cayugas, one of their Nations, which has almost always been in the French interests, he had ordered the surrender to them of one of the Senecas who had been taken prisoners in the two expeditions got up by the Mohawks.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 132, note. — Ed.



*M. de la Galissonnière to Count de Maurepas.*Quebec, 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1748.

My Lord.

In answer to one of your last Despatches dated the 25<sup>th</sup> of April, and which reached me only by *Le Zephir*, I believe I have spoken to you somewhat at length of our Illinois establishments.

They possess this perhaps in common with all that relates to the Mississippi, that after having been praised greatly beyond their just value, scarcely a person can be found to-day who regards them as good for anything. I believe both extremes must be avoided, and here is what I think.

I regard the profits of the mines as very uncertain, and besides as so remote and dependent on so many other antecedent establishments, that no calculation can be made respecting them without, meanwhile, forever despairing of them.

I believe the fur trade carried on there one of the least advantageous in Canada, but I cannot speak with exactness.

The most I hope to draw from the country of the mines, is some bundles of buffalo skins.

I believe it extremely necessary that Louisiana be so settled as to derive flour and other life necessities from points nearer than the Illinois.

In fine, I believe that it will be a long time before the King will realize any actual revenue, or individuals any considerable profit, from the Illinois; on the contrary, 'twill cost the King something to settle it.

But for all that, I am very far from concluding that the whole of that little Colony ought be left to perish. On the contrary, I consider that the King must make some sacrifice for its support.

P<sup>mo</sup> So as not to lose what has been already expended there as a Colony.

2<sup>o</sup> Because it is one of the best situated barriers that can be opposed to the ambition of the English, to prevent them penetrating into our trading countries, and even into Mexico.

3<sup>o</sup> Because, were that country well settled, it would render us formidable to all the nations on the lower division of the River Mississippi.

4<sup>o</sup> Because bread, meat and other provisions will attract thither the Indians, whose alliance and trade will be useful to us.

5<sup>o</sup> Had there been, for example, 400 @ 500 men capable of bearing arms in the Illinois, this war, not only would our small posts of Sabache, &c., not have been disturbed, but the very nations who have frequently insulted us, would have been led even into the heart of the most flourishing English Colonies.

And here it is well to remark, that we must not flatter ourselves that our Continental Colonies; that is to say, this and Louisiana, can ever compete in wealth with the adjoining English Colonies, nor even carry on any very lucrative trade; for, except peltry, the amount of which is limited, and whose profits are and will be always diminishing, we shall scarcely ever have it in our power to furnish any but similar commodities to those of Europe; we shall not be able to supply them at the same price, though mostly of inferior quality, and though ours is an immense country, we have no outlet except by two rivers equally out of the way, whose navigation is inconvenient and perilous.

We are reduced then to make the most of the principal advantage of the country, which is its extreme productiveness and the facility of feeding a great many there without almost any foreign labor.

France derives from itself and its other Colonies, every sort of production ; this one will not produce for a long time anything but men, but if wanted, 'twill produce in a sufficiently short time, so great a number of these, that, far from fearing English Colonies or Indian tribes, she will be in a position to dictate the law to them. And it is proper to remark that these Colonies are so precious to England, that if once Canada be sufficiently powerful in men to endanger them, this apprehension would rather have the effect of preventing the English making, as they so often do, a bad use of their maritime power.

As these views, though remote, must, it appears to me, engage our attention, I see no settlement more urgent than that of the Illinois. It is a country easy to cultivate and to clear, and greatly coveted by our neighbors.

Already there is a pretty goodly number of families there, and those who will follow by degrees are sure of provisions.

But it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to increase the Illinois much from the Mississippi, which itself is in want of population, and will, by the beauty of its climate and the vicinity of the sea, always rather attract people from the Illinois than the Illinois draw any from Louisiana.

If to this we add the difficulties of ascending the Mississippi; the facilities hostile tribes have of arresting your upward progress, and the convenience Canadian Traders possess of going to the Illinois by four or five different routes, which cannot be all blocked at the same time, it will be seen that it is Canada which is to furnish this population; and this, I think, is the manner it can be done.

P<sup>mo</sup> To send from Canada to the Illinois one or two officers, and a detachment of fifty or sixty soldiers, to serve under M<sup>r</sup> de Bertet's orders.

2<sup>o</sup> To send down to Louisiana the two companies actually at the Illinois, that is to say the officers and young men of these companies, for all the married soldiers and those who would wish to become farmers there, must be discharged and left in Illinois.

3<sup>o</sup> To send thirty or forty salt smugglers, yearly, to the Illinois, by way of Canada, beginning as soon as possible.

4<sup>o</sup> To afford some facilities to ten or twelve Canadian farmers, every year, to go and settle and take up land there.

5<sup>o</sup> According as the troops here would fill up, to increase the garrison at the Illinois, as far as one hundred men or more.

6<sup>o</sup> To recommend the officer, in command there, to favor agriculture much more than trade.

7<sup>o</sup> To provide for the export of flour, which might be in too great abundance in the country, in consequence of the closing of the river.

I have expressly provided that the officers to be sent thither should be under M<sup>r</sup> de Bertet's orders, for I do not think it easy to find an officer as capable as he of managing and perfecting this settlement. I know him only by the reputation I have heard of him, and from the accounts I have had of him since I came here; and if there be anything valuable and true in what I have stated above, it is derived from his letters.

It is there I also find a remark essential to the subject. Should populous Illinois be capable of harassing the English Colonies, these possess scarcely less facilities for seizing the Illinois,



if left in their present languishing condition. Of all the countries in our occupation, this is the one which they can invade most easily with the smallest force; and could they once succeed in thus intruding themselves between our two Colonies, the loss of the Mississippi and the ruin of the internal trade of Canada would be assured, and the Spanish Colonies, and even Mexico, be in very great danger.

The result of all this is, that by connecting the Illinois with Canada, little will be gained in the item of the expense of the troops, the number of which, it seems to me, must rather be increased than diminished. In other respects, they are absolutely necessary there to restrain the Indians, and sometimes the settlers, and to increase in time the number of these latter.

For want of sufficient soldiers Mr de Bertet has been, during the entire war, in continual danger, from which he has extricated himself, principally by his good conduct, and in some degree by the help of the ammunition and goods transmitted to him from this place.

It is to be also remarked that this post being situate at the extremity of our two Colonies, the Coureurs de bois and other bad subjects usually take refuge there, where they would possess opportunities of creating a great deal of disorder, should the commanding officer not have means at hand to repress them.

Much is not to be expected from farming this post, which I believe would be completing its ruin; some money, at most, can be derived from licenses, or those who will obtain them can be obliged to transport ammunition, and I know not if that even can be effected.

I agree with you, my Lord, in opinion that it is a matter of indifference whether an officer from Canada, or an officer from Louisiana, command at the Illinois, as far as its settlement, or the defence or even the existence of Louisiana is concerned.

He can always have orders to send down to New Orleans the largest quantity of flour possible, and to procure for that city, and whatever is connected with it, all the assistance in his power.

In order that there should be abundance in that post, and that its settlement be promoted, I see no objection to the Governor of Mississippi as well as the Governor of Canada, granting, or even selling, Trading Licenses for that place, provided the price be low, as that will not give rise to any discussion (*n'y aiant aura point de discussion*).

This, my Lord, is nearly what I can answer on the subject of the Illinois.

I defer to a future time treating of all the posts of Canada, and, moreover, take the liberty of requesting you to consult M. Hocquart on that matter, though we may not be precisely of the same opinion.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

LA GALISSONNIÈRE.

*Occurrences in Canada during the year 1747-8.*

Journal of whatever occurred of interest at Quebec in regard to the operations of the war, and the various intelligence received there since the sailing of the ships in November, 1747.

1747. November 8. The General issues orders to Chevalier de la Corne, who is about to start for Montreal, to repair, on his arrival, to Saut S<sup>t</sup> Louis and withdraw from the Indians certain Dutchmen at present in their hands, and who, it is suspected, transmit intelligence to their country.

*News from Michilimakinac.*

10<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of letters from Michilimakinac. Lieutenant de St. Pierre, who had been selected to command the convoy sent to that post, arrived there without any accident in 45 days. Captain de Verchères, appointed commandant at the Bay,<sup>1</sup> and who was to remain at Michilimakinac with his traders from Montreal, had taken his departure thence for his post with the voyageurs. M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre writes us, on the 22<sup>d</sup> of October, that he has not been able to speak to the Indians, who were, when he arrived, all gone to their winter quarters without having given any token of repentance for the outrage they had perpetrated. It is, hence, to be presumed that they persist in their evil dispositions; that the Marquis de Beauharnois' orders, sent with Sieur de Laverendrie in the month of August, have been badly executed; that 'twas the only means of reducing those Nations; that he does not anticipate success otherwise than by depriving them of the supplies they derive for the support of their families, and which they cannot dispense with; this might have been effected were the traders prevented going to the different posts, according to the Marquis de Beauharnois' intentions; and this officer takes this occasion of saying, that it would be well not to allow the canoes to leave Montreal next spring for Michilimakinac and other posts, until he have informed us of the sentiments in which the Nations of that country will then be, and as soon as he shall have learned their intentions he will take occasion to report them to us.

M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre adds, that he has recalled a Pouteouatamie chief, who was going to Montreal with the French who were taking down their peltries; it is the only Nation to be relied on. He has spoken to this chief by two Belts; the first, to congratulate him on the good conduct observed up to the present time by the people of his tribe, hinting to him that they ought not to listen to evil talks; that they ought to hearken only to their father's words, which alone they ought to rely on. The second, to engage them not to leave their village, as he has been informed that M. de Bertet, the commandant at the Illinois, was using every appliance at his disposal to attract them, which would be very prejudicial to the public service, because, being sure of the fidelity of that Nation, it will always be a barrier in the way of the others, and the means to keep them in check.

Sends back Sieur Lavérendie, Jun<sup>r</sup>, to Montreal in command of the convoy he brought to Michilimakinac.

The General selects Captain de Sabrevois to command Fort St. Frederic in place of M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron, whom he has relieved.

<sup>1</sup> Green Bay. — Ed.



11<sup>th</sup> The 4 Negroes and a Panis, who were captured from the English during the war and had run away from Montreal, as mentioned in the entry of the 28<sup>th</sup> of October, in the preceding Journal, have been overtaken and brought in to-day ; we intend to put them on board a small vessel bound to Martinico, the last in port ; these slaves will be sold there for the benefit of the proprietors.

*News from Detroit.*

14<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of letters from Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant of Detroit, dated 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of August last, whereof this is an extract :

The Hurons of Sandosket, and of Nicolas' band, continue insolent ; this chief is unceasing in his efforts to gain allies.

Divers Huron war parties that had been against the Chicachas, Cohas, &c., have returned, and been to see M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, like people who have no share in Nicolas' affairs ; but the ambiguities of their talk afford nothing to be relied on.

The same Nicolas sent back the people of the White river who were on their way to Detroit, on account of the death of the 5 Frenchmen killed by the Hurons. He likewise persuaded 27 Chaouenons to turn back who were coming to answer M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil's message, and as the sole result of the expenses incurred for that nation ( of the village of Sonnioto), he saw one Chaouenon arrive on the 23<sup>d</sup> of August, in company with 3 Iroquois, who, on landing, went to the little Huron village adjoining the fort ; being desirous, no doubt, to consult with the Huron and arrange the speech they were to deliver. These deputies had not been to visit M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil until the next day, the 24<sup>th</sup>, giving as an excuse that they did not land at the fort ; they had not yet spoken on the 25<sup>th</sup>, the date of this officer's last letter ; and were not to do so until the 27<sup>th</sup>. Some trusty Indians have assured him that any secrets they would communicate to him would certainly be discovered by these deputies. Kinousaki, an Outaouas chief, who is attached to us, has said that no matter how things would turn, the Chaouenons will never consent to leave their village of Sonnioto, which circumstance would be favorable to us.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil had just learned underhand, through some Indians who were acquainted with the 4 deputies, that some Englishmen had come to Sandosket with ammunition to Nicolas and his men. The Hurons of the village on Bois blanc island, who are near the fort, have seen these two Englishmen, and have not spoken of them, which proves clearly their understanding with those of Sandosket, and that they requested leave to remain near the fort only for the purpose of watching our movements more closely, so as to inform Nicolas thereof, and to advise him of the preparations that may be making against him. These same Hurons persist, however, in wishing to return to Bois blanc island, because it is their interest to occupy that post which is the key of Detroit, whilst Nicolas on his side will draw the English to him, and afford them facilities for establishments all along Lake Erie as far as the Miamis river. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil is not in a condition to oppose all these enterprises ; he is a witness of their project every day, without having the power to make the first step to counteract them ; which excites wonder among the other nations, and leads them to entertain unfavorable opinions in regard to us.

The Outaoua appears altogether insensible to the misfortunes that threaten the fort, and does not care about helping us.

The Pouteouatamis are, as M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil believes, the best disposed ; he has no fault to find with them ; they are, consequently, the only persons he can confide in.



A party of the Miamis have come to dance the Calumet at the fort; another section have been to visit Nicolas at Sandosket; the ceremony attendant on the former has been very expensive; their reception, the good cheer for the space of 15 days, and the presents which have been made to them with a view both to destroy unfavorable impressions among them, and to protect the lives of the French who are in their village, have cost a great deal.

Such was the state of affairs at Detroit on the 25th of August. We are in hopes that the arrival of the convoy and of Father Larichardie will contribute to the peace of that post, or, at least, that the reinforcements we have sent thither will enable M. de Longueuil to resist the attacks of our enemies, if he can do nothing against them, after having exhausted all available means, regard being had to existing circumstances.

*Miamis.*

Ensign Douville, who had been sent last spring to invite the Miamis to come down to Montreal, writes to the Marquis de la Galissonnière from Detroit 25<sup>th</sup> of August, that after some delay he had arrived at that post with Coldfoot, the chief of the Miamis, the Porc-Epic<sup>1</sup> and their young men whom he was bringing down to Montreal; he had learnt, by a letter from the Commandant of Niagara, that there was a party of Mohawks at the portage of that fort; moreover, that Chevalier de Longueuil had just learned the derangement of the affairs of Michilimakinac, which has obliged Sieur Douville to send back these Indians who have given him all their messages, as did also the other nations when he was with them, and all have authorized him to inform their father of their sentiments towards the French. These nations are in absolute want of powder.

Sieur Douville states that he has had news from the Miamis, that everything was quiet since his departure on the 3<sup>d</sup> of July.

He has had assurances that the Senecas had given an English Belt to *La Demoiselle*, chief of a portion of the Miamis, allies of the English, to procure his, Sieur Douville's assassination, with a reward to whomsoever should carry his head to the English Governor. The same course has been pursued towards M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil.

*Ouyatanons.*

Ensign Chevalier de La Peyrade, commandant at the post of the Ouyatanons, writes from Detroit, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August, that he was on his way down to Montreal with the Nations from the Oubache, when he learned, in the Miamis river, the treachery of the Hurons; that this intelligence, conjoined to other circumstances, obliged those Nations to return to their village, where they were pretty quiet when he left them to come to Detroit, where he is waiting for news from Niagara to return to the Ouyatanons to continue his service there.

We are in receipt, also, of news from the River St. Joseph. Sieur Laperrière Marin, commanding at that post, writes us on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of July last. It appears that the English are endeavoring to debauch the Nations belonging to that post, as well as all the others, by the unfavorable impressions they are trying to insinuate among them by means of the 5 Nations, who continue to embroil all the affairs, and employ every pretext to bring about the destruction of the French of that post. The Pouteouatamies appear always in our interests; they have made many protestations to Sieur La Perrière of the attachment they have long felt, and will continue to entertain, for their father, the French.

<sup>1</sup> Hedgehog. — Ed.



Fifty Ouyatanons came to said post on the River St. Joseph, to express the pain they felt at the treachery of the Hurons at Detroit; that they are ready to attack those who had killed the French; that their father had only to speak.

The commandants at Niagara and Fort Frontenac write us, also, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of October. Everything was quiet there.

*The 5 Slaves.*

16<sup>th</sup> The vessel destined for the islands, which is the last in port, cannot accommodate the five slaves we intended to put on board it; but as we understand that the ships *La Chimère* and *La Sultane*, bound for St Domingo, which sailed eight days ago, are still lying wind bound at *la prairie*, with the other vessels, we resolve to dispatch the port sloop to convey to these vessels the 5 slaves to be sold at St. Domingo.

19<sup>th</sup> The port sloop which was dispatched on the 16<sup>th</sup> has returned; the 5 slaves were placed on board *La Chimère* and *La Sultane* on the 17<sup>th</sup> instant. These ships and the rest of our fleet which left here on the 11<sup>th</sup>, set sail on the morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> with a favorable wind from the S. W.

*News from Detroit.*

23<sup>d</sup> We are in receipt of news from Detroit and the Illinois. The former are very interesting. Chevalier de Longueuil, the commandant, writes us, on the 22<sup>d</sup> of October last, and gives us an account of what occurred at his post since the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, the date of his last despatch. The following is the substance of his communication:

*Blow struck at Michilimakinac.*<sup>1</sup> The 4 Chaouennon deputies who arrived on the 23<sup>d</sup> of August, spoke on the 26<sup>th</sup>; he does not place much reliance on what they had said; he had, notwithstanding, treated them well. These Indians have remained long enough at Detroit to discover the thoughts of the other Nations, and the difficulty under which the post labored; they have also been witnesses of a new attack which the Sauteurs of the River Aux Sables, who murdered the Frenchmen at Chibaoenani, have just made at Detroit within  $\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>th</sup>s of a league of the fort, where they killed, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August, a settler named Martineau who had imprudently gone too far into the woods. These murderers, 4 in number, scalped him, and it is asserted, sent, on the part of Mamahoëkisigo, the scalp to the Iroquois with two pieces of cloth from the pillage of Chabaoënani.

The Montreal convoy arrived safe at Detroit on the 22<sup>d</sup> of September, escorted by about 150 men, including the merchants and their servants. This relief is the salvation of Detroit, and has apparently made an impression on the Nations.

The Miamis, and perhaps also the Ouyatanons, are in disorder. The former allowed themselves to be gained over by the Belts of Nicolas, who represented to them that Detroit had been razed by the Lake tribes; that consequently they could no longer defer killing the French who were among them. The Miamis have listened to this message. They, first, seized eight Frenchmen who were in the fort of that post, whom, however, they did not injure; they afterwards seized the property and burnt a portion of the buildings. Two of the 8 Frenchmen whom the Miamis had allowed to leave uninjured, arrived at Detroit on the 7<sup>th</sup> of October.

On the arrival of the convoy, M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil being ignorant of what was going on at the Miamis, and wishing to be informed thereof, before allowing the lessees (of the Posts) to go

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* It ought to be "Detroit." — Ed.



there, sent 4 French deputies thither with messages to the Miamis, to induce them to come to Detroit. The deputies arrived at the Miamis after the blow had been struck; nevertheless, they prevailed on a good many of the Indians of that Nation to come to Detroit, to be disabused by their own eyes of Nicolas' impositions. But discouraged on seeing themselves notified by the arrival of a second Belt from Nicolas, in confirmation of the first, they went back to their village, and have merely sent to Detroit two deputies, whom M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has immediately sent home with messages to disabuse that Nation of the evil speeches of Nicolas. Jaret, a Miamis chief, of the village of Tepicourt, was at Detroit during all this disorder. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has thought proper to send him without delay to try and restore good order, and more particularly to save the six Frenchmen who are detained prisoners.

The Outaouas and Pouteoutamies came to Detroit, previous to the arrival of the convoy, to renew the treaty of alliance. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil places no dependence on the circumstance; their past conduct gives him every reason to doubt their sincerity. A few days afterwards this officer called together these same Outaouas and Pouteoutamis, and the others who were desirous to visit him. He communicated to them our despatch of the 22<sup>d</sup> of July, relative to the murder of the 5 Frenchmen by the Hurons, explaining to them their father's intentions in regard to this murder, and the condition on which he would pardon the Hurons therefor. The meeting applauded, and two Huron Chiefs, of the number of the seemingly faithful, in company with some others of that nation, have been to carry this message to Nicolas at Sandosket. The commission being executed, these deputies have reported for answer that Nicolas did accept, but was desirous of waiting the return of Sastaredzy,\* on whose arrival he, Nicolas, would repair to Detroit to conclude (peace); but whilst this Traitor was giving this answer, he had messengers out a second time to tell the Miamis that Detroit was razed, &c., which caused those of the Miamis to turn back who were coming to Detroit, as already mentioned.

The Sauteurs above Detroit came to demand an asylum. M. de Longueuil received them, notwithstanding the causes of discontent afforded by their past conduct, which he promised to forget if they would be wise.

Thirty families from Saguinan, whom Mikinac, an Outaouas chief, had invited, came also for the same purpose, and gave some strings of Wampum as assurances of their future fidelity.

There are a great many peltries at Detroit, which cannot be brought down until next year; again, M. de Longueuil must first receive news of aid from Montreal, otherwise it would be very hazardous to send them down. The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis have, at different times, assured the commandant that were the French, who had come from Montreal, to separate from him, the enemy would renew their threats and hostilities; but he does not place the least reliance on what they say, nor on their renewing alliance. These nations are only endeavoring to get their supplies out of us, and to discover a favorable opportunity to betray us irrecoverably. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil is, consequently, obliged to ask us for a reinforcement of men and provisions, at the very opening of the spring, so as to be able to put a stop to their intrigues. There are not provisions at Detroit for any length of time; he asks, in like manner, that Niagara be abundantly provided for the security of the convoys up and down.

The Outaouas and Sauteurs thought that the sacrifice of one of their unfortunate prisoners (*esclave*), whom they accused of having come around the fort with an evil design, would be sufficient to procure for them a restoration of our confidence. They gave him up to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, who has been obliged to receive him. He gave him to the Abenakis, who accompany the Montreal convoy.

\* This Huron Chief, much respected by his Nation, had died at Quebec, on the 4th of August.



This officer, not being able to send any Traders to the Miamis until the Nation return to its duty, sends back to Montreal Ensign Douville, who commanded at that post, and who was at Detroit at the time the Indians committed the pillage; he sends back, in like manner, 40 Frenchmen and the Abenakis, who formed part of the convoy, to report to us the state of affairs at his post.

Father La Richardie and M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre arrived at Detroit, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, with the Huron Deputies who came to Quebec last summer.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil will concert with that missionary the best measures to turn his voyage to good account, and so soon as that commandant will have made arrangements with the Miamis and Hurons, he will dispatch two canoes, well armed, to advise us of the circumstance.

*News from the Illinois.*

The intelligence from the Illinois is equally interesting. Chevalier de Berthet, the commandant, writes us from Caskaquias, the 11<sup>th</sup> of August. It appears from his letter of the . . . . . that there has been considerable trouble in his district; it appears even that since the irruption of the Detroit Hurons, all the other Tribes, infected with their example, are excited, and desirous to side with them. The following is the substance of what that officer writes to us:

Three strange Indians, from Fond du Lac, came at the end of July to the Illinois country, with a message from the English, in the name of the Iroquois, Hurons, Abenakis, Pouz and Outaouas, and all the Ouabash Tribes, inviting the Illinois to abandon the French, otherwise they were dead men; or if they would not of themselves destroy the French, to withdraw and go to the Caokias, and they would come and cut them (the French) off; after which the English would come to the Illinois and supply their necessities abundantly. Our Illinois had almost consented to the act, when M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet, who was informed of the design of these three strangers, demanded that they should speak in his presence, which they refused to do, and the Illinois approved. However, the latter promised him that they should give him communication of whatever would be said; but their council being held during the night they reported to this commandant whatever they pleased. The latter seeing that the Illinois were deceiving him, gave them to understand, in a meeting, that he knew everything, and that they could not conceal aught from him. These Indians, on reflection, admitted the fact. They placed in his hands the message in question, which consisted of a shell, a calumet and some tobacco. He returned it to them immediately, and told them to give it back to those who had brought it; one of these three strange Indians took this message and said, he would not return back with it; he said, he should be ashamed to take it back, and, being himself an Illinois, remained with his people.

M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet has been informed by a Huron returning from the Chicachas war, who had spent the winter at Sonnioto<sup>1</sup> with the Chaouenons, of the league formed by the latter to destroy the Upper country posts; this Huron has assured him that the Iroquois of the Great village, as well as all the other nations, had accepted the tomahawk against the French, and had all reunited together to seize all the French posts, beginning with the Illinois country; that this attack would be made during the August moon, and at the fall of the leaf; and that he was present when the belts were distributed for the conspiracy; that he vouched for the truth, and warned him to be on his guard. He added, that should the expedition not take

<sup>1</sup> Now, Scioto, *Mitchell's Map*. — Ed.



place at the time he mentioned, it would be postponed until the ensuing spring, or the affair would go to sleep altogether. *La Damoiselle*, the Miamis chief, is the concoctor of this league. Had M. Berthet been provided with some merchandise, he might have hoped to stop these tribes, being known to the principal ones; but his poverty has reached the point that there is not in the King's stores nor among the traders, an ell of cloth, nor a particle of ammunition to defend themselves in case they are attacked. This circumstance has obliged him to concentrate his forces at the village of Caskaquias, and to abandon the other settlements to the mercy of the Indians. He has not received any aid from New Orleans within 15 months, nor does he know whether the English are masters of the Colony, or if his Majesty have abandoned Louisiana. He has demanded some succor of M. de Longueuil at Detroit, as he expected none from New Orleans until the end of the fall, and it is even uncertain whether any will come, as he learned that the Chaouenons, settled on the Ouabache, in union with the Chorakis, Chicachas and Abenakis, were to come to the Mississippi to watch the convoy, and to stop it if possible. This officer is impatiently expecting the aid he has demanded of Chevalier de Longueuil, in order to ward off the storm that threatens the Illinois country,\* the loss of which would be a serious drawback, inasmuch as the English being once masters of that country, would not find any difficulty in gaining the nations wholly to their interest, and by that means could easily seize the entire colony of Louisiana. M<sup>r</sup> de Bertet has sent three of the principal chiefs of the Illinois to New Orleans to see M. de Vaudreuil, in order thereby to gain time and arrest any evil designs that nation might entertain against us.

#### *Niagara and Fort Frontenac.*

The Niagara and Frontenac posts are quiet. We learn by the same opportunity that the sloop on Lake Ontario has arrived at Niagara freighted with provisions and merchandise, by which means that post is well supplied. Fort Frontenac is equally well provisioned.

#### *Fort St. Frederic.*

Fort St. Frederic is supplied as well as possible with provisions and ammunition of all sorts. The last convoy thither was at the beginning of this month; it consisted of live cattle for the refreshment of the garrison, which it is necessary to treat well.

#### *Our Frontier Garrisons.*

We keep garrisons at the Lake of the Two Mountains, La Prairie, Senneville, Soulange and Ile Perraut, composed of soldiers and militia, who go scouting occasionally to prevent surprisals by any hostile parties that might be on the frontier at this season.

23<sup>d</sup> We receive letters from Montreal to the effect that Cadet Simblin, who led a small party of Frenchmen and Indians towards Dierfeld, whilst alone on the roadside guarding the plunder of his men, whom he had sent to slaughter some cattle for food, has been surprised and killed there by some twenty of the enemy's horse. He was found just expiring by his men on their return, to whom he had only time to recount the causes of his death. They afterwards continued their march, took a scalp and returned to Montreal.

#### *Sieur de Léry—A Prisoner.*

Ensign de Léry, who marched from Fort St. Frederic in the beginning of October with a detachment consisting of about 35 men, including French and Indians, for the settlements in New

\* Chevalier de Longueuil writes, on the 25th of August, that he is waiting for the convoy to send supplies to the Illinois.



England, has returned to Montreal. He burnt Fort Bridgeman,<sup>1</sup> on the river Canitikouk, in which he did not find any person, and took one prisoner within 3 leagues of Colonel Lusdaine's<sup>2</sup> fort, which contained 30 people of the neighborhood. This fort is 37 leagues from Boston, 30 from Orange and 6 from Dierfield. This prisoner, whose name is Jonathan Sautune, is a native of Nortfil, aged 22 years; reports that Lidius was to have started more than a month ago with 1500 men to make an attack on the Canada settlements; that half this party consisted of Indians of the Five Nations, and the remainder of Dutchmen; that he does not know whether there be many Indians at Orange, Corlac and Sarastaugué; has heard a battle having been fought in Flanders, but is ignorant of the result; that M<sup>r</sup> Knowles, Governor of Ile Royale, is at Boston since a month, to consult about the discharge of the militia enlisted for the Canada expedition. This prisoner and the people of his village, are of opinion that they will be, if they are not already, sent home. Goods are very scarce at Boston; paper money is discredited. The last harvest has been good. The Iroquois of the Saut, who accompanied Sieur de Léry, have evinced on their march much fear of being met by Mohawks. This leads Sieur de Léry to think that there is not any understanding between them. He has offered 6 of these Iroquois a hundred *livres* each to act as his guides on a scout to Sarastogué, from which place no intelligence has been received for 2 months previous; they have rejected the proposal, on pretext that there were, as they said, under that fort, some wigwams of Indians and Mohawks, who go out scouting every day, and that it would require 5 or 600 men to go there with safety.

When the General sent M<sup>r</sup> de Sabrevois to Fort St. Frederic, he expressly recommended him to send scouting parties out frequently; we have at that fort some thirty Becancourt Abenakis, who will be usefully employed, and we hope to have news from Sarastogué in a short time.

#### *Sieur Desnoyelle.*

Sieur Desnoyelle Lanoix, who went out with 70 men, French and Indians, at the same time as Sieur de Léry, has also returned to Montreal. This party has not succeeded; it took only 2 scalps above Orange; one Seneca, who deserted, went to Orange to give word of it, and thereby has caused all the attacks to fail; the English everywhere being put on their guard.

#### *Prisoners at the Saut.*

December 1<sup>st</sup> We receive some letters from Montreal. Chevalier de La Corne writes us that in consequence of the General's orders he had repaired to the Saut St. Louis to endeavor to get some English prisoners out of the hands of the Indians; that there are there four Dutchmen, who have been three years in that village, and two others, recently captured. The 4 former are 20 @ 25 years old; the Indians to whom they belong are out hunting; they will exchange them for Panis men or women, and not for money, because they are adopted into that village. This arrangement will be concluded, and we shall wait until the coming down of the Michilimakinac canoes to buy some prisoners at a lower figure than could be done now.

#### *Death of a Seneca.*

Died, a Seneca, one of the 8 Indians kept in irons at Quebec; two others of them are sick; they are well treated; since the capture of these Indians no hostile party has appeared within our settlements.

<sup>1</sup> In the town of Hinsdale, Vermont. *Blodget's Map of Vermont*, 1784; *Belknap's New Hampshire*, III., 196. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Qu! Hinsdale.



3<sup>d</sup> Ensign Leborgne arrives from Detroit, whence he has been detached by M. de Longueuil on duty. He brings us an Outaouas and a Pouteouatamis, whom the two Nations send as delegates to the General, to treat of existing affairs at Detroit. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil writes us on the 2<sup>d</sup> of November. The apprehended scarcity of provisions has obliged him to discharge some men whom he would, nevertheless, require. The affairs of that post are no better improved than when he wrote on the 22<sup>d</sup> of October last. This officer has no news from the Hurons, Miamis or from the Ouabache; he is expecting the messengers he has sent thither, and who are greatly behind their time. He calculated, however, on sending Ensign Belestre off immediately, with an escort of 12 Frenchmen, for the post on the River St. Joseph, which he is to command; also, to send off Sieur Lapeyrade, with a like escort, for the Ouyatanons, and a similar detachment for the Illinois; all overland.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil states that he is unsuccessful, for the fourth time, in sending some Huron deputies to Sandosket; does not know what will be the result of these goings and comings; he thinks that the Hurons are seeking only to procrastinate matters so as to be able to surprise Detroit, by means of reinforcements they are expecting from their allies, and to gain time to take refuge in some place at a distance from the danger that menaces them. That officer transmits to us the message which Mikinac, the Outaouas chief, and Onanguisset, the Pouteouatamis chief, communicated to him, on the part of their villages, for the Marquis de La Galissonnière, confirmation of which they send by the two deputies of these Nations. By this message these two chiefs demand that a hundred Frenchmen and Indians be sent to Detroit in the middle of winter; the Indians to be selected from those who are not in alliance with the Nations of that post, so that their conduct may not be any obstacle to their design of reducing the Huron, who seems inclined to persist in his evil intentions. Mikinac, speaking on the part of the Outaouas Nation, which has invited the Huron, says, that though it forms a separate part of the village of Detroit, he undertakes, by the Belts he will send in the course of the winter to all the chiefs of that Nation, to make the guilty return to their duty and determine on asking pardon. They add, by these messages, a request, if the 100 Frenchmen and Indians be accorded to them, that the General grant them a chief, whom they love and respect, and that this number of men, whom they expect in the middle of winter, be followed by a like reinforcement, at the opening of the navigation, fully supplied with provisions and ammunition, and 'twill be seen what use they will make of these reinforcements, should the Huron be opposed to that tranquillity the two Nations desire.

Two Lorette Hurons, who accompanied Father La Richardie, have asked to remain at Detroit; M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil expects to send them this winter to us with reliable news from the Hurons. That officer persists in demanding a reinforcement of men and provisions in the spring.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil annexes to his letter a note of the demands made by Mikinac, an Outaouas Chief; namely, a fine scarlet coat, with silver facings, similar to that sent to Kinousaki, another Outaouas chief; a fine shirt and a silver hilted sword. This officer desires us to grant this request, which will satisfy this chief, and adds, that he has need, in the present conjuncture, of this man, who, if refused, may be the cause of serious disorder; that this chief desires these presents to be sent him this winter, so as to be able to decorate his person on the arrival of the Nations in the spring, and to show, thereby, that he is not less esteemed than Kinousaki.



Ensign Dubuisson, commanding the convoy from Montreal to Detroit, sends us the journal of his voyage. It contains nothing of moment, except his meeting, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, the man named Kollin, a native of Ireland, who fled from Choüeguin with his family and some property, and a soldier belonging to the garrison of that fort. Kollin was brought here in the month of September and examined; does not seem to us deserving of suspicion. He said he had fled from Choüeguen through apprehension of being prosecuted for having infringed some prohibitory regulations, and that the soldier had followed him; they have remained at Quebec, and profess the Catholic religion.

*Senecas.*

By this opportunity we receive a letter from Ensign de Joncaire, residing among the Senecas, dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup>, wherein he informs us of the news he has learned of the enemy's movements. This is his statement: The Cayugas told him that the Hurons had sent word to the 5 Nations that, owing to their small number, they considered themselves no longer Hurons, but Iroquois, since the greater portion of their village were children of the Iroquois. Should this be so, Sieur Joncaire thinks that the Beautiful river will be the route which they will proceed to join the village of the Five Nations.

200 Dutchmen, commanded by 2 commissioners, of whom Lidius is one, had, in the month of October, engaged a troop of 20 Senecas who conducted some English back to Orange to join them, and having raised all the Mohawks, some Oneidas and the balance of Mohegans, making 600 men in all, set out, each having a gun,  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>lb</sup> powder,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>lbs</sup> of lead in two bars, knife, and a tomahawk, and having passed Sarastau and being in the vicinity of Lake St. Sacrament, the Indians told the Dutch to go out scouting on the lake and they would wait for them. The Dutch went alone on the scout and reported, on their return, that they had not seen anything. They afterwards all reunited at Sarastau, where the Indians say there are not 100 men in garrison, and returned thence to Orange. The Indians having observed a camp there, were told it was 600 men who were going to garrison Sarastau, which the Senecas cannot believe, saying that fort, which is contemptible on account of its small size, is insufficient to hold so many people. This story has, in our opinion, no other foundation than what occurred in the month of 7<sup>ber</sup>, near Sarastau, when M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud presented himself there. The English who were informed of the circumstance, sent, without doubt, to reconnoitre his forces when he retreated. By this occasion an English prisoner is brought in who has already been ransomed at Saut St. Louis. They write us from Montreal that they expect to release the others immediately.

7<sup>th</sup> The two Outaouas and Pouteouatamis deputies have this day presented to the General two Belts to confirm the message Mikinac and Onanguisset gave M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil and which the latter sent to M. de La Galissonnière.

*Pointe a La Caille.*

Subsistence and clothing are continued to be provided for the Indians of the different villages of Acadia who are settled, since the fall, at Point à La Caille<sup>1</sup> to the number of 200 men, women and children; some of them go hunting; we have persuaded them to do so.

<sup>1</sup> Now, St. Thomas, below Quebec. *Ferland's Notes sur les Registres de Quebec*, 21. — Ed.

*Etréchemins.*

The same course has been pursued towards the Indians of the different tribes who winter at the River des Etréchemins, 3 leagues from Quebec, numbering 400 men, women and children, some of whom also go hunting.

14<sup>th</sup> We learn from Montreal the arrival there of Chevalier de Longueuil, Jun<sup>r</sup>, on his return from an expedition with a party of 40 Indians belonging to the Lake of Two Mountains.

*His Report.*

On the 25<sup>th</sup> of November last they attacked nine men who were going out of Fort Oequarine, which the English call N<sup>o</sup> 4.<sup>1</sup> They killed two of them and took one man prisoner, whose name is John Andersen; he is an Irishman, twenty years of age, who reports that the last news received from Boston by his Captain, named Elias Williams, spoke of peace, but, nevertheless, that preparations should be made for the Canada expedition next spring.

That he had heard there were 300 men in the government of Boston that form the companies formerly levied for the Canada expedition; that these troops, which serve in different garrisons, are ready to come together at the first word; that they were asking to march on that expedition or to be discharged.

The Senior colonel, or Brigadier David,<sup>2</sup> intended to come this winter and try an attack on Fort St. Frederic, but that the Colonel<sup>3</sup> of Boston had as yet come to no decision on that subject.

The English calculate on the Five Nations for the Canada expedition, and not on their domiciliated Indians, who are not adapted to scour the woods.

That the fleets of Admiral Townsend (he means Admiral Anson and Vice-Admiral Waren) were appointed this year for the Canada expedition, but that the battle they fought has prevented them coming.

That in the propositions of peace the King had demanded the restitution of Louisbourg of his Britannic Majesty, and that King George had answered, it was not at his disposal; it was a conquest of the people of Boston.

*M<sup>r</sup> Simblin.*

Reports, also, that Sieur Simblin had, after having been abandoned by the Indians of his detachment, repaired, at the end of four days, to Northfields, where he had been cured of his wound and afterwards carried to Boston.<sup>4</sup>

*Destruction of Sarastau.*

We learn from Montreal the total destruction of Fort Sarastau. Sieur Devillers, ensign of the troops, who was detached from Fort St. Frederic at the end of November with 70 Frenchmen and Indians on a scout to the neighborhood of this fort, sends us a journal of his voyage, from which it appears that Sieur Villers, being in the vicinity of said fort on the 3<sup>d</sup> instant, sent Ensign

<sup>1</sup> Charlestown, New Hampshire.

<sup>2</sup> Or David.

<sup>3</sup> Qu<sup>o</sup> Council.

<sup>4</sup> In *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, II., 95-97, are given the details of the very romantic adventures of a Canadian officer named Pierre Rambout, who had been nigh killed in the town of Winchester, N. H., and afterwards taken and kindly cared for at Northfield, whence he proceeded to Boston and subsequently returned to Canada. But what connection this has with the case of M. Simblin, we cannot determine. — Ed.



Beaubassin with three Indians on a discovery, who brought him back word that this fort was no more. Sieur Villiers proceeded immediately with his detachment to the spot, and verified the fact; he judges, from the ruins, that it may have been three weeks since the fort was burnt.<sup>1</sup> It was 25 *toises*<sup>2</sup> high and 23 *toises* and two feet wide. Twenty chimneys are standing. The enemy abandoned, or forgot to remove, some small grenadoes and a 12 @ 14<sup>lb</sup> shot. From the ground occupied by the bateaux, it was remarked that they had 90 of these, which they took away. The well of the fort was infected, and it appeared by marks of wheels that the *caston* had been removed. On his way back, Sieur Devillers sent some Frenchmen and Indians on a scout to the portage of Lake St. Laurent;<sup>3</sup> they reported having discovered a large camping ground; judging by the size of the fires and cabins, they are inclined to think that there were 600 men, who were on their return towards Corlac, and that this force might have passed about a month ago. It was doubtless then that the evacuation of the fort took place.

NOTE.—This circumstance corresponds materially with the letter we have received from Sieur Joncaire on the 3<sup>d</sup> of this month.

*Answer to Detroit.*

21<sup>st</sup> The General has given audience of leave to the two Pouteouatamis and Outaouas deputies, who will depart immediately for Montreal, and proceed thence to Detroit with two Canadians who will accompany them. He answers by this opportunity Chevalier de Longueuil's different letters concerning the actual circumstances of the post of Detroit; recommends him particularly to prevent, by all means possible, the reception by the 5 Nations of the Hurons belonging to the tribe that talked of taking refuge among them, according to M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire's representation; that in case these traitors should return to their duty, which Father La Richardie appears to expect, the Marquis de La Galissonnière refers to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil what will be the proper site for a new settlement, reminding him of the principal views he ought to entertain in such case, namely: the security of the French of Detroit; of the new fort he has proposed to establish below that post, and finally, of all present and future settlements; so that, with these precautions, there will be no more cause to apprehend like disorders in future, and at least these Indians will be restrained and their bad designs anticipated, should they dare to renew them.

The General answers Mikinac and Onanguisset's messages; he expects them to persevere in their attachment to us; the winter season does not permit him to send the detachment of French and Indians they appear to desire; announces to them a well escorted and provisioned convoy next spring, which will afford them reason to felicitate themselves on their good dispositions towards us. Orders are sent to Montreal to send Mikinac, by the deputies, the presents he has demanded; we have not been able to dispense with granting to that chief this mark of

<sup>1</sup> Saratoga has been a fort built of wood by the English to stop the attacks of the French Indians upon the English inhabitants in these parts, and to serve as a rampart to Albany. It is situated on a hill, on the east side of the River Hudson, and is built of thick posts driven in the ground, close to each other, in the manner of palisades, forming a square, the length of whose sides was within the reach of a musket shot. At each corner are the houses of the officers, and within the palisades, are the barracks, all of timber. .... The English themselves set fire to it in 1747, not being able to defend themselves in it against the attacks of the French and their Indians. *Kalm's Travels*, II., 289. It was situated in the town of Easton, Washington county, New-York, opposite Schuylerville, about a mile south of the present road from that village to Galesville. *Fitch*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> A *toise* is 6 feet.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.* Sacramento.



distinction in order to avoid all jealousy, especially as the other chiefs, who have come to Quebec last year, have been equally well treated.

Chevalier de Longueuil is recommended to send to Sieur Berthet, at the Illinois, the aid in goods and ammunition he may be able to spare him, so as to afford him the means of protecting himself from the deplorable consequences which the affair of the Miamis might drag after it.

*News from Beaubassin.*

24<sup>th</sup> We receive by couriers that arrive from Beaubassin, a letter from Father Germain, missionary at said place, dated 29<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup> last. He sends us a copy of a letter addressed to him by M<sup>r</sup> Desenclave, missionary priest at Port Royal, dated the 12<sup>th</sup> or 15 of said month of 9<sup>ber</sup>, wherein he communicates to him some news from Europe. It is reported at Beaubassin that 1100 *Bostonais* are coming this winter, as they did the last, to settle at Minas. We shall be informed if there be any reliable foundation for the statement. That the expedition against Fort St. Frederic will be prosecuted, unless the English, contrary to their expectation, be interrupted. Father Lacorne has written to Father Germain on the 6<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup> that he had left *Le Northumberland* and the other vessels near Gaspé on the 3<sup>rd</sup>; that a severe gale sprung up on the next day and he arrived with difficulty at his mission at Miramichy, his vessel having nearly foundered. M<sup>r</sup> Maillard is actually at the Island of St. John; he is trying to get his Indians to go to Ile Royale, where they will have an opportunity of attacking six English houses erected outside the town.

One of the Indian prisoners died this morning; there remain now but six.

January 10, 1748. Arrived four Englishmen who are brought from Montreal, they have been redeemed out of the hands of the Indians of the Saut [and] of the Lake; also a Sauter prisoner, brought from Detroit by the Abenakis Indians.

12<sup>th</sup> Ensign St. Luc is arrived express from Montreal. M. de Beaucourt applies by him for the General's orders respecting a stronger escort which the two deputies from the Outaouas and Pouteouatamis of Detroit are demanding, in order to secure their safe return to that post; that these Indians represent the evident danger they incur with only two Indians, especially between Fort Frontenac and Detroit, whither, they say, the Indians who attacked the French, particularly the Mississagués, have retired. The General could not avoid attending to these representations, and has sent orders to Montreal, by the return of said Sieur St. Luc, for furnishing 12 men to these convoys, including French and Indians, with a view not only of accompanying these two deputies, but also of preventing any accidents happening to our despatches, which are of consequence in the present state of the Upper country.

February 5<sup>th</sup> The Intendant leaves for the Forges and Montreal.

7<sup>th</sup> The General left for Montreal.

Count de la Galissonnière has arrived at Montreal, where he has been received with all the honors due to a Governor-General.

Arrival of the Intendant in the said town of Montreal.

16<sup>th</sup> Five Christinaux, 2 Outaouas, one Sauter and five Canadians, have been fitted out for a war expedition. Sieur Laverendry, Jun<sup>r</sup>, commands them.

20<sup>th</sup> 16 Abenakis, of Missiskouy, have likewise started on an expedition into the enemy's territory, under the command of Sieur Montizambert de Niverville.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers, are descended the families of Niverville, Montizambert, Boucherville, Grosbois, La Brocquerie, La Bruère, who have filled prominent positions in the Colony, both in peace and war. *Ferland's Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Quebec*, 46. — Ed.



21<sup>st</sup> 13 Abenakis of St. Francis and Becancourt, are sent to Fort St. Frederic to relieve those employed as scouts in the vicinity of that fort.

28<sup>th</sup> 16 Iroquois, of the Saut St. Louis, are fitted out for an expedition, under the command of Cadet Drouet Surville.

*News from Detroit.*

29<sup>th</sup> We receive, at Montreal, news from Detroit, by some chiefs and deputies of the Outaouas and Pouteauatamis, 7 in number, two Lorette Hurons and six Frenchmen. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, the commandant of Detroit, reports to us everything of interest that occurred there since his last letters, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, relative to the derangement of the different Nations of this Continent, whereof the following is an extract :

The Miamis, who had formerly pillaged the fort and seized the Frenchmen, have sent one of their principal chiefs to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil to request him to send back some Frenchmen to them, and not to deprive them of their indispensable supplies, promising him that order would be restored in a short time. That officer yielded to their solicitation, with a view to deprive the enemy of the liberty of seizing a post of considerable importance. Ensign Dubuisson, whom he sent thither, is to form only a small establishment there to winter in. He has been supplied with 30 Frenchmen to maintain himself there, and is accompanied by 30 others destined for the Ouyatanons trade, with orders to the latter to rejoin Sieur Dubuisson in the spring, so as to return together to Detroit. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil adds, that as some of our French people remain among the Ouyatonons, where even some families are settled, he did not consider it right to abandon countries where no disorder has occurred, and where great disturbance might break out, in the absence of assistance ; besides, having formerly engaged to send some merchants and traders to the Kicapoux, Mascoutins, Puans and Ouyatonons, he could not break his word, inasmuch as these Nations observed their promise to him.

*Nicolas, the Huron Chief.*

When the Miamis Deputy was at Detroit, Nicolas, Orotoni and Anioton, chiefs of the Huron traitors, came there to sue for peace, and to surrender the belts which have been the cause of this treason ; they have made speeches to which M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has given an answer, but he doubts their sincerity.

NOTE.—These speeches and answers are annexed to the Journal.

Whilst these deputies were sojourning at Detroit word was brought to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil that a party of five warriors, guided by a Huron, had just killed three Frenchmen, within 5 @ 6 leagues of the fort ; he sent 30 men to overtake this party. Those deputies, apprehensive that some of their people might be confounded with these five warriors, informed this officer that they were in a cabin on Bois blanc island, and offered even to arrest them. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil accepted the offer, and gave them ten men more, who overtook the first detachment. The 5 hostile Indians surrendered without resistance, and were conducted to the fort ; nevertheless, whilst disembarking, one of them, an Onondaga by adoption and leader of the band, was killed by the populace, which was incensed against those traitors ; the four others, one of whom was a Huron of Detroit, who acted as guide ; the second a Seneca, and the remaining 2, Mohegans, were put in irons. This party had, in fact, discovered 3 Frenchmen at Grosse isle, six leagues from Detroit, where they lay in wait for them, at the detour of a point, and fired

on them. The French, surprised, put out into the stream and repaired to the post; all the three were slightly wounded and have been cured. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has given notice that the fate of these 4 prisoners depended on the conduct of their tribes.

*Outaouas, Pouteouatamis.*

According to appearances the Outaouas and Pouteouatamis are sincerely desirous of peace, and seem determined to force those to it who will offer any resistance; if, as charged, they have dabbled in the conspiracy of the spring, they do not the less refuse taking any part in it, and in order to complete the proofs of their fidelity, declare themselves enemies of those who have disturbed the country, in such wise, however, that they offer themselves as mediators for the pardon of the most guilty, not daring to say that they will declare war against the Hurons, for fear of the consequences that may follow.

*River St. Joseph.*

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil was very uneasy about the occurrences at River St. Joseph, when nine Frenchmen arrived thence at Detroit, with an equal number of Indians of the place, to ask for Ensign Belestre, who was appointed to command there. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil granted them their request, and all of them set out on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December for that place.

*Provisions.*

The post of Detroit will, it is to be feared, run short of provisions, in consequence of the great number of tribes continually there, and who are to come from all parts this spring. M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil reiterates his demand for the early transportation of provisions. It would be also unfortunate were the Indians aware of the scarcity at the fort.

A number of Outaouas families reside in the neighborhood of Detroit, and are supported at the public expense, on pretence that they are willing to die, as they say, for the French; they have been unwilling to move any distance from the fort; and, in addition to all this, M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil learns that several Huron families are about to return there to consume his provisions.

*News from Ostandousket.*

The letter addressed to us by this officer contains news brought from Ostandousket,<sup>1</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> X<sup>ber</sup>, by two Hurons deputed by the sachems; the following is an extract of the intelligence:

When the Seneca and Mohegan sachems of the Beautiful river received the news of their four men at Detroit, it created, at first, an outburst of anger in most of the minds; several were disposed to go and revenge this blow, but the announcement of M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil's sentiments respecting their people, allayed this first excitement. Passion, however, becoming master, two parties took the field, one to kill some Frenchmen at the Miamis, the other for Detroit. In case of failure at these two points, they were to attack indifferently all they should meet, doubting not but the Outaouas and Huron had contributed to the loss of their men. These menaces have obliged these Hurons to collect together at the White river, 25 leagues from Detroit, to entrench themselves there and examine in safety the conduct of the Iroquois, which they promise to report to us in case of any movement.

<sup>1</sup> Sandusky. — Ed.



Extract of a letter from M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet, Commandant at the Illinois, to Sieur Lachine, trader at the Ouyatanons, dated Cahos, 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1747, whereof he sends us a copy.

*Illinois.*

On receipt of intelligence at the Illinois that there were 15 @ 16 pirogues of hostile Indians in the river of the Cherokees,<sup>1</sup> 10 Illinois Indians went out to scout and met them who announced themselves as Chaouenons, and captured one of the enemy, whom they brought to M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet. This prisoner, called an Alibanon, was interrogated and equivocated; at one time he said that he and his comrades were coming to visit the Chaouenons, who had invited them; that at first they were unwilling to come, but on an invitation being sent with 4 Belts and at the solicitation of the English, they had set out, 14 pirogues in number; he would not say what nation they were going to attack; only says, that the Chaouenons had told them to wait for them in the River Mississippi. M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet adds, by way of reflection, that the English were justified in telling our nations that all the passages would be closed on them. He expects some aid from Canada, otherwise is very apprehensive for the result. The conduct of the English, the Iroquois, Huron and Chaouenon, proves that they wish to drive our Indian allies off their lands.

*Niagara.*

March 1. We receive letters from Lieutenant de Contrecoeur, Commandant at Niagara, of the 24<sup>th</sup> of January; that officer informs us that everything is quiet at that post; that having received, since the fall, no news of Sieur Joncaire, residing at the Senecas, he had sent a courier thither on the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, to learn what was passing among the 5 Nations, and to inform us of it.

M<sup>r</sup> de Contrecoeur adds, that the War chief of the Little Seneca Rapid had just arrived at Niagara, and reported to him that the English had sent a Belt from Choüeguin by a Seneca chief, directing him to deliver it to the Five Nations, and to pass it thence to the Hurons; that this Belt invited these nations to come, this spring, to Choueguin, where the commandant of that post was waiting for them to transact business; that the chief of the Little Rapid had assured him, that he was going to send back that Belt to the Senecas, with word not to send him, in future, any Belts from the English, as he would not receive them, being desirous to remain quiet with his father; M<sup>r</sup> de Contrecoeur has encouraged this chief to adhere to the course he had adopted.

This officer sends us a copy of a letter he had just received from Chevalier de Longueuil, dated Detroit, the 6<sup>th</sup> of January last, whereof this is an extract:

The Seneca, one of the four prisoners taken at Detroit, stabbed himself in prison on the night of the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of December, with the knife belonging to the sergeant, who was on guard over him, which he had seen him put in a certain place. This Seneca and the Huron, as has been ascertained, had taken the resolution to commit suicide from fear of a more cruel death; the two Mohegans were aware of it, but dared not divulge it. M. de Longueuil is not certain that this Indian did kill himself; 'tis probable that the Huron was the executioner, and was to kill himself afterwards, being the more determined. From a subsequent examination

<sup>1</sup> Tennessee river. — Ed.

of the three remaining prisoners, it has been discovered that they had been on the point, during the preceding night, of assassinating the sergeant of the guard; their preparations to escape afterwards were pretty complete, as the two Mohegans had already broken the lock of their irons; this has obliged M. de Longueuil to confine them more closely, so as to remove all uneasiness in that regard.

*Fort Frontenac.*

Same day, 1<sup>st</sup> We are also in receipt of news from Fort Frontenac; Sieur Cabanac, the commandant, writes us on the 15<sup>th</sup> instant.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing new at the fort; everything is quiet there.

2<sup>d</sup> The Outaouas and Pouteouatamis' deputies from Detroit have spoken to the General according to the message sent by Chevalier de Longueuil, and delivered the Belts they had in charge.

5<sup>th</sup> Thirteen Iroquois of the Saut St. Louis have asked to go on an expedition; they have been equipped; Sieur Bonat, an Aiguletted cadet, has been placed at their head with three Canadians.

M<sup>r</sup> André, formerly Lieutenant-General of the provostship of Quebec, is deceased at Three Rivers.

*War Party.*

9<sup>th</sup> Seventeen Iroquois of the Saut have been equipped for an expedition. Cadet Charly commands this party.

Sieur Simblin, military cadet, who has been wounded at the close of October last, within four leagues of the fort of Nortfields, and taken to Boston, arrived at Montreal in company with three Englishmen sent with him by M<sup>r</sup> Shirley, who writes to Count de La Galissonnière and informs him that he has no more French prisoners at Boston; that he expects the Governor of Orange will send back immediately to Montreal those within his government, who have been carried off from our frontiers. Sieur Simblin was to have passed there on his return from Boston, but he found the road too long. He reports that the English militia enlisted for the Canada expedition, had been dismissed; the English, however, do not lose sight of the enterprise, and expect to stop all our vessels this spring in our river. We have the three Englishmen well treated and closely watched. They ask to take back with them two prisoners, men of family, who are here.<sup>2</sup> We shall see to their departure, if it be proper to release these two men.

*Scout to Choëguin.*

Nanangoussi, an Iroquois chief, and nine Indians have been equipped and leave on a scouting expedition to Choëguin, and to ascertain what is passing there.

At the end of the last, and beginning of the present month, M<sup>r</sup> de Lantagnac, commandant at Quebec, in the Count de La Galissonnière's absence, has had fitted out about two hundred Indians, both of the different Acadian villages, settled around Quebec, and of St. Francis and

<sup>1</sup> Sic. February.

<sup>2</sup> The party consisted of John Hawks, Matthew Ellison and John Taylor. Hawks was one of the proprietors, though not an inhabitant of Keene. He commanded Fort Massachusetts in 1746, when it was taken, and had just returned from captivity. The "two prisoners" whom they applied for, were Samuel Allen, of Deerfield, and Mr. Blake, with whom they returned in May. *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, II., 97, 99. — Ed.



Becancourt. These Indians are to divide into several small bodies, to go and attack the English settlements towards Fort St. George.

*Fort Frontenac.*

19<sup>th</sup> We receive a letter from Sieur de Cabanac, commandant at Fort Frontenac, informing us that the Iroquois deputies, from the Lake of the Two Mountains, who had left their village on a deputation to the 5 Nations, have abandoned their project, and delivered over to him the belts of which they were the bearers. These Indians have been induced by M<sup>r</sup> Piquet, missionary of the Lake of the Two Mountains, to go as if of their own accord to the Five Nations. This deputation, which had our approbation, was purely complimentary; the real design was to sound the dispositions of the Five Nations, and to discover what was going on among them.

*Forts on our Frontiers.*

20<sup>th</sup> We are issuing orders for the repairs of the different posts of the government of Montreal, which are garrisoned by regulars and militia, so as to put them in a good posture of defence; the farmers will contribute a large portion of these works.

*Fort St. John Road.*

We have also determined to have a stockaded fort constructed at the place called St John, . . . leagues above the Chambly Rapid; also to cut a wide road across the woods from La prairie de la Madeleine to said Fort St John; this expense will save heavier outlays which are required for the transportation of provisions, &c., to Fort St Frederic. We shall report in detail on the necessity of these works.

The Intendant departs for Quebec.

*Prisoners ransomed.*

The Iroquois of the Saut have delivered to the General, at Montreal, some English and Dutch men, whom they had adopted; they are to be paid for them or to have Panis in their stead.

23<sup>rd</sup> The Intendant arrives at Quebec.

*M. de Linctot.*

27<sup>th</sup> Death of M<sup>r</sup> de Linctot, captain in the troops.

*Sieur de Laverendry.*

29<sup>th</sup> Sieur de Laverendry, Junior, has returned to Montreal with the Cristinaux and other warriors of his party. In the neighborhood of Corlac he fell in with a party of Mohawks and Dutchmen who were coming to Sarastau on a scouting party; he brought two Mohawk scalps; among which is that of the principal chief of that Nation; one of a Dutchman, and a Dutch prisoner, who reports nothing of interest; only says, that there is considerable talk about peace. This first blow on the Mohawks will not fail to frighten them.

*War Party.*

30<sup>th</sup> Two Iroquois, of the Lake of the Two Mountains, and twenty-three others of the Saut are being equipped; they are going to the enemy's country under the command of Cadet Langy Fontenelle, accompanied by Sieur Pommeroy, another Cadet of Ile Royale.

April 4<sup>th</sup> Nanangoussy, Iroquois chief of the Saut, has returned from Choueguin, whither he has been sent on a scout; he reports that there is but one trader's house outside of Fort Choueguin; that there were a great many Dutch and Palatine traders at the place called Théyaoguin,<sup>1</sup> who were preparing to come and do a considerable trade at Choueguin, at which fort there was nothing doing that could lead any one to suspect any expedition on the part of the English or the 5 Nations.

NOTE.—This report has since been confirmed in part by Sieur Cabanac, commandant of Fort Frontenac, and by Sieur Joncaire, residing among the Senecas, which induces us to believe that Nanangoussy has really made the voyage.

*Sieur Drouet.*

9<sup>th</sup> Sieur Drouet de Surville is returned to Montreal with the warriors of his party. He struck a blow near Fort Ocquarine,<sup>2</sup> and took one prisoner and two scalps.

*Beaubassin.*

12<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of intelligence from Father Germain by 8 Micmacs who have just arrived. This missionary informs us, by his letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> of February last, that he has received no news from Port Royal since the month of December previous, which leads him to think that nothing of interest had occurred there, for he has reliable people at Minas, who are to inform him of every movement.

*Proclamation of the Governor of Boston.*

He sends us a copy of a proclamation of the Governor of Boston of the 21<sup>st</sup> of October last, wherein he declares that the inhabitants of the Province of Acadia need not apprehend that the King of England wants to expel them; on the contrary, his intention is to maintain and protect the loyal subjects in the peaceful possession of their properties, privileges, &c.; enjoins on the inhabitants of said Province, who are good subjects, not to harbor nor conceal those who have taken up arms for the French; who have openly afforded them aid and comfort. On the contrary, to use all their efforts to arrest, secure and deliver them into the hands of the commanding officer of said Province, particularly the men named Louis Gautier and Joseph and Pierre Gautier, two of his sons, Amand Bigeau, Joseph Leblanc, *dit* Lemaigre, Charles and François Raymond, Charles Le Roy, a native of this Province, and his brother Philips Le Roy, Joseph Brosard, *dit* Beausoleil, Pierre Guidry *dit* Grivois, and Louis Hebert, formerly servant of Captain Hanfields, all, twelve in number, outlawed for being guilty of high treason with the enemy; and for the greater encouragement of the inhabitants, good subjects of said Province, to arrest the abovenamed persons, promises a reward of £50 sterling for each criminal delivered up within the space of six months from the day of the date of said proclamation; and such of the guilty as will, within said time, themselves deliver up any of those outlawed, shall receive the pardon of their crime in addition to the 50 pounds sterling.

<sup>1</sup> Near Lake Oneida; now Rome, Oneida county, N. Y.

<sup>2</sup> On the 15th March, 1748, while about eight men were a few rods from the fort (at Charlestown, N. H.) they were attacked by about twenty Indians, who endeavored to cut off their retreat to the fort; a skirmish ensued in which Charles Stevens was killed, a man by the name of Androus, or Anderson, wounded, and Eleazer Priest taken captive. *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, IV., 113, 114. — Ed.



*English Deserters.*

At Beaubassin are 4 English deserters from Port Royal who ask permission to come to Quebec, and one English prisoner taken by the Indians last year in the fight at Minas, whom Father Germain has ransomed.

*Father Germain.*

Father Germain anticipates that he will be obliged to withdraw from Beaubassin in the spring, as he will be too much exposed there, but in all events he will place himself in a position to know equally well what will be going on, and will even occasionally visit that place.

*M<sup>r</sup> Maillard.*

M<sup>r</sup> Maillard is, since the fall, with the French settlers of Ile Royale, who are refugees at Tatimigouche, within 9 or 10 leagues of Bay Verte. He writes us, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February, that he expects to send his Indians this winter to Ile Royale to harass the enemy and prevent them cutting firewood. Father Germain says, on this occasion, that the Indians can hardly succeed alone; that they will require some commanders to manage them; that it is true that 60 or 80 Indians would so disquiet the English of Louisbourg that they would, in the opinion of the more experienced at Beaubassin, be reduced to go and look for wood elsewhere, which would be a matter of very great inconvenience to them.

20<sup>th</sup> A courier arrives from Montreal with several letters from the Upper country, extracts whereof follow :

*Illinois.*

M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet, the commandant at the Illinois, writes us, in the months of November and December, about the general conspiracy of the Indians against the French, which was instigated by the English, who always employ the 5 Nations to convey their sinister Belts; the Illinois narrowly escape being seduced.

The Chaouenons of Chartier's tribe, so far from coming to Detroit according to invitation, have surprised some distant establishments on the River of the Chéraquis; they are reported to be in fort with the Cherokees and Alibanons, though this Chartier, who has much influence over this tribe, excuses that evasion, assuring that it will not be prejudicial to the attachment of these Indians towards the French. 'Tis to be feared either that he is not able to control them, or that he will, himself, change his opinion.

The aid that has reached him from Louisiana, is insufficient; he continues in want of provisions and goods, asks additional supplies by means of which he hopes to retain the Ouabash Nations, and to maintain himself.

*Detroit.*

M. de Longueuil writes us also in the month of February last.

Two tribes of Outaouas and Sauteurs, one from Saguinan and the other from Michilimakinac, came to Detroit to ask pardon for those of their nation who killed the Frenchmen in these two posts. M. de Longueuil referred them to M. de St. Pierre, the commandant at Michilimakinac; they promised to go thither.

At the end of January, 14 Hurons of Sandosket, with Scotache and Quarante Sols at their head, came to Detroit to ask for the release of the three prisoners confined in irons, the

remainder of the five who had been taken at Bois blanc Island, where they had been attacked by the French when Nicolas was suing for peace. This deputation made such fair promises, that Chevalier de Longueuil, though feeling great repugnance to the release of these three prisoners, [consented to their discharge, on] the advice of the principal Frenchmen and Indians in the fort.

*A Frenchman killed.*

A Frenchman has been killed at the gate of the fort of the Miamis, it is supposed by some Iroquois.

*Nicolas.*

Nicolas' conduct is not free from equivocation; the English of Philadelphia visited him twice during the winter, to trade, and were well received. The scalp belonging to the Frenchman who was killed near Fort Miamis, has been carried thither; it is to be apprehended that Nicolas' former proceedings were merely for the purpose of deceiving more easily.

Mikinac, a trusty Outaouas chief, is collecting the Sauteurs of the neighborhood; the Outaouas of the three tribes, and the Pouteouatamies. He proposes to go and summon Nicolas to [observe] his promise, and to declare war against him in case of refusal.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil keeps always on his guard, and explains the necessity that exists for the early arrival of the convoy.

*Miamis.*

Sieur Dubuisson, the commandant at the Miamis, informs us that the unfriendly tribe having *La Damaoiselle* as its chief, had resolved to return to its duty, and was already on the way to Detroit, when it received a deputation reported to be composed of Chaouenons, which dissuaded the Miamis from taking this step.

The posts of the Miamis and at the River [S<sup>t</sup> Joseph]<sup>1</sup> are not in want of goods.

NOTE.—Observe that when Chevalier de Longueuil permitted some traders to proceed last fall to these two posts, he recommended them not to burthen themselves with too many goods, which, under existing circumstances, might serve as an object of pillage to ill-disposed Indians.

*Niagara.*

M<sup>r</sup> de Contrecoeur, the commandant at Niagara, also writes by the same opportunity, and furnishes a favorable account of the Outaouas at the head of Lake Ontario, who have given notice of, and prevented, the evil designs that were concocting.

*The Chief of the Little Rapid.*

Is well pleased with the services of the chief of the Little Rapid, who gave notice that the English had given him some bad Belts to transmit to Sandosket. This chief is, nevertheless, suspected of having sent these Belts to their destination at the moment he promised to send them back to the English. Efforts will be made to get at the bottom of the matter.

*Scout.*

21<sup>th</sup> Captain Chevalier de Longueuil is sent from Montreal to Lake St. Francis with a detachment of one hundred men, Canadians and Indians, to reside at the most convenient

<sup>1</sup> The passages within brackets, in this journal, are supplied by the Editor. — Ed.



place to watch the movements of the enemy, and send out frequent scouting parties ; so as to guard against surprisals by means of this precaution, and of the different scouts to be detached by the officers commanding the several frontier forts.

*Sending back the Cartel.*

The General sends back from Montreal the three persons who came with a cartel on the 9<sup>th</sup> of March. They were conducted to the Frontier by Sieur Simblin, whom they had brought back. We found no difficulty in surrendering to them the two prisoners whom they have asked of us on arriving.<sup>1</sup>

*Answer to the Governor of Boston.*

The Marquis de la Galissonnière answers, by this occasion, the Governor of Boston's letter ; he informs him, among other things, that it is necessary to make arrangements for the regulation of the accounts of the packets which have been sent from Quebec to Boston, and from Boston to Quebec, and what regards the ransom of the English prisoners from the hands of our Indians ; proposes to him different means for the settlement of these sort of accounts in good faith and with mutual satisfaction.

Treats of the non-execution of the cartel by some of the Governors of the different Provinces of New England, and particularly by him of New-York, to whom no more prisoners shall be sent back until the Canadian prisoners in his government be surrendered.

Reproaches the inhumanity of the English, who have circulated Belts among almost all the Nations, setting a price on the head of several officers in command of our posts in the Upper Country, and particularly of Detroit.

Chevalier de Niverville has been sent from Montreal to the south of Lake Champlain, with a detachment of 20 men to scout, and prevent the approach of any hostile parties that might interrupt the spring sowing.

*War Party.*

27<sup>th</sup> Sieur Langy Levreau and 10 Iroquois of the Lake are fitted out at Montreal for a scouting expedition in the direction of Chouëguen.

We are about to dispatch Sieur Depleine to arrange, as usual, the signal fires and smokes along the South shore from Quebec to St. Barnabé, to give notice of any approach of a hostile fleet. We issue orders, at the same time, to the settlers along that shore to build huts and parks in the interior of their lands, to secure their families and cattle from attack, and to the farmers to repair to Quebec with their arms and one month's provisions, as soon as they shall perceive the fleet.

*Packets.*

Orders are conveyed in like manner to the captains of the settlements from Cape St Ignace, going down, as far as St. Barnabé, to stop the English packets that might enter the river ; to receive the letters, send them to us, and make the packets await our answer.

28<sup>th</sup> Sieur Bouat has returned to Montreal with his party ; he has attacked several English between the forts of Deerfils and Ocquarine ;<sup>2</sup> has taken two scalps and one prisoner, who reports nothing of interest.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, *supra*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Charlestown, N. H. — Ed.

29<sup>th</sup> Sieur Lanoue Robutel and 40 Iroquois of the Saut have been fitted out at Montreal for a war expedition.

150 militiamen are dispatched from Quebec to Montreal to escort the canoes destined for Detroit and Michilimakinac.

30<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Begon, Governor of 3 Rivers, died at Montreal.

1<sup>st</sup> May. Sieur Aubert and two biscayennes<sup>1</sup> are sent off to Cape Desrosier, where he is to observe the vessels that will pass, whether friends or enemies. He is furnished with the signals the King's ships are to make when they will reach that post.

Sieur Abel, in like manner, sails in another biscayenne for Cape Chat, with orders similar to those of Sieur Aubert.

Sieur Rouville is sent to St. Barnabé in command of a third guard there.

#### *Fire Rafts.*

3<sup>d</sup> Sieur Cartier is, likewise, dispatched to Ile aux Coudres, where he is to manœuvre the fire rafts constructed at that Island, as well as at the Little River, Bay St. Paul and La Gribanne,<sup>2</sup> so as to make them drift against the enemy's fleet, should it appear in the river. Orders the Captains of these 4 settlements, also, to stop the packets, as has been done on the South shore.

6<sup>th</sup> Sieur Niverville has returned from the south of Lake St. Francis. He has no knowledge of any hostile party.

#### *War Party.*

9<sup>th</sup> Sieur Duverger Simblin, with 24 Iroquois of the Saut, are fitted out to strike a blow in the direction of Chouëguin, and carry off, if possible, the Mohawk chief named Theyaoguin, who attacked the carpenters on Ile à la Mothe, in the fall of 1746, on his return from Montreal, where he had been loaded with presents.

#### *Prisoner.*

10<sup>th</sup> Cadet Charly is returned to Montreal with the Iroquois of his party. He brings in a prisoner taken near Evril,<sup>3</sup> who reports nothing of interest.

#### *War Party.*

M. de Sabrevois, commandant at Fort St. Frederic, informs us of the return of a party commanded by Sieur Hertel Beaubassin, consisting of 11 Abenakis and three Canadians. They burnt, in the neighborhood of Orange, 30 houses, destroyed 3 small forts and one mill; all of which had been abandoned. They were quite near Orange, but had not an opportunity to take any prisoners.

12<sup>th</sup> Sieur Mouet, military cadet, and 30 Iroquois of the Saut have been fitted out for an expedition into the enemy's territory.

#### *Deputies from Detroit.*

17<sup>th</sup> The General returns an answer, at Montreal, to the message brought by the son of Mikinac, the Outaouas chief, and the other deputies, who arrived from Detroit last February; they will return with it in company of the convoy which will soon leave for that post.

<sup>1</sup> See IX., 477, note.

<sup>2</sup> See IX., 97, note.

<sup>3</sup> Haverhill. — Ed.



*Prisoner.*

18<sup>th</sup> Some of the Becancourt Indians, who had been equipped last winter at Quebec, are arrived ; they attacked 4 Englishmen near Fort St. George ; killed three of them and captured the fourth, whom they have brought in. This prisoner, who is wholly illiterate, reports nothing of interest.

*2 Prisoners.*

19<sup>th</sup> Some other Indians belonging to the same tribe, bring in two English prisoners whom they took in the neighborhood of Fort St. George ; these prisoners give no information.

The General equips, at Montreal, 15 Abenakis whom he sends to Fort St. Frederic to increase the scouts.

*L'Amphitrite.*

20<sup>th</sup> A courier from St. Barnabé informs us of the arrival, at said place, on the 17<sup>th</sup>, of the ship *L'Amphitrite*, Captain Lavocat, who sailed from Bordeaux on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March last.

Sieur Langy Levreau, who had been sent on a scout to Choueguain, is returned to Montreal. There is no appearance of any movement in the neighborhood of that fort.

*4 Scalps.*

Some Becancourt Indians, belonging to the same tribe as those who came on the 18<sup>th</sup>, have arrived. They killed 6 Englishmen in the vicinity of Fort St. George, 4 of whose scalps only they have been able to bring off.

*A Prisoner.*

Other Indians of the same tribe are returned with a prisoner taken in the same country ; does not report anything of interest.

*L'Amphitrite.*

24<sup>th</sup> *L'Amphitrite* has anchored in the harbor. This ship has captured a prize laden with salt, which was going to Newfoundland ; the Captain transferred 6 English prisoners of the 9 which the crew of the prize numbered.

*A Prisoner.*

26<sup>th</sup> Sieur Langy Fontenelle has returned to Montreal with his party ; brings in an Englishwoman prisoner.

*War Party.*

Sieur de Varenne, an Aigulet cadet, with 13 Iroquois of the Saut, are equipped at Montreal for a war expedition.

Arrived, the schooner *L'Elisabeth*, Captain Monsion, sailed from St. Domingo on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March ; 4 English prisoners had been put in his charge to bring to Louisbourg, under a cartel. When three days out he was met by an English privateer who took the 4 prisoners, and having continued his voyage was again overhauled by an English privateer on the banks of Newfoundland. The Captain of this privateer, in consideration of the service she was on, allowed this vessel to continue her voyage though loaded with about 150 puncheons of molasses and rum. The crew only were pillaged. 'Tis said that this trade is pretty frequent now between St. Domingo and the New England Colonies, where the vessels carry, reciprocally,

provisions and refreshments by taking out a cartel commission and taking on board a few prisoners. Captain Monsion has given us notice that a ship had sailed from St. Domingo in company with him, under a similar commission, for Quebec, with 2 @ 3000 *minots* of salt.

*La Friponne. L'Aimable Marthe.*

By this vessel we learn that the Royal frigate *La Friponne*, commanded by M. de Tilly, was at Ile aux Coudres last evening, and that M. Simonin, commander of the schooner *L'Aimable Marthe*, from Martinico, had run aground in the Traverse.

*La Friponne. Convoy for Detroit.*

27<sup>th</sup> The frigate *La Friponne* has cast anchor in the harbor.

The convoy for Detroit has left la Chine, under the command of Captain de Celoron, escorted and well supplied with provisions, ammunition and goods.

*Answer to Letters.*

The General answers, by this opportunity, the different letters he has received from the posts.

*M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet.*

1<sup>st</sup> to M<sup>r</sup> de Berthet, commandant at the Illinois. Is recommended to arrange, if possible the affairs of the Chaouenons; 'tis with this view that he sends the man named Rhéaume, who is connected with Chartier.

It is proper to restrain the lessees within the limits of their posts, but 'tis still more essential not to consent to the Indians removing; as these sort of migrations, proposed under color of the public good, have never had for object anything but private interests, and almost always evil consequences.

Recommends to him to correspond with the commandants of Detroit, Michilimakinac, and the other posts of the Upper country.

*M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil.*

2<sup>d</sup> to Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit.

The messages and proceedings of Nicolas are too suspicious to be relied on.

He ought not to have released the three prisoners taken on Bois blanc island; at least 'twould be proper to see the execution of the conditions formerly agreed upon; it is dangerous to assemble Councils under such circumstances.

Divers messages and answers are sent to him, including those that have been given at Montreal and those he will reply to, himself, in the General's name.

Presents are sent by Cold foot, a Miamis chief, who appears trustworthy.

Ditto, for the Chaouenons; they are entrusted to the man named Rehaume.

Pardon is not to be granted to the Missisagués and Sauteurs above Detroit, until they make due submission; they must surrender the murderers.

He is to retain, out of the convoy, such as he will have need of, according to circumstances.

Should any Huron or other rebel be so daring as to enter the fort without a pass, through sheer bravado, as they have done, 'twould be proper to arrest him and put him to death on the spot, even though there had been no treachery, but as a simple act of justice and allowable vengeance.

Recommends that the least possible trade in powder be carried on with suspected Indians,



*Commandants of Posts.*

Count de la Galissonnière writes to the commandants of the posts of the Miamis, Ouyatanons, River St. Joseph, &c., respecting what concerns them; and adds, that they ought to keep an exact and circumstantial journal of the occasions wherein they are obliged to incur expenses for presents to Indians.

Sends these officers a list of the Voyageurs who are wintering with the Indians, and of the Couriers de bois, in order to their being sent back, so that they may not return any more to the Upper country.

Another list is sent them of the Indian murderers and malefactors, in order that they be arrested and sent down.

NOTE.—These two lists will be also sent by the Michilimakinac convoy, which is on the point of starting for all the Northern posts.

*Sieur Simonin.*

28<sup>th</sup> Arrived an officer of Sieur Simonin's schooner, who landed at Trinity; he brings us the letters from the court which were given to said Simonin last year.

Cadet Louis Simblin arrived from Detroit with some Indians of the Upper country, who have accompanied him. Chevalier de Longueuil writes us in detail, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month, on the affairs of his post. This is an abstract:

Kinousaki had returned, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of April, from the Miamis river, whither he had gone to bring back the Hurons who had deserted from the village of Ostandosket; has reported that Nicolas, with 119 warriors of his nation, men, women and baggage, had taken the route to the White river, after having burnt the fort and the cabins of the village; that the Outaouas had given him (Kinousaki) a cool reception, and that a portion only of them would consent to return to Detroit, the remainder wishing to settle at the lower end of the Miamis river, where the Hurons had promised them the English would supply their wants. Kinousaki has added, that when the Outaouas will learn the desertion of the Hurons, which they were ignorant of, they will alter their resolution.

At the same time two Hurons, who were sent by Sastaredzy the Huron chief of a loyal tribe, confirm the departure of Nicolas and his people for the White river, to seek shelter among the Iroquois there, or among the Mohegans who are near Orange, and that only 70 men of all their nation would come back.

The scalps of the Frenchmen who were killed by Nicolas, have been conveyed to the Mohegans.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, 4 deputies arrived from Saguinam, with Belts, to say that their chief was leaving to convey the murderers to the General.

M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre arrives from the River St. Joseph with twelve chiefs belonging to that post. Mechoukima arrives with 34 warriors from the Grand river.

Id. 4 war chiefs and sachems sent by the Kickapoux and Mascoutins.

Id. Spies from the ill-disposed tribe of the Miamis.

Id. Emissaries from Nicolas and the Chaouenons of Sonioto.<sup>1</sup>

Id. Some Sauteurs of the interior (*de la contrée*) who are come to submit themselves to their Father's will. All these nations have arrived within three or four days.

A council was held on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, at which the Outaouas, Pouteouatamis following their example, the Hurons and Sauteurs of Detroit have all sworn fidelity and obedience to

<sup>1</sup> Scioto. — Ed.

Chevalier de Longueuil, and have promised that the first party that would insult the French should be considered a common enemy.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, by 4 Belts, put mocassins on the feet of all the warriors so that they may be ready at a minute's warning; all appeared to be accepted with cordiality, sincerity and resolution to go and do the behest of the General. These nations have each furnished two warriors to go and reconduct, to Montreal, the French Iroquois and others who had conducted their deputies back to Detroit, and to give their Father notice, at the same time, of the arrival of their Nations.

Nicolas and the Chaouenons will soon be advised of everything by their spies, which will only have a good effect.

*Answers.*

Count de la Galissonnière answers Chevalier de Longueuil by the Detroit convoy, which is not yet far off. The following is an extract :

*Huron Mission.*

He is to neglect nothing to reëstablish the Huron mission, which will, possibly, attract not only the wavering but all the treacherous; it might be advantageous to remove the establishment of Detroit to Bois Blanc Island, but examination must be made as to whether this change of locality would not remove us too far from the Indian villages, and oblige us to abandon settlements already formed; to furnish information hereupon.

Each of us, individually, writes to Chevalier de Longueuil to facilitate, as much as circumstances will permit, the reëstablishment of the mission of Father La Richardie, who continues to entertain the hope that the rebellious Hurons will return to their duty. Precise orders cannot be issued on this subject, in consequence of the trifling indication of repentance these traitors evince.

*Niagara.*

Count de la Galissonnière sends, with the convoy, Captain de Raymond to relieve M<sup>r</sup> de Contrecoeur, the commandant of Niagara, who has applied to be recalled.

He also sends Captain de Vassan to relieve M<sup>r</sup> de Cabanac at Fort Frontenac.

Sieur Joncaire, Resident at the Senecas, having demanded to be relieved, in consequence of his health, the General has appointed Sieur Joncaire Clauzonne, his brother, to succeed him, to whom he furnishes the necessary instructions respecting the course he is to pursue towards the 5 Nations under existing circumstances.

Sieur La Morandière, assistant engineer, is sent to Fort Frontenac to repair that fort and report on the condition of the artillery. The provisions and ammunition of Fort Frontenac are doubled by the convoy; a number of guns and some pieces of artillery are, also, sent thither. These are, in all cases, preparations in advance for the attack on Fort Choueguain, a project which possibly may occur hereafter; in other respects, these precautions will not be useless should we ever be obliged to declare war against the 5 Nations.

*Sieur Simonin.*

29<sup>th</sup> Sieur Simonin has anchored in the harbor; his running aground at the Traverse has been unattended by any serious consequences. He sailed from Martinico on the 3<sup>d</sup> of last month, and reported to the Minister his delay at that island.

*A Prisoner.*

Some Abenakis arrive with a prisoner taken at Fort St. George; reports nothing of interest.



*War Party.*

30<sup>th</sup> Cadet Louis Simblin, with two other Canadians and 9 of the Upper country Indians, is fitted out at Montreal for a war expedition. 60 Iroquois of the Saut and the Lake, and 10 Canadians are also equipped for the enemy's country. Sieur Jumonville, a seconded Ensign, commands this party; he has under him Sieur Hertel de Rouville another Ensign, and Cadets Hertel, junior, and L'Espervanche.

Sieur de Niverville Montizambert is returned with his party; he brings 2 prisoners and one scalp, which he took near the city of Boston.

*A Prisoner.*

June 1<sup>st</sup> Arrived, at Montreal, a party of Iroquois and Abenakis, with an English prisoner, who was taken at Erimedok, coming from Suega. It appears, by the report of this prisoner, that the people of New-England are still promised a Canada expedition.

*A Prisoner.*

7 Abenakis, of Becancourt, bring to Quebec another English prisoner taken within 30 leagues of Boston, in the direction of Fort St. George; they attacked five Englishmen, 2 have been killed, 2 escaped, and the fifth was taken; mentions nothing of interest.

3<sup>d</sup> A courier, from St. Barnabé, informs us of the arrival there of the ship *Le St. Pierre*, of Bayonne, Captain Darragory, who, after having captured a Dutch vessel beyond the Great Bank, was himself taken a few days afterwards. He ransomed himself by the payment of 30,000 *livres*.

*War Party.*

4<sup>th</sup> Sieur Duplessis Fabert, ensign of foot, with 15 Canadians, 30 Iroquois of the Lake and two from Detroit, have been equipped at Montreal for a war expedition.

*War Party.*

15 Abenakis have, likewise, been fitted out at Montreal for the same purpose; they are commanded by Sieur Simblin, the elder, who has only just returned from escorting the English cartels.

*News from Beaubassin.*

Father Germain writes us, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May last, and informs us that he has dispatched a Biscayenne from Bay Verte, on board of which he caused to be put three English deserters from Port Royal.

This missionary likewise sends us copy of a letter of the Governor of Port Royal, to the deputies of Grand Pré and the other districts of Minas and Chignitou, dated the 14<sup>th</sup> of March last, whereof the following is an extract:

"Mr Shirley has received express orders from the Court of England, to look to the security  
"of the Province of Acadia, and to protect the inhabitants, provided they comport themselves  
"according to the obligation of their oath. A vessel of 20 guns has, consequently, arrived  
"here, and we expect, in a short time, another with transports and troops, in addition to those  
"already arrived. I exhort you to comport yourselves in a proper manner, so that you may  
"enjoy his Majesty's favorable dispositions. It is necessary that you inform me of the state  
"of your districts."

Father Germain adds, that there are no more than 150 men in Port Royal fort.

*Settlers of Ile Royale.*

Reports the intention of the inhabitants of Ile Royale who are refugees at Tatmigouche, to send off a certain number, with as many Indians as M<sup>r</sup> Maillard will be able to collect, to Ile Royale, on the breaking up of the ice, to lay waste the country and carry off the English lodging outside of Louisburg. M<sup>r</sup> Maillard is doing his best to put this project into execution. Father Germain inquires if we wish to continue this little enterprise, and, at all events, gives us some information for the conveyance, without accident, to Acadia of a detachment of French and Indians, to harass the enemy at Ile Royale, without incurring much danger.

*A Prisoner.*

8<sup>th</sup> Sieur Lanoue Robutel has returned to Montreal with his party; he brings in one prisoner and a scalp.

9<sup>th</sup> 32 Têtes de Boule and 40 Nepissings, are arrived to see Count de la Galissonnière.

The war party, commanded by Sieur Mouette, the elder, is returned. It has been surprised, within 5 or 6 leagues of Fort St. Frederic, by a stronger party of the enemy; our people were obliged to retreat; one Indian has been killed and another wounded.

10<sup>th</sup> Sailed, from Quebec, Captain Curodeau's snow for Martinico.

Id. The galliot, *La Marie Catherine*, Captain Mourejeau, for the same port.

*Le David.*

11<sup>th</sup> A courier, of St. Barnabé, informs us of the arrival there of the ship *Le David*, Captain Taillasson; she sailed from France in company with *La Friponne*. We continue active exertions to launch the vessel, *Le St. Laurent*, which is on the stocks, whenever the tide answers.

*Le St. Laurent* is ready for launching, but a strong N. E. wind does not permit us to hazard the experiment. The tide has risen only 14 feet 5 inches.

The Biscayenne dispatched by Father Germain has arrived with the three deserters in question; they were put in the barracks with their comrades.

*Le S<sup>t</sup> Laurent.*

13<sup>th</sup> At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 o'clock this morning the ship *St. Laurent* was launched with all possible success. There was 14 feet 10 inches of water in the basin.

*Le S<sup>t</sup> Pierre.*

The ship *St. Pierre*, of Bayonne, has anchored in the harbor.

*Le David.*

Also, the ship *Le David*.

Also, a galliot from Martinico, Captain Boulau, loaded partly with salt.

Sieur Simblin, the elder, is returned to Montreal with his party. He has been in the neighborhood of Choueguain, where he captured a Mohawk, who will be sent to Quebec with his comrades, who are in irons.

*War Party.*

14<sup>th</sup> Cadet Bailleul with 17 Iroquois of the Saut have been fitted out at Montreal for an expedition.



Ensign Portneuf Neuville and 21 Iroquois of the Saut have also been equipped for a like service.

Arrived, the ship *Le Lion Monrose*, Captain Foucher, sailed from St. Domingo on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, under a Cartel flag with 4 English prisoners which he was to land at Louisbourg. This vessel was met when three days out by an English privateer, which relieved her of the 4 prisoners and allowed her to continue her voyage; she is loaded with about 1500 *minots* of salt. Said Foucher entered the Gulf in the beginning of April, and not being able to pass on account of the ice, went through Canso, where he encountered no obstacle.

#### *A Prisoner.*

Twelve Indians of Panaouamské arrive with an English prisoner taken in the vicinity of Fort St. George, who reports nothing of interest. These Indians have wintered at their village, and took this opportunity of coming here in search of some presents.

20 Mississagués from the head of Lake Ontario have come to Montreal to see the General; they have promised fidelity, and assured that they had no participation in the bad Belts that have been distributed. Sixteen of them have demanded to go on an expedition, for which purpose they have been fitted out. Sieur Langy Foutenelle has been given to them as a commander.

#### *War Party.*

18<sup>th</sup> Sieur Langy Levreau and 24 Iroquois of the Saut have been fitted out for a war excursion. Cadet Daillebout de Cuisi has been adjoined to the party.

#### *5 Scalps.*

19<sup>th</sup> Sieur Louis Simblin and his party of Upper country Indians have returned with 5 scalps; within a few leagues of Fort St. Frederic he attacked an English detachment which probably surprised Sieur Mouet's party and killed one of our Indians.

#### *La Nymphe.*

Sieur Dubois, Jun<sup>r</sup>, is arrived; he landed at Mount Louis from the snow *La Nymphe* of St. Malo, Captain La Garenne, loaded partly with salt intended for the fishery at Mount Louis. This ship is to go up to Quebec; he is instructed to deliver there the 486 logs of *lignum vitæ* which M. Guillot, chief commissary at St. Malo, has put on board for the stores at Quebec.

#### *Detachment sent to Acadia.*

Upon the representations heretofore made by Father Germain, that the French refugees from Ile Royale, in the neighborhood of Tatimigouche, designed to proceed to that Island to make some devastations there, and on his proposal that we assist them, we resolve to send to Beaubassin, under the command of Ensign Marin, a party of 140 men, one hundred of whom are Indians from the different villages. This detachment will be employed not only in preventing the English forming any new settlements in Acadia but also in annoying and harassing them either at Port Royale or on Ile Royale as far as the environs of Louisburg, or in the different harbors where they cut fire-wood, should it find an opportunity to go thither to make incursions, so as to disgust the enemy more and more with their conquest; efforts are being made for the dispatch of this detachment.

*Convoy to Michilimakinac.*

20<sup>th</sup> Count de la Galissonnière orders the dispatch from Montreal of the convoy for Michilimakinac, under the command of Lieutenant de St. Vincent. This convoy is well escorted and sufficiently well provided with provisions and merchandise to supply the post abundantly. The General writes to Lieutenant de St. Pierre, commandant there, that the convoy was delayed in the hope of receiving news from Michilimakinac, but that the advanced season obliged him to order its dispatch, though he is uninformed of what is passing at that post; that should the troubles continue, nothing remains to be done than to abandon, as already proposed, those posts which are exposed to danger, in order to oblige the guilty to come to Michilimakinac, and even to Montreal, in search of what they want; that he must exact the surrender of the murderers, and, should circumstances force him, grant peace on the same conditions as those accorded to the Hurons of Detroit, who were to bring two English prisoners for every Frenchman they had killed; the promises must, first of all, be performed in order that these Nations may not betray us as the Hurons have done. The General leaves this officer at liberty to determine, according to circumstances, the carrying into execution the different licenses granted for the Northern posts, and observes to him, nevertheless, in regard to the West Sea and Nepigon, that in case these posts were abandoned, it would be to be feared that the English might irretrievably monopolize the entire of that trade, which they now share with sufficient advantage. Demands some Panis, in order to indemnify the Indians who have surrendered some English prisoners.

Ensigns Laronde and Chevalier de Laverendrie have, also, taken their departure; the first for Point Chagouamigon, and the second for the West Sea.

*War Party.*

21<sup>st</sup> Sieur de Niverville Montizambaut, Sieur Grandpré, his brother, and 19 Abenakis have been fitted out at Montreal for a war excursion.

*Scout.*

Nine other Abenakis have been, also, fitted out for Fort St. Frederic, and to reinforce the scouts there.

*Outaouas.*

17 Outaouas of Detroit, belonging to the tribe of one of Mikinac's younger sons, have had an outfit to return home.

*War Party.*

22<sup>d</sup> 34 Iroquois of the Saut have been outfitted for a war party, and ordered to divide themselves into two or three small sections; but having manifested some repugnance, they were, authoritatively, told that they were to submit to orders and obey.

*Le St Ursin.*

A courier from St. Barnabé informs us of the arrival, at said place, of the ship *St. Ursin*, of Rochelle, which sailed with the frigate *La Friponne*.

*News from Michilimakinac.*

24<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Repentigny arrives at Montreal, from Michilimakinac, with 18 canoes of Indians from that quarter; in regard to news from that post, there is reason to be satisfied



with the conduct of M. de St. Pierre, the commandant there ; he has managed the affairs of his post with much firmness and success.

25<sup>th</sup> All these Indians have had a talk.

*One Murderer given up — Michilimakinac Nations.*

The tribe of the Indian, Achoabmet, has delivered up one of the Saguinam murderers ; attention, however, has been paid this chief, who has behaved well, whilst refusing that Calumet, which he presented, until all the murderers were surrendered ; he, who has been given up, has been put in irons, without any promise of mercy. This severity has astonished the Indians, to whom has been explained the importance of granting no more pardons, as these have, hitherto, only served to occasion new crimes.

The tribes of Outaouas, Kicapoux, Sinago and some people from the Forks have protested fidelity, Pindalouan being speaker.

*Hostages — A Murderer.*

The Sauteur tribe has delivered two hostages for the performance of the promise they gave to surrender the murderers belonging to their Nation ; one of those who made the attack at La Cloche, and had crept into this tribe, has been recognized and put in irons.

NOTE.—On the same day one of the hostages was released, giving the nation to understand that we were unwilling to make the innocent suffer for the guilty.

All these Indians have very urgently demanded mercy for the murderers ; they were answered, that it was mercy to detain them, so as to prevent them continuing their bad conduct ; that the people of their nation ought to have confidence in their Father's beneficence, and think only of repairing the past.

We send back to Bay Verte, the Biscayenne dispatched by Father Germain, and which has brought 3 deserters from Port Royal ; Mr Hocquart freighted it with some ammunition and goods, to be expended, as far as they go, in taking up the notes outstanding in Acadia, and which were issued in consequence of the sojourn of different detachments there. Amand Bigeau, an Acadian, and a worthy Frenchman, who is mentioned in the Governor of Boston's proclamation, came to Quebec, and returns by this opportunity. This farmer will be of use to Sieur Marin's detachment, by the supplies of provisions and other necessaries he will procure for it. Mr Hocquart has considered it his duty to treat this Acadian with some distinction ; he has ordered, to be delivered him, from the King's stores, about 3 @ 400<sup>li</sup> worth of ammunition and goods, in order the better to encourage him to facilitate our expeditions in that Province.

*Scouts.*

26<sup>th</sup> Count de la Galissonnière sends Captain de Verchères to Lake St. Francis, to relieve Chevalier de Lacorne, in command of the detachment there, which is employed in scouting, and 'tis necessary to keep up.

The party, commanded by Sieur Villiers de Jumonville, has returned to Montreal with 5 English scalps ; it had not time to remove those of 9 @ 10 other Englishmen, who were also killed. He attacked, between 3 forts, a party of the enemy, who made a gallant resistance. Two of our Iroquois and Sieur Hertel, the younger, have been killed.

*Chevalier de Longueuil.*

The General communicates to Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, the speeches of the Michilimakinac nations, and the answers he has given them; recommends him to act always with firmness; inquires of him if the emigration be advantageous, and whether it does not favor the evil designs that may possibly be entertained by the Chaouenons and the other nations of the Oubache. In case that emigration take place, and it be proper not to interfere with it, 'twill be necessary to send more traders to the River St. Joseph. Recommends correspondence with Michilimakinac; it is now easy; the Saguinam affair, being as it were terminated by the surrender already made, and still to be made of the murderers.

*War Party.*

33 Iroquois of the Saut have been fitted out at Montreal for a war excursion.

Ensign Bailleul is sent to Point a la Caille,<sup>1</sup> whence he is to proceed, without delay, with 100 Indians of the different villages, whom he is to command, by way of the River St. John to Beaubassin, where he has orders to wait for Sieur Marin, who is to set out, in a few days, by sea, with 40 Frenchmen; and in case of Sieur Marin meeting with any accident, Sieur Bailleul will consult with Father Germain respecting the operations to be made in Acadia, so that his detachment may serve with advantage. We write, in consequence, to that missionary, and communicate to him the motives which have determined us to send this detachment.

*Le St. Ursin.*

29<sup>th</sup> *Le St. Ursin*, of Rochelle, has anchored in the harbor.

*La Nymphe.*

Also, the snow, *La Nymphe*.

*An English Prize.*

30<sup>th</sup> Also, the snow *Elizabeth*, an English prize, captured by Sieur Ferret on his way from Martinico. This prize, which had about 2500 *minots* of salt on board, was going to Little Placentia to fish.

July 1. Ensign Marin, commanding the detachment sent to Acadia, sails with 40 Frenchmen in 3 biscayennes, for Bay Verte and Beaubassin, where he is to join Sieur Bailleul, who is to wait for him there with his detachment. We have furnished Sieur Marin with detailed instructions, respecting what he will have to do when he reaches Beaubassin, in regard to the object we contemplate in sending this detachment.

*Niagara—Fort Frontenac.*

Sent from Montreal to Fort Frontenac, by the bateaux of . . . , one mortar, 88 shells, and to Niagara, 36 fusils; the balance in ammunition and merchandise in greater abundance than in previous years; and this, with a view to make an attack on Choueguin, if possible.

*Schooner L'Hirondelle.*

2<sup>d</sup> Arrived, the schooner *L'hirondelle*, Captain Ferret, sailed from Martinico on the 6<sup>th</sup> of April last.

<sup>1</sup> St. Thomas, below Quebec. — Ed.



*Le Loup Marin.*

Also, the brigantine *Le Loup Marin*, Captain Guillimin, which sailed from La Trinité on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May last.

*Father Lacorne.*

Father Maurice Lacorne arrives from Miramichy with the King's brigantine, which was presented to him last year.

Arrived, from Montreal, several canoes of Indians belonging to the Detroit tribes. They consist of Outaouas of Mikinac and Kinonsaki's tribes; of Hurons of Sastaredzy's tribe, and of Pouteouatamies. Count de la Galissonnière receives, by this opportunity, letters from M<sup>r</sup> Berthet, from M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, and some other of the posts. The tenor of these letters will be understood by the extract of the answers which will be sent them, when these Indians return home.

The Detroit nations that arrived yesterday have spoken; some, excusing their guilty brethren, others congratulating themselves that none of their tribe had been parties to the unfortunate attacks; all have solicited the pardon of the murderers, have exposed their poverty and made great protestations of fidelity.

*Answers.*

The answers have been confined to not confounding the innocent with the guilty, to distinguishing the chiefs and others who have given proofs of their fidelity, but we have persisted in not releasing the murderers; the surrender of all of them was even exacted.

The different tribes of the Michilimakinac Nations have spoken a second time, insisting on the release of the murderers.

*Hostage released.*

They were answered that they must consider their Father's severity to the murderers as a mark of his tenderness towards his true children. Nevertheless, out of consideration for Achoabmet and other good Indians, we were pleased to release him who had been given as a hostage for the delivery of the murderers, but the word pardon for any murderer must not be pronounced any more. This answer seems to have been appreciated by them.

*6 Prisoners—5 Scalps.*

5<sup>th</sup> The three different war parties, commanded by Sieurs Duplessis Fabert, Simblin and Laplante, are returned to Montreal. These parties, having united, made an attack on Northfield, brought in 6 English prisoners and 5 scalps.<sup>1</sup>

*Papinaches.*

Arrived, at Montreal, 7 Papinaches<sup>2</sup> Indians, from Lake Huron, who came to see their Father. They were reproached with the fact that some of their people had participated in the attack

<sup>1</sup> The next month (June 18th) they killed three men belonging to Hinsdale's fort, Nathan French, Joseph Richardson and John Frost. Seven were taken; one of whom, William Bickford, died of his wounds. Captain Hobbs and forty men being on a scout, near West river, were surprised by a party of Indians (June 26th), with whom they had a smart encounter of three hours' continuance. Hobbs left the ground, having had three men killed and four wounded. *Belknap's History of New Hampshire*, III., 197.

<sup>2</sup> Papinakois (or Papinachois. *Relation*. 1640, 1; Papinachois. *La Potherie*, I., 207; Oupapinachiskû. *Ducreux Historia Canad.*, 606.) were a tribe inhabiting the country north of the St. Lawrence and east of the Saguenay, in 1650, according to the map attached to the last mentioned work. Were they afterwards the Papinaches of Lake Huron? — Ed.

made at *La Cloche*, and were told that the means of showing themselves to be true children was to deliver up the murderers.

*For Bay Verte.*

6<sup>th</sup> The schooner *L'Aimable Marthe* has been dispatched from Quebec, loaded with provisions, ammunition and goods for the support and maintenance of the detachment sent to Acadia. Sieur Gosselin, who is to command it, is to proceed to the neighborhood of Bay Verte, or some other little port in the Island of St. John, whence he will notify his arrival to Father Germain, at Beaubassin, in order to ascertain whether he can enter Bay Verte, in safety, and discharge his cargo there.

*L'Aventurier.*

7<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the bateau *L'Avanturier*, Captain Detchevery, sailed from Bayonne on the 15<sup>th</sup> of April.

*Le Neptune.*

8<sup>th</sup> Also, the dogger, *Le Neptune*, Captain Pinau, sailed from La Trinité on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May.

*L'Heureux—Le Brillant.*

A courier from St. Barnabé informs us of the arrival there of the ships *L'Heureux* and *Le Brillant*, sailed from Brest on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May, with the crew and the remainder of the artillery of the ship *Le St. Laurent*. M<sup>r</sup> Hocquart continues to labor earnestly to complete the construction of this vessel, which will be armed agreeably to the King's orders.

*Detachment from Acadia.*

The King's bateau, *Le St. Joseph*, from Cape Chat, brings 24 men and women, inhabitants of Ile Royale, who had remained since the war at the harbor called *L'Indienne*,<sup>1</sup> near Louisbourg, and who have been forced to come to Quebec, by a detachment of 40 Ile Royale settlers, refugees in Acadia, and some Indians, under the command of one Jacques Costé, and who have taken two small English crafts in Indian harbor. These 24 persons came to Cape Chat with 20 prisoners, taken by this detachment, but provisions having failed, Dugard, the commander, has been forced to pay a ransom, and the prisoners returned to Louisbourg in that vessel.

*War Party.*

The Outaoua, Huron and Pouteouatimi chiefs of Detroit have requested some young men to go on a war excursion, as well to afford proofs of their fidelity as to repair past faults, whilst they, the chiefs, would return home to promote peace. The first portion of their request has been approved; the young men have, consequently, been equipped, but the chiefs have been given to understand that they ought not to think of returning before speaking to the 5 Nations, who were daily expected.

The different Michilimakinac Nations made similar requests to those of Detroit. 90 of these Indians, 50 domiciliated Indians and 26 Canadians have all been equipped under the command of Chevalier de Repentigny, who is accompanied by several military cadets.

<sup>1</sup> Now called Lingan; 'tis about six miles south of Sidney, C. B. Pichon's *History of Cape Breton*, 48; Haliburton, II., 210. — Ed.



*An English Prize.*

13<sup>th</sup> The ships *Le Brillant* and *L'Heureux* have cast anchor in the harbor with a snow, an English prize, captured by *L'Heureux*, with a load of about 200 *minots* of salt; this snow was on her way to Virginia, whither she was carrying some twenty Irish and Scotch girls. These were distributed among different private families, with whom they voluntarily hired.

*La Jeannette.*

Arrived, the snow *La Jeannette*, Captain Bernetier, sailed from Martinico on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May.

*Two Prisoners.*

14<sup>th</sup> Some Abenakis Indians, returning from war, bring with them two English prisoners whom they took near Fort St. George. These prisoners report nothing of interest.

*A Murderer.*

A number of the Folles Avoines, Puans and other of the Bay Nations have arrived at Montreal. They have surrendered a murderer, who was immediately put in irons equally with the other two.

*War Party.*

16<sup>th</sup> 45 Nepissings and Algonquins of the Lake, and eight Frenchmen, have been equipped for a war excursion under the command of Sieur Louis Simblin, an Aiguletted cadet.

24 Outaouas and Pouteouatamis of Detroit have been likewise fitted out for a war excursion.

*A Negro prisoner—3 Scalps.*

Sieur de Niverville Montizambert is arrived at Montreal with his party; he brings 3 scalps and one Negro prisoner.

*War Party.*

Nine Sauteurs of Detroit have been equipped to go on a war excursion. Sieur Blondeau, a volunteer, commands them.

*War Party.*

17<sup>th</sup> 90 domiciliated Indians and 46 Canadians have been fitted out for a war excursion, under the command of Chevalier de Niverville, Ensign of foot, to whom has been adjoined Sieur de Beaubassin, an Ensign of foot, and sundry cadets.

*4 Scalps.*

19<sup>th</sup> Some Abenakis, from the neighborhood of Fort St. George, bring 4 scalps to Quebec; they have not been able to make any prisoners.

*War Party.*

14 Micmacs have been fitted out at Quebec for a war excursion toward Fort St. George.

Letters from Niagara are received at Quebec, stating that the 5 Nations are gone to the Council at Orange, and that they promise to come and visit their Father at Montreal immediately on their return. It is reported that these nations have sent back the hatchet which the English gave them to use against the French.

*Fort St Frederic.*

They write from Fort St. Frederic that the parties commanded by Sieurs de Portneuf and Bailleul have been met by a superior force of the enemy and repulsed. Our people have retreated without the loss of a man. After this check, these two parties fell in with that of Sieur Langy, and all of them continued their route in the enemy's territory.

*War Party.*

23<sup>d</sup> 6 Abenakis are fitting out at Quebec for a war excursion.

*Sieur Boulaeu.*

Sieur Bouleau sailed for Martinico.

Arrived, the brigantine called *Le Paquebot de la Martinique*, Captain Boissonneau, sailed from Martinico on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May.

*La Jeunesse.*

Arrived, the schooner *La Jeunesse*, Captain John Darat, sailed from Martinico on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May.

*A Prize.*

Arrived, a snow, an English prize captured by Mons<sup>r</sup> Mallet, Captain of a St. Malo ship, fishing at Kerpont.<sup>1</sup> This prize is freighted with pork, beef, candles and cheese, &c.

*Return of the Tribes.*

The chiefs of the different Nations, both of Detroit and Michilimakinac, have asked to return home, as the 5 Nations were too long coming down. Permission to return was granted them; they have always appeared satisfied and in the best disposition. Before they departed they gave the General Belts and messages for the 5 Nations, reproaching the treachery of the Mohawks, in which the 5 Nations have had too great a share.

*Letters to the Posts.*

Count de la Galissonnière writes by these Indians to all the posts, particularly to the commandants of Detroit and Michilimakinac, informing the first that the arrival of the convoy will have furnished him with means to act with more vigor and firmness; recommends him to insist on the surrender of the balance of the murderers, &c. He writes, to the commandant of Michilimakinac, that it is necessary for him to remain at the post where his services are of use. Recommends him to send to the posts whenever circumstances will permit; observing that it is important not to allow those of Nepigon, Chagouamigon and the West Sea to suffer. To try and create a trade with the Illinois, who would furnish him with provisions and other supplies.

27<sup>th</sup> The scouting party, stationed at Lake St. Francis, has been recalled; that precaution does not appear to be any longer necessary, in consequence of the inactivity of the enemy.

28<sup>th</sup> Count de la Galissonnière takes his departure from Montreal.

*Detachment from Acadia.*

29<sup>th</sup> Arrived, the man named Costé, in command of a schooner taken at Indian Harbor,<sup>2</sup> near Louisbourg, with a bateau, by a detachment of French and Indian refugees of Acadia, whereof

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, note, p. 171. — Ed.



mention has been made. On the 8<sup>th</sup> instant, said Costé has brought away an English infantry officer and a soldier, whom he took at Little Brador; also, the captain of the schooner. This detachment has burnt all the houses of the French who were at Indian harbor and Little Brador, and who were working for the English since the capture of Louisbourg. It, likewise, burnt more than 2000 cords of fire-wood which were along the coast, and which the English got the French to cut for their use.

*A Prisoner.*

29<sup>th</sup> Some Abenakis brought to Quebec a prisoner taken in the neighborhood of Quebec; mentions nothing of interest.

31<sup>st</sup> Count de la Galissonnière arrives at Quebec.

We receive letters from Beaubassin informing us that 2 English vessels had arrived at that place laden with salt and other articles suitable for the country; that the people have taken these supplies and been obliged to give wheat in exchange; that, otherwise, the English have not ill-treated the Acadians; they, on the contrary, sold their goods civilly and quietly; that a third vessel had, also, arrived at Beaubassin, which remained only one day. It is added, that had there been then a detachment of only 100 men at Beaubassin, it would have been easy to master these vessels.

*A Prisoner — A Scalp.*

August 2<sup>d</sup> Some Abenakis bring to Quebec a prisoner and a scalp taken in the direction of Fort St. George.

*7 Prisoners — 9 Scalps.*

We are informed of the arrival, at Montreal, of the parties commanded by Sieurs Portneuf, Neuville, Langy, Fontenelle and Bailleul, with 9 scalps and an entire English family. They report that there is considerable talk of peace in New England, and that news of it is daily expected.

*Suspension of Hostilities.*

Evening. A courier, from St. Barnabé, informs us of the arrival, at said place, of the King's frigate *Le Zephir*; we receive, by that opportunity, the news of the suspension of hostilities.

*Intelligence thereof sent to Montreal.*

3<sup>d</sup> A courier is dispatched to Montreal with intelligence of this cessation; orders all the nations to be notified not to go to New England on any more war parties; that they will not be paid in future for prisoners or scalps; recommends to them, notwithstanding, to be always on their guard, and not to have any communication with the English or the 5 Nations. Notwithstanding this notice, our Indians, particularly the domiciliated Abenakis, will possibly continue their hostilities; they have lost warriors, and have not yet had an opportunity to revenge themselves to their satisfaction. We shall keep them in check as much as possible.

8<sup>th</sup> 40 Micmacs of Ile Royale have been wintering at Newfoundland, and struck a blow in the fall on several isolated English houses, which they pillaged; took 23 prisoners whom they have kept all winter; treated them well up to the month of April, then put 12 of the 23 in a boat in company with 8 old Indians and their families, whom they have sent with them to the neighborhood of St. John, where they were to wait for the tribe which was to follow them

immediately, in order to proceed altogether to Quebec. On arriving at the rendezvous, the 12 prisoners who were free killed the 8 old Indians, and the women and children and escaped. Two days after the blow, the tribe arrived with the 11 other prisoners, and being surprised at seeing their people dead were informed by a Micmac squaw, who had not yet expired, of what had occurred; seeing which, these Indians made their prisoners land, and explaining to them their comrades' conduct, killed them all to avenge the death of their people, and have arrived with the 11 scalps.

*Videttes recalled.*

10<sup>th</sup> Orders to recall Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aubert, Abel and Rouville, who command the corps of observation at Cape Desrosiers, Cape Chat and St. Barnabé.

*Idem.* To dismiss the guard of the signal fires along the South shore.

*Packet Boats.*

The orders sent to the South shore to stop the English packet boats will remain in force so as to prevent their coming up as far as Quebec.

Like order to relieve M. Cartier appointed to manœuvre the rafts at Ile Aux Coudres. The orders issued to the North shore will continue, in like manner, in force.

*11 Prisoners—25 Scalps.*

Chevalier de Repentigny, who went out with a party of Indians to fight, arrives from Montreal; he made an attack near Corlac and took 11 prisoners and 25 scalps.

*10 Men Massacred.*

We learn by this occasion that a detachment consisting of a Sergeant and 9 soldiers who were detailed to bring to Quebec, in a canoe, the three Indian murderers surrendered at Montreal, had all been massacred and thrown into the river at a place called Mamiche,<sup>1</sup> in Lake St. Peter, 5 or 6 leagues from 3 Rivers; the three assassins have escaped; 'tis not known whether the other Indians joined them; such is the presumption; the bodies of only four of these men have been found in the canoe, and 2 or 3 have been found on the bank. 'Tis to be feared that the Indians, who were well disposed, will become disorderly in consequence of this accident; word has been sent from Three Rivers to Montreal to try and overtake the assassins.

*News from Beaubassin.*

11<sup>th</sup> Couriers from Beaubassin bring us letters from Father Germain. This missionary writes us, on the 23<sup>d</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, that the schooner commanded by Sieur Gosselin has arrived at Cocagne<sup>1</sup> on the 17<sup>th</sup>, and that he made him put into the River des Gasparaux at Bay Verte, where he is in safety; expects Sieurs Marin and Bailleul, who have not yet arrived.

12<sup>th</sup> A boat arrives from Bay Verte with 3 deserters from Port Royal, who left the fort on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June; they report that the garrison consists of about 1500 regulars and militia, which we do not believe, and that the English are fortifying the place.

*Detachment to the Island of S<sup>t</sup> John.*

On the strength of what the Minister writes, respecting the approaching restitution of Ile Royale, we have thought proper to send some provisions and goods to the inhabitants of the

<sup>1</sup> Machiche.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 111; note. — Ed.



Island of St. John, and to those of Ile Royale who are scattered along the coasts of Acadia, and are deprived of all succors since the capture of Louishourg. The General has thought proper to send to the Island of St. John a detachment, consisting of two officers and 25 soldiers, only, the command of which he has given to Sieur Benoit, lieutenant of the troops, formerly in service at Ile Royale. Mr Hocquart is having two middle-sized vessels prepared to carry the provisions of this detachment and those whom we send in concert, to assist the inhabitants and to encourage them beforehand to resume and improve their old settlements.

Arrived, at Quebec, 25 French prisoners, being the crews of divers French vessels that have been captured; they were sent from New-York, under the care of an English officer and 7 other Englishmen, who, also, brought 4 of our farmers who had been taken prisoners on our Montreal frontiers. In sending these prisoners the Governor of New-York is silent as regards some twenty other Canadians who have been carried away from our settlements.

*News from Beaubassin.*

17<sup>th</sup> Couriers from Beaubassin inform us of the arrival there of Sieur Marin and of Sieur Bailleul with the Indians he had in charge. Sieur Marin advises us, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month, that he expects to leave in 4 days, with his detachment, for Ile Royale; that he will first proceed to the Church of Scatary, where there is a great number of cattle belonging to the enemy, as well as fire-wood; that he will then await new orders respecting a design formed against Port Royal.

Sailed, for France, the snow *La Nymphe*. We have written to the Minister by this opportunity.

22<sup>d</sup> Sailed, for Martinico, the snow *La Jeannette*, Captain Bernetier.

Idem. The ship *L'Amphitrite*, Captain Lavocat, for St. Domingo.

23<sup>d</sup> The English officer, who has brought to Montreal the 29 French prisoners, arrives at Quebec with the Englishmen who accompany him. He has applied to carry back with him the 20 English prisoners belonging to the government of New-York.

24<sup>th</sup> Sailed, the snow *L'Elisabeth*, one of the 2 vessels that we dispatch to the Island of St. John, to convey provisions for the inhabitants of that place and those of Ile Royale, who have taken refuge on the coasts of Acadia.

The General writes to Beaubassin by the return of the two couriers; he tells M. Marin to return to Quebec with his detachment, in consequence of the cessation of hostilities, which he advises him of, recommending him to cease, and make the Indians cease all hostilities against the English, and, moreover, to be always on his guard against attacks.

Lieutenant de St. Vincent, who conducted to Michilimakinac the convoy destined for that post, has returned to Quebec. Mr de St. Pierre, the commandant of said place, informs us that affairs seem so far reëstablished that he has determined, in conjunction with the officers who happened to be on the spot, to send to all the Northern posts the merchant traders and voyageurs who were licensed for those posts.

Arrived, an English prize, taken by Sieur Curodeau, who sailed from Quebec on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June for Martinico. He has returned for the purpose of bringing in his prize.

25<sup>th</sup> Ship *L'heureux retour*, of Rochelle, has anchored in the stream.

Sieur Curodeau, who took the prize which arrived on the 24<sup>th</sup>, has anchored in the stream.

We send back the English officer who was deputed from New-York; we deliver over to him 20 prisoners belonging to divers of the New England Provinces; 3 or 4 of them only

belong to New-York. The General writes, by this opportunity, to the Governor of that Province that he is surprised at having, up to the present time, only 4 of our Canadians who were taken on our frontiers; that he had determined not to return to this Governor any of the English prisoners belonging to his government; that nothing but the armistice had induced him to release these, but that he will not send back those who remain here, belonging to that government, until the Canadians be restored who are prisoners among the Mohawks; that this Governor must not spare any effort to withdraw them from the hands of these Indians, so as to respond to the attention which we, on our side, bestowed to the recovery of their people. Lieutenant de Ligneris is appointed to conduct this deputy and his party as far as New-York, with orders to insist on the Governor's surrendering our Canadians.

*Ship Letourneur.*

26<sup>th</sup> Ship *Le Tourneur*, freighted on account of the King, has anchored in the stream.

*M<sup>r</sup> Bigot.*

M<sup>r</sup> Bigot having disembarked at St. Joachim, slept there on the 25<sup>th</sup> and arrived to-day at Quebec in a calash, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

*War Party.*

27<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Niverville arrives at Quebec on his return from an expedition with his detachment of Canadians and Indians. The most of his people fell sick on the march. They fought, but indifferently, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of this month, within an *arpent* and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Fort Massachusetts, against 30 Englishmen, whom 6 Abenakis had drawn out of the fort, and against whom they fought whilst retreating to join our men, so that there were killed only 5 Englishmen, who fell on the field, and only one Huron and one Iroquois wounded.<sup>1</sup>

*New-York Deputation.*

Sieur de Niverville, when passing Fort St. Frederic, has been entrusted with a letter for the General, which was brought to that fort by three English deputies; it is dated 1<sup>st</sup> of August, O. S., and is from the Governors of Boston and New-York, who send copy of the proclamation of the King of England's declaration of a suspension of hostilities, which they are about to declare likewise, on their part; mention 14 French prisoners recently sent back by M<sup>r</sup> Shirley, who have not yet arrived.

*Answer.*

30<sup>th</sup> The General sends Sieur de Niverville back to Montreal, to hand to M<sup>r</sup> de Ligneris, who proceeds to New-York, the letter he has written in answer to the Governor of that Province, and to him of Boston; he informs them, that he has ordered all hostilities to cease, and, as far as depends on him, will put a stop to all hostilities on the part of our Indians, and adds, that he wishes the 14 French prisoners who are announced, may be of the number of those whom he demands, and who were detained among the Mohawks.

<sup>1</sup> On the 2d August, 1748, about 200 of the enemy appeared at the fort. It was then under the command of Captain, afterwards Colonel, Ephraim Williams. A scout was fired upon, which drew out Captain Williams with about 30 men; an attack began, which continued some time, but finding the enemy numerous, Captain Williams fought upon the retreat, until he had again recovered the fort. The enemy soon withdrew, but with what loss was unknown. A man by the name of Abbot was killed, and Lieutenant Hawley and Ezekiel Wells were wounded. *History of Berkshire County, Massachusetts*, 425. — Ep.



*Island of St John.*

31<sup>st</sup> Sailed, the second vessel with provisions and effects for the Island of St. John, for the relief of the inhabitants of that island and others. The detachment of regulars has embarked on board this vessel.

The King's frigate, *Le Zephir*, has anchored in the stream.

*The Assassins.*

Count de la Galissonnière writes to M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, the commandant at Montreal, to notify the nations, who are still at Montreal, from him, that since it has been impossible to overtake the 3 murderers who assassinated the detachment that was conveying them to Quebec, it is necessary that these nations do, themselves, look up those murderers in order to surrender them anew.

*Detroit.*

September 5<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron arrives at Quebec on his return from Detroit, whither he conducted the convoy destined for that post. We receive letters from all the posts; the Hurons, who are at Point Montreal (Detroit), appear again too convenient to Nicolas, who has removed to the Beautiful River; they could easily notify that traitor of any expedition set on foot against him. Scarce a doubt remains of the Chaouennons being in league with the English.

*Micmacs of Ile Royale.*

Sieur Bourdon, an officer of Ile Royale, sails with some twenty Micmac Indians, who are going to winter in Ile Royale for the purpose of cutting fire-wood there.

*Sieur Abel.*

10<sup>th</sup> Sieur Abel, who was sent last spring to Cape Chat, has returned with his men to Quebec.

*Sieur Aubert.*

11<sup>th</sup> Sieur Aubert, the commander at Cape Desrosiers, has likewise returned.

*French Prisoners.*

13<sup>th</sup> We learn, from Montréal, the arrival there of eleven French prisoners, who have been sent back by the Governor of Boston.

*Beaubassin.*

16<sup>th</sup> We are in receipt of intelligence from Beaubassin. Father Germain writes us, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, that a number of French and Indians of Sieur Marin's detachment, have fallen sick, which has retarded the execution of the hostilities in the direction of Ile Royale. The cessation of hostilities was not yet known at Beaubassin, and Sieur Marin was waiting the complete recovery of his troops before setting out.

*2 Vessels.*

16<sup>th</sup> Arrived, 2 vessels from Martinico, with Sirop, Taffia, &c.

Sailed, Sieur Du Chambon and Sieur Decout, with a detachment of 30 soldiers of Ile Royale, who are going to winter at Grand Brador, for the purpose of cutting fire-wood.

*Le 3 Cousins.*

24<sup>th</sup> Ship *3 Cousins*, Captain Charest, from Bourdeaux, has anchored in the stream.

Ships *La Favorite* and *La Sultane*, the snow *Le Dauphin* and ship *Le Lis*, all of Rochelle, have anchored in the stream.

*5 Nations.*

30<sup>th</sup> Abbé Picquet leaves Quebec for Fort Frontenac; he is to examine the neighborhood of that fort for a location best adapted for a village, to be formed by the Iroquois of the Five Nations, who propose to embrace Christianity.

*Return of Sieur Marin.*

October 1<sup>st</sup> Sieur Marin, Junior, arrives from Beaubassin; he did not receive, in season, the letters advising him of the suspension of hostilities. In the neighborhood of Louisbourg he made prisoners of a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants and four soldiers, belonging to that garrison, with two officers of an English man-of-war, and 4 ladies. These prisoners having informed M<sup>r</sup> Marin that hostilities had ceased, he sent the 4 ladies back to the Governor of Louisbourg, and wrote to him that he could not surrender the other prisoners to him until notified of the suspension, of which he was ignorant. That Governor immediately wrote, and the prisoners have been sent back, except one, named Mayer, formerly the orderly (*Suisse*) of our garrison, at Louisbourg, who deserted a few days before the surrender of that place, and is accused of treason. This Swiss and his wife have been brought to Quebec, and both have been committed to prison.

The bateau, *Le Saint Jean Baptiste*, has arrived from Rochelle.

*Letters to Detroit.*

3<sup>d</sup> Count de La Galissonnière writes to Chevalier de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, that, though we be at peace, every attempt of the English to settle at River à la Roche, White river, the Beautiful river, or any of their tributaries, must be resisted by force, and should this fail, they must, in every case, be summoned to retire, and warned of the disasters which may overtake them, should they not obey.

Letters from Montreal, of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant, state that 14 or 15 canoes of the Five Nations are hourly expected. The General writes M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, commandant at Montreal, to send them to Quebec, as soon as they shall have arrived.

9<sup>th</sup> Ship *La Couronne* arrives from Rochelle.

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*Abstract of Despatches from Canada.*

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Lagalissonnière and Bigot transmit, on the 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1748, a journal of military occurrences in Canada, and of the various intelligence received at Quebec, since the month of November, 1747.

The Mohawks have made no incursion into our settlements since that date; news had been received, only, that a party of these Indians had set out, but returned on learning that our frontiers were well guarded.



Two parties of our Indians, one of which was composed of eight or ten Cristinaux, had made an attack on them, scalped the principal chief of the Mohawks and a few others.

The fort, at the Saint Thérèse Rapid, has been entirely abandoned, and a portion of the materials has served to construct another fort, at Saint John, at the head of all the rapids; by means of this fort, and of the road from it to La Prairie de la Magdeleine, Fort St. Frederic is in a position to receive relief within twice twenty-four hours, whilst previously supplies had to be sent by way of Chambly, whence it was necessary to ascend three rapids, those of Chambly, St. Thérèse and of St. John. It is calculated that six thousand *livres* will be saved, annually, in the item of transportation. This new fort will facilitate the settlement of the lands on Lake Champlain, and the getting out of building timber.

They look upon it as one of the most useful ever established in the Colony; nevertheless, had Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Lagalissonnière and Hocquart, who ordered its construction, foreseen that peace was so near at hand, they would never have determined on it without my Lord's instructions. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot is to report the expense he has incurred for the new road.

The English had made preparations for an attack on Fort St. Frederic; their artillery, consisting of eight or ten guns, had reached Fort Satarasto, which they eventually abandoned and burnt.

M<sup>r</sup> Bigot states, in a private letter, that he cannot render any account of the expenses incurred at Fort St. John. They are estimated in the public (account) at forty @ fifty thousand *livres*, which is an exorbitant sum for a picket fort.

Sieur de Léry, Junior, who superintended its construction, says nothing about it; he has merely mentioned to M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière that the chimneys had settled. This Governor has given orders not to rebuild them. This accident occurred in consequence of the Engineer not having looked for a solid foundation; that fort cannot be occupied this year; an officer and ten soldiers will, however, be stationed in an adjoining building. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot complains of Sieur de Léry, the elder, who does not render any accounts; he has written to him on this subject, and advised him that next year, earth would be paid for at Quebec by the *toise*.<sup>1</sup> At present it is paid for by little cart loads, half full, containing only a handful of earth; each load costs 2 *sous*, and only half the loss would be incurred were they to count fair.

To tolerate this mode of remuneration it would be necessary that the Engineer should be on the ground, but he is so only rarely and transiently; besides this, the carts are partly owned by the Officers and Engineers, which is the cause of all the abuse. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot is informed that the pay at Fort St. John is at the same rate; that the Engineer furnishes the horses, and he doubts not but a further grant will be required. M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière does, in fact, make such a demand.

He sends the extract of the payments for grading; those of the month of June, when the country carts with those of the town were used, amounted to 25,106<sup>11</sup> 13<sup>s</sup>. The former were discharged on the first of July, which ought to cause a falling off of nearly one-half; the expense, notwithstanding, amounts to 29,924<sup>11</sup> 15<sup>s</sup>.

Sieur de Léry is of opinion that the earth should not be measured by the yard, because some will have to be taken in broken and stony places, that would cause him trouble, whilst there is none in paying for it by the spoonful (*par marron*).

<sup>1</sup> A toise — two yards. — Ed.

The earth removed this year amounts, by yard measurement, to 125,229<sup>u</sup> 7' 6<sup>d</sup>. More than 50 thousand *livres* have been stolen. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot has seen the earth that has been removed; he says it would not amount, at Louisbourg, to 50 thousand *livres*.

The repairs of Fort Frontenac are completed. They amount to 6,725<sup>u</sup> 12' 6<sup>d</sup>; and considerable, it is stated, remains to be done at Niagara.

M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière demands a gratuity for Sieur de Léry, Junior, in consideration of the care he has bestowed on the construction of Fort St. John.

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*M. de la Galissonnière to Count de Maurepas.*

Quebec, 23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1748.

My Lord.

I did not expect to enter into any details on occasion of the different movements of the Indians, and the negotiations which I, in the town of Montreal, and the commandants at the different posts had with them. They are all to be found in the Journal prepared by me, conjointly with the Intendant. However, as this matter is much confused, and as the various reports which will, possibly, be made to you, will render it more obscure, I cannot dispense writing to you at length relative to subjects of the greatest importance to the Colony.

It was shortly after my arrival that I learned the revolt of the Miamis, the consequences of which, though unfortunate, have not been near so much so as they seemed to be. That nation was divided into two parties, whereof one that appears attached to the French is, I believe, the most considerable, and has remained at the village. It did, however, accept its share of the plunder, but gave it back afterwards; no one was killed in that affair.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, the commandant at Detroit, having received intelligence of this disorder, and at the same time of the good disposition of a part of that nation, sent Sieur Dubuisson thither, in the beginning of the winter, with a sufficient escort to keep possession of the fort, which had been partially burnt, but not to undertake anything.

This officer, and his little garrison, had to undergo considerable suffering through the winter, in consequence of the unfriendly disposition of the Indians, who extorted (*rançontés*) on them for provisions. Sieur Dubuisson had carried scarcely anything with him from Detroit, where, great scarcity also prevailed. However, he subsisted until the spring at a considerable expense to the King, and kept up negotiations with the chief of the hostile party, who, probably, will alter his course.

During the winter, a Frenchman, who strayed from the fort, was killed by an Iroquois, without Sieur Dubuisson having been able to induce the Miamis, who pretended to be favorable to the French, to pursue the murderer, as they had been won over to connive at the perpetration of that hostile blow.

Sieur Dubuisson returned to Detroit in the spring, with the residue of the plunder that had been given up, and the property of the farmers of the post. Chevalier de Longueuil, whom I had ordered to maintain that place, was to send Sieur Dubuisson thither, in the month of August, with a considerable detachment, well supplied, under the command of Sieur de la



Maudière, who is likewise to repair, if needs be, to the nations on the Oubache, bad Indians who have remained faithful up to the present time, but among whom there are not wanting evil-disposed fellows, who have been gained over by the English.

I return to Detroit, where everything was in disorder long before my arrival, in consequence of the revolt of some Hurons who call themselves Christians; won over by the English, they had assassinated five Frenchmen passing through their villages of Sanduskee. The domiciliated Outaouagas and Pouteoutamis of Detroit, had been solicited to do the like, but it does not appear that the Pouteoutamis had lent any ear to these proposals.

Some Outaouas and Saulteurs had, on the contrary, conspired with the Hurons to destroy Detroit, and the conspiracy was pretty well managed and on the point of exploding, when the Sandosket assassination led to its discovery. Then all those who were not compromised, joined the Pouteoutamis, the French and the well-disposed Outaouas; and this return so intimidated the assassins, that they came to supplicate for mercy, which was granted them by M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, agreeably to the orders he had from M<sup>r</sup> de Beauharnois, and more especially in consequence of his small force and the necessity he was under of living. Very mild conditions were annexed to this peace, but whilst it was yet negotiating, and when all, except Chev. de Longueuil, considered it certain, a party, which was not ignorant of the negotiations, even made an attempt, in the immediate vicinity of Detroit, to carry off a French canoe; three men who composed the entire crew, were wounded. On receipt of the news, Chev. de Longueuil sent off a detachment, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Beletre, who conducted himself with so much bravery, promptness and precaution, that he effected, without the loss of a man, the capture of the five who perpetrated the attack.

Of these five wretches, one was killed on arriving at Detroit, a second cut his throat in prison, and the remaining three were given up on the urgent solicitation and every possible submission on the part of the Hurons and their protectors, both Indian and French, who represented that this favor would indubitably bring back the Hurons of Sanduskee; but as soon as they received the prisoners they quitted the post, where they did not consider themselves safe, and withdrew towards the Beautiful river; thence they sent out emissaries everywhere to induce the Nations to revolt. A great many, however, returned to Detroit, but whether they are to be regarded as penitents or spies, there is no knowing.

I spoke in other letters of the Chaouanons and Illinois. The Pouteoutamis of St. Joseph participated in all these movements only by offers of service and protestations of fidelity, which I have every reason to consider real and sincere.

On three or four occasions, during the winter and spring, I received letters from M. de Longueuil, and some ambassadors from Nations who were faithful, or were reputed to be so. These informed me of everything I have related to you, and demanded of me some assistance of men, ammunition and provisions, which induced me to dispatch the convoy thither as quick as possible. It consisted of more than a hundred Frenchmen and ten or twelve of the most reliable Nepissing Indians of the Lake, and of a great number of voyageurs, who were going up to trade, and was commanded by Captain de Celoron, who had M<sup>r</sup> de la Naudiere as his lieutenant. This convoy, when passing Fort Frontenac and Niagara, made a strong impression on the Iroquois and other Nations it met, and the news of its approach, I think, determined, more than anything else, the principal chiefs of Detroit to come to Montreal, where they arrived about the same time as the Missilimakinak Nations, of whom I now proceed to write.



Missilimakinac is in some sort the centre and entrepôt of all the Northern, as Detroit is of all the Southern, posts. Notwithstanding all those posts are farther from the English than the Southern, their invitations and intrigues had been, in some degree, the cause of more disorder there; scarcely any of the Nations had been exempt from the general seduction. Some Frenchmen were killed at Saguinan, an Ottawa village, between Detroit and Missilimakinac; others at Chibaouinani, otherwise La Cloche,<sup>1</sup> by some Mississagués, others at Grosse Isle, near Missilimakinac, and even at Missilimakinac, also, where no respect was paid to the commandant; the voyageurs were robbed and maltreated at Sault St. Mary, and elsewhere, on Lake Superior. In fine, there appeared to be no security anywhere. All these disorders occurred whilst the elder M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne, commandant at Missilimakinac, was at Montreal, or rather had brought down to that place, by the Marquis de Beauharnois' orders, a portion of those same tribes who have executed or plotted all those treacheries. The news arrived when M<sup>r</sup> de la Corne was on an expedition towards the frontiers of New England. The Marquis de Beauharnois then took the resolution to send M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre as commandant to Missilimakinac; a very good officer, and much esteemed among all the Nations of those parts, by whom [no one is] more loved and feared. He found them, nevertheless, on his arrival, so ill-disposed that he advised me not to send any Frenchmen thither until I should hear from him.

I waited, in this expectation, very impatiently throughout the entire winter, and was obliged, in this state of incertitude, to dispatch the convoy. I think it is not so strong as the one for Detroit, but that it has nothing to fear. It was commanded by Sieur de St. Vincent, who had Sieur de la Corne St. Luc as lieutenant. At length I received advices from that post, much more favorable than I dared hope for. M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre detained all the voyageurs and goods at Missillimakinac, and answered the different deputations of Indians only by threatening not to send any more traders to their country, and leave them in want of everything, if they did not deliver the murderers of the Frenchmen into his hands, and restore the plunder they had got. His firmness met with every success. The Saguinam people brought in one of the murderers; those of Missilimakinac brought in another; others, belonging to Saguinan brought in two hostages in lieu of the murderers, whom they could not overtake; a portion of the plunder has been paid for, and arrangements have been made to pay for the remainder.

On receipt of these prisoners and hostages, M<sup>r</sup> de St. Pierre did not hold out any promises or hopes of life to them. Nevertheless, their own tribe conducted them to Montreal and delivered them up to me, a circumstance which never occurred and perhaps never will again, if this Colony have not more troops than at present. It happened, at the same time, that a third murderer having got in, on the road, among the other Indians, accompanied them to the audience chamber where, being recognized, I had him removed to prison with the other two.

In other respects I have treated these penitent nations the best way I could, and declared to them that the act they had just performed effaced the recollection of their ill conduct, but that the murderers had no share in that act of oblivion; that I did not grant, but prolonged their lives to put the remainder in mind of their fault. I told them, likewise, that I did not wish to make the innocent suffer for the guilty, and ordered the hostages to be given up, at the same time directing the nation to bring me those in whose places they had stood.

Though the nations might, perhaps, have looked for more mildness on my part, and had presented some petitions to me during the first days, which I rejected, it appeared to me that

<sup>1</sup> An Island in the north part of Lake Huron, between the Great Manitoulin and the main land. *Bouchette's Map of Canada*. — Ed.



they felt the necessity I was under of detaining fellows who would have taken advantage of their liberty only to proceed and embroil matters anew in their villages.

It did not prevent the chiefs, who interested themselves the most to procure their liberation, to request my permission to go to war against the English in order to revenge themselves for having been deceived ; I granted it very readily, and they departed.

Those of the Detroit arrived during these transactions, and had been witnesses of what had passed respecting the murderers. A portion of their young men had gone also on the war path, and the old men belonging to Detroit and Missilimakinac returned some time after to their villages.

I was obliged, then, to leave Montreal where I had in vain been waiting for the Iroquois who had promised me to upbraid them publicly with all the invitations to assassinate the French, which those Iroquois had received from them.

As I had no doubt but the Missilimakinac Nations would, on their return from the war, renew their applications to me to get back the guilty whom they had surrendered to me, I ordered M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil, at parting, to send these three Indians, under a sufficient escort, down to Quebec. I was intending to give one of them up to a Saguinan chief named Achaoualina, a relative of his, who, notwithstanding, had delivered him up, and whom I regard as a worthy man and a good Frenchman.

The old men having all taken their departure, and the young men being about to arrive, M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil put the three prisoners safely and secretly on board one of the King's canoes, under the command of one of the best Sergeants of the garrison, along with seven picked soldiers, and enjoined on them all the precautions requisite to be taken in such a case ; but in vain. The negligence of the Sergeant cost him his life ; those three men, without arms and with manacles on their feet, killed or drowned eight well armed men, and having cut their irons with an axe on the bows of the canoe, escaped ashore and thence into the woods.

The canoe was discovered a short time afterwards, with the Sergeant's and some of the soldiers' bodies, but in consequence of a series of misfortunes the news was conveyed first to Three Rivers only, instead of to Montreal. At Three Rivers, in place of sending off to Montreal, a statement of the facts was drawn up (*on verbalisa*), and even at Montreal all the diligence and activity that the case required to intercept these three Indians was not employed. It has been ascertained, or supposed, that they wandered a long time in the woods before striking the Grand river, and that they reached it at the spot naturally to be expected ; finally, 'tis said they went back with the old men of their village who had preceded them some time, but who, Indian fashion, had not used great expedition.

Thus was lost, in a great measure, the fruit of Sieur St. Pierre's good management, and of all the fatigue I endured to get the nations who had surrendered these rascals, to listen to reason. This mishap must not discourage those of my successors who will find themselves in similar circumstances, and does not prevent my entertaining the conviction that the Indians ought not to be pardoned so easily as they are wont to be in this country, and that there are no better means of restraining these nations than the long detention in prison of those among them who have been guilty of any act of treachery.

I conclude with the Iroquois, with whom I might have commenced. On arriving here, last year, I found their deputies at Quebec ; they left there with some fine presents on our part, and fair promises on theirs to observe a strict neutrality, and bring back the Mohawks who had gone astray. They have been, the whole of this winter, apparently quiet, though they had

promised the English to wage war against us; they have even been on the point, this spring, of telling the English that they did not want any war with us. The Mohawks, whom we held prisoners, produced this good effect. Nevertheless, Belts have been conveyed from the Five Nations to almost all the nations of the Continent, to prevail on them to murder the French.

However that may be, they are much attached to their prisoners, whom they were told, long ago, they might have by bringing back the French taken within the government of Montreal; but the English, who in peace as in war, are bent only on creating confusion, prevented them doing this, and persuaded them that they would have their prisoners given up to them. This produced a letter from M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, Governor-General of New-York, which was written at the very commencement of the war, wherein he haughtily demanded them back, as subjects of Great Britain, in virtue of the 15<sup>th</sup> article of the treaty of Utrecht. I answered him that that article neither named nor designated the Iroquois, and I caused the latter to be informed that they could not have worse protection than that of England. This is my position as regards them. They are on the point of arriving. I shall persist in detaining their people, until I recover the French. I have even detained, for greater security, those English of New-York that were in my hands. I have, also, to reproach those Iroquois with their intrigues, and shall threaten them with letting loose on them the major portion of the nations of the Continent, who expressly authorized me to do so, in case they persist. In fine, I shall do my utmost to extract from them a very clear and precise declaration, that they do not consider themselves subjects of England, and will send it to you in the best form possible.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

LA GALISSONNIÈRE.

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*M. de la Galissonnière to Count de Maurepas.*

Quebec, 26 October, 1748.

My Lord.

The peace having enabled me to send back almost all the English prisoners, who were a great expense here, makes it unnecessary for me to render you an account of our position here in that regard, with M<sup>r</sup> Shirley. Since my arrival, I have had no cause, except for congratulation, on account of the facilities he has afforded for the exchanges, and I have responded thereto to the best of my power. I wrote him, this fall, on the subject of the settlers belonging to Ile Royale, who, it was said, were still detained at Boston, but, for want of an opportunity, he sent me no reply. The peace will, no doubt, assure their return, and it will be easier for the new Governor of Louisbourg than for me to pursue that affair.

Up to the present time, I have not so much reason to be pleased with the conduct of M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, Governor of New-York, who, through a misapprehension perhaps of the interests of his Province, has dissuaded the Mohawks, I suspect, ever since the peace, from bringing back



the French they had taken, two years ago, within the government of Montreal. He had, meanwhile, restored some prisoners this summer, but they were sailors, whom he had sent to Boston, and whom M<sup>r</sup> Shirley had in a manner loaned him; he wrote me, at the same time, as I have already stated; also, that he expected I should return him the same number of prisoners from New-York, among the rest the Mohawks, who, being subjects of Great Britain, were, according to him, to be exchanged like the others. I answered him by M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris, a very prudent officer, whom I sent to Orange with some English officers and soldiers, belonging to all the governments except New-York —

First. That I did not recognize the Mohawks as subjects of Great Britain.

Secondly. That having incurred great expense in ransoming the English belonging to New-York and other Provinces, out of the hands of the Indians, it was just that the English should do the like to recover the Canadian prisoners who are among the Mohawks.

3<sup>d</sup> That I should not return any more English prisoners belonging to New-York, until the Canadians were sent back to me.

This is our present position, but I hope that, what with the instructions I have given M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris and what I am about to say to the deputies of the other Iroquois nations, who are to arrive here to-morrow, everything will be agreeably arranged.

I shall have the honor to render you an account thereof next year.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your, &c.,

LA GALISSONNIÈRE.

*Conference between M. de la Galissonnière and the Iroquois.*

Authentic Minute of the Speech of the Six Iroquois Nations, at the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, in 1748.

This day, the second of November, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, at two o'clock in the afternoon, We, the undersigned, Notaries Royal, residing within the Provostship of Quebec, having been invited by My lord Marquis de la Galissonnière, General Commander of New France, and by My lord Bigot, Knight, Councillor of the King in his Councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine in New France, repaired to the grand council chamber of the Castle of St. Louis of Quebec, wherein shortly after met the deputies of the Iroquois Nations, hereinafter named; the said deputies being to the number of about eighty, who were accompanied by Sieur de Joncaire, officer in the King's troops and interpreter, who informed us that these deputies were, for the most part, the principal chiefs of the said Nations; to wit, of the Senecas, Onontagués, Cayugas, Oneidas, and that they were empowered to speak [for the] Tascorins. At the instant entered the said Chamber my said Lords, the Commander and Intendant Generals, followed by a great number of persons of distinction, and being seated, My Lord, the General Commander, said:

"Children, I have invited you to-day to inquire if you are subjects of the English, as I have heard they pretend, and as I have been advised by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Clinton and Shirley, Governors of New-York and of Boston, of whom these are the letters, wherein they write me that you are vassals of the Crown of England, and that you are bound to go to war for the English, whenever they order you so to do." And, thereupon, said letters have been exhibited in the original, and said Sieur de Joncaire having taken the translation, which, also, was on the desk, explained it to them in a loud voice, as well as the question of My Lord, the General Commanding, which they appeared clearly to understand, as divers persons there present, conversant with their language, have assured us.

Then the said chiefs deliberated some time together, after which, Cachointioni, chief of the Onnontagues, speaking in the name of his village and of that of the Senecas, said: That formerly there were no Whites in the whole of this Continent, but that since about one hundred years both French and English have settled on it; that they established trade with the one and the other, in order to obtain guns, blankets and other commodities, formerly unknown to them; that they were, also, glad to see traders settling in their neighborhood, but that they had not ceded to any one their lands, which they hold only of Heaven. He finished by saying, that all he had said was in the name of the Nations here present, by their deputies, and even of the Tascororins.

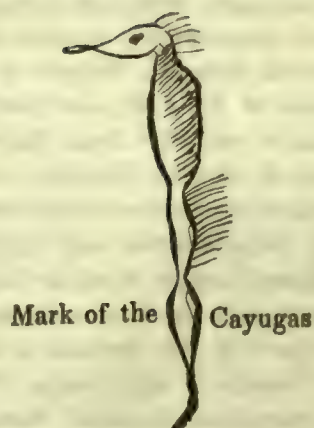
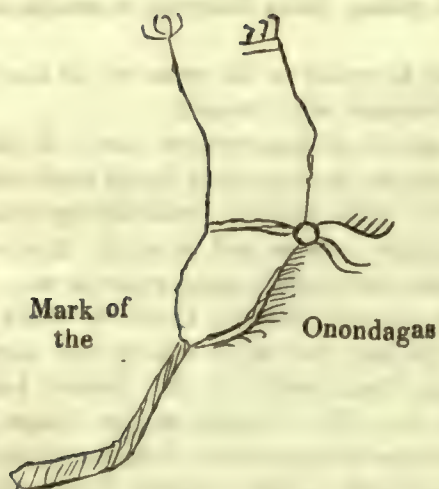
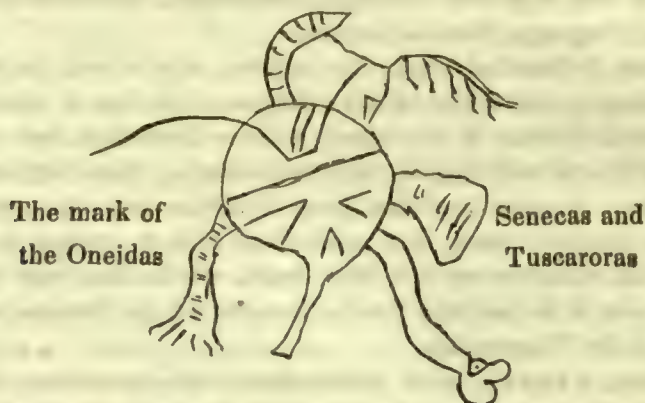
Then rose Toniohae, a Cayuga chief, who repeated the same thing, and added, as a proof that the Six Iroquois Nations were not subjects of England, that in this and the preceding wars, the English had continually solicited them to take up the hatchet against the French, which they constantly refused to do, and will still refuse, being desirous to remain at peace with the French and English.

The Cayuga concluded by saying, likewise, that he spoke in the name of all the Nations present, and they all approved, in their customary manner, what he said.

Then My Lord, the General commanding, required of us a minute (*acte*) of all these speeches and answers given by the said Sieurs Deputies, and approved by all their confreres, and, also, demanded that it be signed by several of those present, especially by those who understand their language; which we have granted him to serve and be valid. And my said Lords, the General commanding and the Intendant, have signed these presents with Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Esquire, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Lieutenant-Governor of the town and Castle of Quebec, and other officers and persons of distinction present, to wit, M<sup>r</sup> Jean Victor Varin, Commissary of the Marine, Intendant of Montreal, Paul de Becard, Esquire, Sieur de Fouville, Captain in the troops of the detachment of Marines maintained in this country for the King's service, Gaspard Chaussegros, Esquire Sieur de Léry, Captain and Engineer in Chief in this country, Knight of Saint Louis, Daniel Leonard Esquire Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain of said Troops; and, likewise, the following conversant with the Iroquois languages, to wit, Louis de Chapt, Esquire Sieur de Lacorne, also Captain of the Marines in this country, Pierre de Chapt, Esquire Chevalier de la Corne, also Captain of said troops, Philip Thomas de Joncaire, Esquire, Lieutenant of said troops and Interpreter aforesaid; Sieurs Legardeur de Montesson and Dagneaux de la Saussaye and Sieur Louis le Cavalier, also interpreter, and by us, the said Notaries, and the said Deputies, by name, have made and drawn the marks of their Nations, not knowing how to write.



Done and concluded at the said Castle Saint Louis of Quebec, the day and year aforesaid, thus signed on the minute or original remaining in the keeping and possession of Du Laurent, one of the said Notaries. La Galissoniere, Bigot, Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Varrin, Foville, Chaussegros de Lery, La Corne, Beaujeu, the Chevalier de Lacorne, Joncaire, Dagneaux Douville, Montesson, Dailleboust, Dagneaux de la Saussaye, Le Cavalier, and Panet and Du Laurent, Subscribing Notaries, with paraphs. Signed, Panet and Du Laurent, Notaries.



*Minute of the taking possession of the Ohio River and its tributaries by the French.*

Extract from the Journal of the voyage of M<sup>r</sup> de Céloron, Captain of Infantry commanding the detachment sent to the River Ohio, by order of the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Captain-General for New France, to take possession, in the King's name, of said river and of its tributaries.

Copy of the record of the deposition of the leaden plate and the King's arms, buried at the mouth of the Ohio river, and of the inscription.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, we, Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, captain commanding a detachment sent by order of the Marquis de la Galissonniere, Captain-General in Canada, and the Beautiful River, otherwise called the Ohio, accompanied by the principal officers of our detachment, have buried, at the foot of a red oak tree, on the South bank of the River Ohio, and opposite the point of a little island, where the two rivers, Ohio and Kanaougon, unite, and in forty degrees five minutes, twenty-three seconds, a leaden plate, with the following inscription engraved thereon :

## INSCRIPTION.

In the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France.

We, Celoron, commanding officer of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissonnière, Captain-General of New France, to reëstablish peace in some Indian villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Rivers Ohio and Kanaouagan, this twenty-ninth day of July, as a monument of the renewal of the possession which we have taken of the said River Ohio, and of all the lands on both sides, up to the source of the said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed, or ought to enjoy, the same, and have maintained themselves there by arms and treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle. We have, moreover, affixed the King's arms at the same place to a tree. In testimony whereof, we have signed and drawn up this present procès verbal.

Done, at the mouth of the Beautiful river, this twenty-ninth July, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.

Signed by all the officers.

(Signed) CÉLORON.

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*M. de Puyzieulx to M. de la Galissonnière ?*

Versailles, 10<sup>th</sup> September, 1749.

I have the honor to transmit to you, sir, an abstract which the Earl of Albemarle sent me of letters relative to the surrender of prisoners of war in America. That ambassador pretends that the respective commissioners do not understand each other ; that they speak of reciprocal ransom for the surrender of prisoners, when, by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, there ought to be no question about it, and he believes all these trifling discussions will terminate amicably



by the transmission of orders from France and England respectively, to the French and English Governors, not to create any untoward (*mauvaises*) difficulties.

I shall expect your explanations, sir, in order to draw up my answer to the English ambassador, and I will be obliged to you to return me the annexed abstract.

I have the honor to be, with sincere attachment,

Sir, Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed) PUYZIEULX.

I have the honor to send you back, sir, the annexed note of Mr. d'York,<sup>1</sup> which you had the kindness to confide to me.

Abstract of the Letters respecting the exchange of Prisoners of War in New-York, Canada and elsewhere, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight-9.

*Colonel Mascareene to the Duke of Bedford, dated Annapolis-royal, the second of June, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"Renders an account of the proclamation of peace. He had heard it reported since his last letter, of the month of April, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, that two French officers, with twenty or thirty men and some Indians, had just constructed a fort and formed a settlement at the mouth of the River St. John, about twelve leagues north of Annapolis, across the Bay of Fundy. Recommends the settlement of the boundaries."

N. B. This is a mere rumor.

*Governor Shirley to the Duke of Bedford, dated Boston, the eighteenth of June, one thousand seven hundred and nineteen.*

"Transmits the preceding despatch and speaks of a settlement as of a matter of consequence, though he have no other proof of it than the foregoing letter."

N<sup>o</sup> 1. *M. de la Galissonnière, Governor of Canada, to Governor Clinton, dated Quebec, 25<sup>th</sup> of August, 1748.*

"Demands the French prisoners of war, in the hands of the Mohawk Indians, at the same time refuses to send back the Indian prisoners, subjects of the King of Great Britain, whom he retains; insists that Deputies from those Indian Nations come and treat respecting their ransom. The remainder of the letter consists of accusations, recriminations and unintelligible stories of what the English had done during the war."

N<sup>o</sup> 2. *M. Desligneris to Governor Clinton, dated New-York, the nineteenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.*

N. B. The gentleman was sent by the Governor of Canada to New-York to treat about the Canada Indians.

"Requests that his departure be hastened on account of the bad season; says that M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière will send back the Mohawk Indians as soon as they will have set the Canadians

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, VIII., 405, note. — Ed.

"at liberty; but that the Governor of Canada does not say so to Governor Clinton, because he does not consider these Indians as his Britannic Majesty's subjects."

"In answer to a question of Governor Clinton, asking if the Governor of Canada would release all the English Indians who are in Canada, if some of the French prisoners were surrendered, and a promise given to send back the others as soon as possible? He says, that he thinks he would not release all, but probably some."

"Proposes that Colonel Johnson, Governor of Albany, who has influence among the Mohawk Indians, be instructed to withdraw the French prisoners out of their hands."

*N° 3. Governor Clinton to the Governor of Canada, dated Fort George, in New-York, the tenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight.*

Says, "As soon as orders were received for the cessation of hostilities, he liberated three or four hundred French prisoners, and sent them back at the expense of government, and, moreover, he had released and restored seven French ships captured by New-York privateers, so that all the French prisoners have their liberty, except those in the hands of the Mohawk Indians, which is owing to the news of the Governor of Canada refusing to set at liberty, not only the Indians in his power, but all the other of the King's subjects, and to his making the surrender of all our prisoners conditional, on the restoration of some few Canadians."

"That he keeps the subjects of Great Britain in close confinement, whilst the French enjoy full liberty with us. The Governor of New-York promises to set at liberty all the French in the hands of the Indians, provided the Governor of Canada promises to do the like on his part, including the subjects of the Five Nations of Indians, who are, indisputably, vassals of the King of Great Britain, and who, when taken prisoners, were serving under persons bearing Governor Clinton's commissions.

"He explains the fact respecting the Five Nations of Indians to M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière, who asserted that they did never subject themselves to the Crown of Great Britain, and proves to him that [ his ] predecessors have never called in question that article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and that the copy he has of the treaty is erroneous.

"And he concludes by wishing to live in friendship, and to cement the peace.

*N° 4. Governor Clinton to the Governor of Canada, with his Instructions to Captain Stoddard, dated New-York, the 10th of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighteen.<sup>1</sup>*

"Refers to his preceding letter and to Captain Stoddard, whom he sends to regulate with him a final exchange of prisoners on both sides. Captain Stoddard has reason to complain that the English prisoners, including the Indians, have not been surrendered, after Governor Clinton had set all the French prisoners at liberty.

"That the English prisoners have been in close confinement, whilst the French prisoners have been unconstrained. Captain Stoddard is furnished with full powers to adjust this affair in a friendly manner if possible, and to promise a mutual exchange of prisoners, either at Albany or at the Point, called Crown Point."

<sup>1</sup> Forty-eight. — Ed.



N° 5. *The Governor of Canada to Governor Clinton, Quebec, the twenty-ninth of December, 1749.*<sup>1</sup>

"Contains reiterated complaints of, and reproaches against, the Council of New-York.

"He refuses to liberate the prisoners unless the Canadians be taken out of the hands of the Mohawk Indians and sent to Fort Frederic."

"He denies that the Mohawk Indians, or the Iroquois, are subjects of the King of Great Britain."

"Gives reasons why he has been obliged to keep the English prisoners confined within the barracks at Quebec.

"Sends back M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris with Captain Stoddard, and requests that he may have permission to negotiate personally with the Mohawks; excuses himself for having taken some prisoners since the cessation of hostilities, on the ground that he was ignorant of the fact, and adds that he must retain them as hostages for the surrender of the Canadians."

N° 6. *The Deputy Clerk of the Council of New-York to M. Deligneris, dated New-York, 17<sup>th</sup> March, 1748.*

"Writes, by order of the Governor, to inquire if M<sup>r</sup> de Ligneris have sufficient authority to treat for and to guarantee the release of the subjects of Great Britain who still remain in the hands of the French Indians, those of the Five Nations included, in case he be convinced, or sufficient assurances be given him, that the French prisoners in the hands of the Mohocks will be set at liberty, and, finally, if he will be willing to treat.

N° 7. *M. Desligneris in answer to the preceding, New-York, nineteenth of March, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight-9.*

Says, "He has full powers, of which his letters and his passport are proof, and promises that so soon as the French prisoners, in the hands of the Mohawks, will have arrived at Montreal, or will be on the road, and M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière will be informed of the fact, all the English prisoners and the Indians in his power will be released, and he will facilitate the ransom of what remains of the English in the Indian Villages; that he will treat with such persons as Governor Clinton shall be pleased to name."

N° 8. *Minutes of the Council of New-York of the 27<sup>th</sup> May,*<sup>2</sup> 1749.

"The Governor communicated to the Council an extract of a letter from Colonel Johnson stating that he had got all the French prisoners who are willing to go to Canada out of the hands of the Mohawks, being twelve in number; that those still remaining in their hands are few and will not go on any account; neither will they speak to their Parents.

"That the Indians desire that none of those twelve be given up, until the Indians who are in goal in Canada, and all the rest, of every kind, who are willing to come, are exchanged for them in the woods, somewhere this side of Crown Point or Lake St. Sacrament.

"The Governor and Council consent to release these twelve prisoners on M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris' promise of like conduct on the part of the Governor of Canada; and to propose an exchange at or near Lake Sacrament; and as the Governor of Canada promises to facilitate the

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* 1748.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* It ought to be "March." *New-York Council Minutes*, XXI, 348. — Ed.

"redemption of the English prisoners now in the hands of the Indians, the Governor and Council promise reciprocity on their part.

N° 9. *The Deputy Clerk of the Council to M. de Ligneris of New-York; Twenty-ninth of March, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"Communicates to him the preceding resolution, and demands his answer."

N° 10. *M. de Ligneris to Governor Clinton, dated New-York, the tenth of August, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"In answer to the preceding letter: the Governor of Canada will liberate all the English and Indians if all the French will be surrendered; if only twelve, only a like number of English; but it is not probable that he will set at liberty all the Indians so long as any French will remain in the hands of the Mohawks, who, when once they have recovered their people, will not put themselves to any trouble to surrender the French.

"Proposes Fort St. Frederic<sup>1</sup> as the place of exchange rather than Lake St. Sacrament, for divers reasons, on account of convenience.

"Asks permission to treat in person with the Mohawks, and adds that if he could have the honor to treat personally with Governor Clinton, matters could be sooner concluded.

N° 11. *M. Desligneris to Governor Clinton, dated New-York, the fifteenth of April, N. S., one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"Governor Clinton, having rejected the last, M<sup>r</sup> de Ligneris submits another, to wit: that if he will give him up the twelve French prisoners, before mentioned, he will release all the English.

"He complains that liberty of negotiating with the English is refused him, whilst the English deputies were allowed to speak to the French Indians.

"If this proposition be not accepted, he demands to be sent to Albany in order to proceed to Canada as soon as possible.

N° 12. *Governor Clinton to Governor de la Galissonnière; Fort George, the third of April, one thousand seven hundred and nineteen.<sup>2</sup>*

"Their deputies<sup>3</sup> are on another footing since the signature of the definitive treaty.

"All the prisoners, without regard to numbers, shall be sent back, on both sides, without ransom.

<sup>1</sup> Fort St. Frederic is a fortification on the southern extremity of Lake Champlain, situated on a neck of land between that lake and the river which arises from the union of the river and Wood creek, and Lake St. Sacrament. The breadth of this river is here about a good musket shot. The English call this fortress Crown Point, but its French name is derived from the French Secretary of State, Frederic Maurepas, in whose hands the direction and management of the French Court of Admiralty was at the time of the erection of this fort. For it is to be observed that the government of Canada is subject to the Court of Admiralty in France, and the Governor-General is always chosen out of that Court. As most of the places in Canada bear the names of Saints, custom has made it necessary to prefix the word *Saint* to the name of this fortress. The fort is built on a rock consisting of black lime slates, as aforesaid; it is nearly quadrangular, has high and thick walls, made of the same lime-stone, of which there is a quarry about half a mile from the fort. On the eastern part of the fort is a high tower, which is proof against bomb-shells, provided with very thick and substantial walls, and well stored with cannon, from the bottom almost to the very top; and the Governor, Mr. Lusignan, lives in the tower. In the terre-plein of the fort is a well built little church, and houses of stone for the officers and soldiers. There are sharp rocks on all sides towards the land beyond a cannon shot from the fort, but among them are some which are as high as the walls of the fort and very near them. *Kalm's Travels*, III. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Forty-nine.

<sup>3</sup> In Governor Clinton's letter, the word is not "deputies," but *differences*.



"Makes some recriminations, but concludes by desiring to terminate everything amicably.

"He could have retained the ships captured previous to the cessation of hostilities was known, had he acted as the Governor of Canada had done, when, after the termination of hostilities, on the pretext of being ignorant of that circumstance, he made prisoners of English subjects whom he actually detains as hostages. This is declared an indignity offered to the King of England."

N° 13. *Minutes of the Council of New-York, from the twenty-third of February to the fourth of April, 1749.*

"Mr Desligneris will be sent back with the answer to the Governor of Canada, that the Council of New-York does not consent to the propositions contained in Mr Desligneris' above letter, N° 11."

N° 14. *Copy of the Governor of Canada's Certificate relative to the extracts of Governors Shirley and Clinton's letters, dated the twenty-ninth of July and twenty-fourth of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"This certificate is to the effect that Governors Shirley and Clinton call the Six Nations of Indians by the title of Vassals under the protection of Great Britain.

N° 15. *Colonel Johnson to Governor Clinton, dated Mount Johnson, the twenty-eighth of April, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"Sends him copy of the above certificate and extracts, and takes occasion to expose the trouble the French take to seduce the Five Nations of Indians from us.

"The attempts they have made to persuade them that our design would be to exterminate them, giving them communication, for this purpose, of the certificate above mentioned, to show them that we look upon them as slaves and dogs.

"Proposes to send presents to some other Indians."

N° 16. *Governor Clinton to Colonel Johnson, New-York, the nineteenth of May, 1749.*

"Instructs him how to negotiate with the Indians so as to counteract the artifices of the French."

"Says, the term Vassals signifies children."

"Transmits the presents he had demanded."

N° 17. *Governor Clinton to Governor Shirley, New-York, nineteenth of May, 1749.*

"Renders him an account of what is related in numbers 15 and 16.

No. 18. *Governor Clinton to the Governor of Pennsylvania, dated New-York, the nineteenth of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"To the same effect as the preceding, Number 17."

No. 19. *Governor Clinton to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, dated New-York, 3<sup>d</sup> of June, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine.*

"Reports to them all the matters of which the preceding are abstracts; and complains that the Governor of Canada threatens to wage war on the Missisague Indians, for having aided us in the last war.

No. 20. Governor Clinton to the Board of Trade, dated the sixth of June, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, from New-York, inclosing a letter from Colonel Johnson, of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, 1749.

"Reports what he had done to prevent the Indians going to Canada, in compliance with  
"the invitation of the Governor of that country, for the purpose of making them give up their  
"own prisoners, without our intervention, which is the French Governor's project.

*Return of Artillery in Canada.*

In the city of Quebec. — To wit :

25 iron guns of the calibre of.....	24 <sup>lb</sup>
22 idem of.....	18
36 idem of.....	12
26 idem of.....	8
33 idem of.....	6
24 idem of.....	4
2 idem of.....	3
2 idem of.....	2 not cleaned.
1 culverine of.....	8
2 idem of.....	6
1 brass culverine of.....	4
2 brass pieces of.....	4
2 brass pieces of.....	2
<hr/>	
178 guns.	
1 brass mortar of.....	12 inches 4 lines.
1 idem of.....	9 " 6 "
1 iron ditto of.....	6 "
3 grenade ditto.	
2 brass swivels ( <i>Pierriers</i> ).	
2 brass petards.	
4 small brass guns ( <i>Boîtes à réjouissances</i> <sup>1</sup> ).	
8 iron ditto.	

In the town of Three Rivers. — To wit :

7 iron guns of.....	6 <sup>lb</sup>
3 ditto of.....	4
<hr/>	
10 guns.	

<sup>1</sup> Small guns which are laid in a vertical position after they are loaded, and then plugged with a wooden stopper.  
*James. — Ed.*



## In the town of Montreal. — To wit:

27 iron guns of the calibre of.....	6 <sup>lb</sup>
5 ditto of.....	4
1 ditto of.....	3
<hr/>	
33 guns.	
100 small guns ( <i>Boîtes à réjouissances</i> ).	
2 iron mortars of.....	6 inches.
2 grenade ditto.	

## Fort Chambly. — To wit:

1 iron gun of.....	3 <sup>lb</sup> ; broken in the bore.
3 swivels.	
20 iron shells ( <i>Boîte de pierriers</i> ).	

## Fort St. John. — To wit:

9 small guns (*Boîtes à réjouissances*).

## Fort St. Frederic. — To wit:

2 iron guns of.....	6 <sup>lb</sup>
17 ditto of.....	4
1 ditto of.....	2
2 brass ditto of.....	2
1 iron grenade mortar.	
18 iron swivels.	
25 iron shells ( <i>Boîtes de pierriers</i> ).	

## Fort Michilimakinac. — To wit:

4 brass guns of.....	½ pound.
1 brass mortar of.....	4 in. 9 l. } diameter, with cy-
	lindrical chamber.

## Fort Detroit. — To wit:

5 swivels (*Pierriers*), their *Boîtes* and keys.

## Fort Niagara. — To wit:

4 iron guns of.....	2 <sup>lb</sup>
4 ditto of.....	1½
1 iron mortar of.....	6 inches diameter.
1 ditto for grenades.	
5 swivels.	
13 iron shells ( <i>Boîtes à pierriers</i> ).	

## Fort Frontenac. — To wit:

2 iron guns of.....	4 <sup>lb</sup>
4 ditto of.....	1
9 swivels.	
9 iron shells ( <i>Boîtes de pierriers</i> ).	
1 iron mortar of.....	6 inch diameter.

## Fort Souégatsi. — To wit :

5 iron guns of the calibre of..... 2<sup>lb</sup>

## Fort at the Lake of Two Mountains. — To wit :

1 iron gun of..... 8<sup>lb</sup> flawed.

1 ditto of..... 2

1 ditto, in form of *vis de mulet*, of..... 2

20 October, 1749.

(Signed), LÉRY, fils.

*Duke of Bedford to Governor Clinton.*

[New-York Colonial Manuscripts (in Secretary's Office, Albany), LXXVI.]

Whitehall, 7<sup>th</sup> Decembr, 1749.

Sir,

The King and His Most Christian Majesty having agreed that all the Indians allied to or protected by either of the two Crowns in America, who may have been made prisoners on either side during the late War, should be forthwith exchange'd; His Majesty has, thereupon, been pleas'd to sign Orders to you, Gov<sup>r</sup> Glen, Gov<sup>r</sup> Shirley & Gov<sup>r</sup> Belcher for that purpose, and I have His Majesty's Command to acquaint you therewith, & to transmit to you a Copy of His Majesty's said Orders for your Information (till such time as the Orders shall be exchange'd for similar ones on the part of the French King) that you may cause a proper Enquiry to be made of all such Indians, as may have been made Prisoners by the French during the late War, & are detain'd in the French Governments.

I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

BEDFORD.

*Royal Warrant for Exchanging Indian Prisoners.*

[New-York Colonial Manuscripts (in Secretary's Office, Albany), LXXVI.]

GEORGE R.

Trusty and Welbeloved We greet you well.

Whereas it is agreed, between Us & the Most Christian King, that all the Indians allied to, or protected by either of the two Crowns in America, who may have been made prisoners on either side during the late War, should be forthwith exchanged, Our Will & Pleasure therefore is, that you should, immediately upon Receipt hereof, give the proper Directions for



causing such Indian Prisoners, allied to, or protected by the Most Christian King, as may be detained in your Government as Prisoners of War, to be restored into the Hands of the French Governors, or into those of such other persons as shall be duly authorized for that purpose; provided that the said French Governor or Governors shall cause to be delivered up into your Hands, or into those of such persons as you shall empower to receive them, all such Indian prisoners in Our alliance, or under our protection, as have been taken by them in the Course of the late War; and it is our farther Will and Pleasure, that you, or the persons properly authorized by you, do agree with the French Governor, or with such Persons as he shall authorize for that Purpose upon fixing a proper Place or Places for the exchanging and delivering up the respective Indian Prisoners taken on both sides during the Course of the late War. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant. And so We bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at St James's on the Seventh Day of December 1749, in the Twenty Third Year of Our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

BEDFORD.

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*Duke of Bedford to Governor Clinton.*

[ New-York Colonial Manuscripts (in Secretary's Office, Albany), LXXVI. ]

Whitehall 26<sup>th</sup> February 1749

Sir

In my Letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> December past, I informed you, that the King and His most Christian Majesty had agreed, that all the Indians allied to, or protected by either of the two Crowns in America, who might have been made prisoners on either side, during the late War, should be forthwith exchanged, That his Majesty was thereupon pleased to Sign Orders to you, Governor Glen, Governor Shirley & Governor Belcher, for that purpose, and that I had His Majesty's Commands to acquaint you therewith; and to transmit to You a Copy of His Majesty's said Orders for your Information, (till such time the Orders should be exchanged for similar ones on the part of the French King) that you might cause a proper Enquiry to be made of all such Indians as might have been made prisoners by the French during the late War, & were still detained in the French Governments; But the French Court being desirous to have the Orders to extend to all English and French prisoners detained by His Majesty's Governors, or by Those of New France in America; and to the Redemption of Slaves that may still remain in Indian Villages; His Majesty has thereupon been pleased to Sign an Order to You, and his Governors above named accordingly, which I transmit to You herein inclosed, together with a Copy of a similar one on the part of His most Christian Majesty; and I have His Majesty's Commands to signify his pleasure to You, that you do give proper directions that the said Order be on your part forthwith carried into Execution.

I am

Sir

Your most obedient

humble Servant

BEDFORD

*The King to M. de la Jonquière.*

[ New-York Colonial Manuscripts (in Secretary's Office, Albany), LXXVI. ]

M. le M<sup>re</sup> de la Jonquière. In order to terminate, amicably, the difficulties which have arisen touching the exchange of prisoners taken during the last war between my Colonies of New France and the English Colonies, I have agreed with my good Brother, the King of Great Britain, that we should respectively issue orders for the immediate release, on both sides, of the French and English prisoners to be yet found in your power and in that of the English governors; also, for the like release of the Indian prisoners among the two nations, but after the surrender of the French and English prisoners; and that you and those governors, each on your side, should facilitate the ransoming of the prisoners who may yet be remaining afterwards in the Indian villages. I transmit you this letter, therefore, to inform you that my intention is, that you come to an understanding with the English governors, who will receive like orders from His Britannic Majesty to execute this exchange on that basis; that is to say, by proceeding with that of the French and English prisoners before proceeding with that of the Indians; and that, afterwards, you facilitate, on your side, the ransoming of the English prisoners who may be in the power of the Indians, my allies, as the English governors are to do that of the French prisoners who will be in the village of the Indian allies of Great Britain. You will render me an account of everything that will be done in execution of my orders and of those of His said Britannic Majesty. And the present having no other object, I pray God to keep you, M. le M<sup>re</sup> de la Jonquière, in His Holy protection. Written at Versailles the twenty-eighth of February, 1750.

LOUIS ROUILLE.<sup>1</sup>*Abstract of Despatches from Canada.*

## Canada; Indian trade, &amp;c.

30<sup>th</sup> April, 1749. In regard to the arrangements proposed by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Gallissonnière and Bigot to secure the Beaver trade to the Colony and to prevent the English becoming masters of it; which arrangements tended to maintain the price of the Beaver at that paid by the Company during the war; Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Jonquière and Bigot had been advised this year [ that the Company had been recommended ] to procure lighter, more merchantable and cheaper hollow-ware than usual; finally to substitute for the scarlet cloth of England that of our manufacture, which was equally sought for by the Indians, on account of qualities equivalent to those of the former.

<sup>1</sup> ANTOINE LOUIS ROUILLE, Count de Jouy, was born on the 7th June, 1689; he was Councillor in the Paris Parliament in 1711, and Intendant of Commerce in 1725; was placed at the head of the Library in 1732, and the public is indebted to his patronage for the translation of De Thou, Guichardini, and other valuable works. In 1744, he was appointed Councillor of State and Commissioner of the India Company; and on 26th April, 1749, succeeded Count de Maurepas as Colonial Minister (IX., 941, note, where it is stated, incorrectly, that the Duke de la Vrillière had succeeded the Count). He filled that office until 28th July, 1754, when he was transferred to the department of Foreign Affairs, which he resigned in July, 1767. He died at his country seat, at Neuilly, 20th September, 1761. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.



The Company, after mature examination, determined to pay, this year, at the rate of three *livres*, ten *sous* the pound for fat and dry winter Beaver, of good quality, and at the rate of three *livres*, five *sous* next year.

That, notwithstanding, the little success which resulted from the repeated efforts it has made with cloths of our manufacture, it had again determined to make another trial.

And consented to manufacture hollow-ware, such as seemed to be required ; but feared its sale would cause complaints on the part of the Colonial traders.

That, in consequence of the expected fall in the price of Indian goods, the Voyageurs ought to realise a considerable profit from the sale of Beaver at the rates the Company is to pay, and ought, therefore, to be able to divert the Indians from going to the English.

That they should inquire whether the hollow-ware the Company proposed to introduce would occasion complaints on the part of the traders.

That in regard to the new essay the Company was about to make of cloths of our manufacture, 'twould be desirable that it may be accompanied with success, and that if those already sent did not succeed, 'twas in consequence of the intrigues of the French smugglers ; that they would have to adopt proper measures to remedy this inconvenience.

That the profits which the Company was supposed, in the Colony, to derive from the Beaver trade was far from real. This it proved by an account of sales made during several years ; from which, also, 'twould be seen that it had been obliged, of late years, to sell at a loss. This ought to engage them to lower the price of the beaver in Canada as far as the safety of the trade could permit.

1<sup>st</sup> October, 1749. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Jonquière and Bigot answer, that in regard to the determination of the Company of the Indies to pay the above price this year for beaver, they have issued their *ordonnance* accordingly ; that, nevertheless, they have directed that the receipts which might have been given by the receiver at the rate of four *livres*, up to the twenty-first of August last, should be valid, inasmuch as it would not be possible to make [the seller] reimburse the difference, as the receipts pass through different hands before being presented for payment.

That the Company had sent four pieces of cloth on trial, but that the article is frightful ; the red cloth is brown and unpressed ; the blue, of a very inferior quality to that of England ; that as long as such ventures are sent, they will not become favorites with the Indians. These four pieces of cloth will be returned to France.

That Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Galissonnière and Bigot did not intend, by their letter, to engage the Company to furnish the hollow-ware ; they desired only that orders should be given that it be of good quality, and that there should be no iron in the rim (*tour*) of the kettle and in the *oreillettes*, and that these articles should be supplied by traders, who would suffer if the Company were to furnish them.

That although they followed the orders that had been given respecting the fixing the price of the Beaver, it had been well if the rate had not been diminished ; that a much greater quantity of the article will hereafter go to the English inasmuch as our Indians carried it thither even during the war and when it was four *livres*.

That they have just ascertained, from a sure source, that the English pay four *livres* and four *sous* for it at Choueguen, and more than we for all the other peltries, whereby we are deprived of them.

That if the Company pretends not to have derived any profit from the trade, it would have realized a greater could it have destroyed smuggling; but it would succeed in that only so far as its prices would be equal to that of the English.

That they will apply all their care to the destruction of French smugglers, the number of whom will surely increase after the price of the Beaver is lowered; but they doubt if they will effect it, because Indians are employed who never betray them.

They annex to their despatch some observations on the answers of the Company to the Memoir sent to M<sup>r</sup> de Maurepas on the different objects of the Beaver trade and the loss the Company pretends to have experienced in this article.

It appears from the observations, that not only has the Company experienced no real loss, as it pretends, but even that, in the two years of seventeen hundred and forty-six and seventeen hundred and forty-seven, it has realized a profit, from the Beaver trade, of four hundred and thirty thousand, seven hundred and eighty-five *livres*.

This profit appears sufficient to determine it to allow the price of Beaver to remain at the same rate as they paid for it during the war, and even to increase rather than diminish it, in order to preserve the interests of the Colony as well as its own.

Supposing even that the profit, proved by these observations, was found to be insufficient, it is maintained that it would be better that the Company advance the price of Beaver, at the sales in France, twenty *sous* per pound than to diminish the buying price in Canada. The advance in France would not lessen the number of hats worn, especially when the Company would succeed in monopolizing all the Beaver caught in Canada by preventing its exportation to a foreign market, by means of a price equivalent to that paid for it by the English. The manufacturers of France would hereby reap the real advantage of recovering in Spain, Portugal, Germany, and other countries, the same demand they formerly had, which, to their prejudice, the English now enjoy and will no longer possess, as their Colonies can supply them only with very little Beaver, and their hatters would fail for want of material should they not obtain the greatest portion of it from Canada.

That the English, who neglect no opportunity to strengthen their alliance with the Indian Nations and to estrange them from the French, will not fail to profit by this falling off, to alienate the minds of the Indians from us; a circumstance which, in case of a war with England, might induce those Indians, whom trade would bring into closer relation with the English, to declare against the French, to the inevitable ruin of the Colony.

In fine, that it would be incomparably more advantageous to advance the price of Beaver hats twenty *sous* each, than for the sake of selling them cheaper, to risk the loss of the entire Beaver trade, and perhaps of the Colony.

#### Fort built at Toronto.

On being informed that the Northern Indians ordinarily went to Choueguen with their peltries, by way of Toronto, on the northwest side of Lake Ontario, twenty-five leagues from Niagara and seventy-five from Fort Frontenac, they thought it advisable to establish a post at that place, and to send thither an officer, fifteen soldiers and some workmen to construct a small stockaded fort there.

Its expense will not be great; the timber is transported there, and the remainder will be conveyed by the barks belonging to Fort Frontenac.



Too much care cannot be taken to prevent these Indians continuing their trade with the English, and to furnish them, at this post, with all their necessities, even as cheap as at Choueguen.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Jonquière and Bigot will permit some canoes to go there on license, and will apply the funds as a gratuity to the officer in command there.

But it will be necessary to order the commandants at Detroit, Niagara and Fort Frontenac to be careful that the traders and storekeepers of these posts furnish goods for two or three years to come at the same rate as the English.

By these means the Indians will disaccustom themselves from going to Choueguen, and the English will be obliged to abandon that place.

1 October, 1749. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot writes, individually, that the establishment of this post is indispensable to stop the Indians on their way to Choueguen; but, besides its being an additional source of expense, it will injure the trade of Niagara and Frontenac. 'Tis true that if there be less trade at these two last mentioned posts, there will be less transportation of merchandise; what will be lost on one side will be gained on the other, and 'twill amount to nearly the same in the end.

The King will even reap a great advantage if we can accomplish the fall of Choueguen, by disgusting the Indians with that place, and this can be effected only by selling cheap to them. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot will attend to this. He proposes to oblige those who will farm (*exploiter*) Toronto to sell their goods at a reasonable price.

31<sup>st</sup> October, 1749. M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, on his part, observes that it would be desirable that we could become masters of Choueguen.

It appears by the plan he transmits, with the observations of Sieur de Léry, Junior, that this post would be of great importance to us:

1<sup>st</sup> Because the English would be no longer in a position to establish posts along the rivers that fall into Lakes Ontario and Erie.

2<sup>nd</sup> Their trade would be thereby annihilated, and we should monopolize all the Peltries from the North and South.

3<sup>rd</sup> We should be better able to attach the Indians to us; to inspire them with hatred of the English, and to induce them, eventually, to destroy Choueguen; but this will be effected only by supplying the proposed posts abundantly with necessities for the Indians.

4<sup>th</sup> It would deprive the English of the knowledge they possess of what occurs in Canada, and we, on the contrary, would be able to be advised of all their movements.

5<sup>th</sup> We should secure unto ourselves the fidelity of the Indians belonging to the Five Iroquois Nations, whom the English, by surrounding them, deprive of the liberty of declaring themselves for us.

6<sup>th</sup> This post, in fixing our trade, would secure the communication with Louisiana; we should navigate Lake Ontario without fear, and Forts Frontenac and Niagara would be safe.

To these advantages is added, likewise, that of the situation of Fort Choueguen: It stands on a river that forms a basin capable of sheltering vessels, a rare advantage on Lake Ontario. But the site is prejudicial to the English. On the Choueguen side is a hill, whence the fort can be battered, and on which another fort can be usefully erected; this would not be commanded by any place, and from it a view could be had of all the surrounding country.

## Establishment of a Mission towards Fort Frontenac.

A great number of Iroquois Indians having expressed their willingness to embrace Christianity, it has been proposed to establish a mission in the direction of Fort Frontenac. Abbé Piquet, a zealous Missionary in whom these nations have evinced much confidence, has been put in charge of it, and directed to ascertain, with the greatest preciseness possible, how far the dispositions of the Indians can be relied on.

Meanwhile, as M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière had, in the month of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, observed that too much confidence ought not to be reposed in them, M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière was written to on the fourth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to neglect nothing that could contribute to the formation of that establishment, because, should it be at all successful, 'twould not be difficult to persuade the Indians that the sole means of getting rid of the pretensions of the English to their lands, is to destroy Choueguen which they founded only with a view to curb these nations; but it required prudence and circumspection to induce the Indians to undertake it.

31<sup>st</sup> October, 1749. M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière transmits a plan drawn by Sieur de Léry of the ground selected by Abbé Piquet for his mission, and a letter from him containing a narrative of his voyage and of the situation of the locality.

He says he left on the fourth of May, of last year, with twenty-five Frenchmen and four Iroquois; he arrived on the thirtieth at the River la Présentation, which they call Soegatzy.<sup>1</sup> The land there is the finest in Canada; abounds with oak timber, and trees of a prodigious girth and height, which the settler ought to be forbidden to cut, without permission. Piquet has saved off the land he had cleared, sufficient of the former for the construction of a sloop.

He commenced with the erection of a storehouse to secure his effects; he next had a small stockaded fort erected, and will cause a small house to be built to serve as a bastion.

M. Piquet had a private interview with the Indians, who were satisfied with all he had done; they assured him of their willingness to follow his advice and to establish their village at once. To accomplish this, they are gone to regulate their affairs and have promised to return with their provisions.

This post is very advantageously situated. It is on the bank of the River la Présentation, at the head of all the rapids, on the west side of a beautiful basin formed by that river, capable of easily containing forty or fifty sloops.

In all parts of it, is found at least two fathoms and a half, and often four fathoms. of water. It is so located that vessels can hardly be prevented entering it by any wind. The shore is very low, in a level country, the point of which runs far out. The passage in front is scarce a quarter of a league, and canoes going up or down cannot pass elsewhere. A fort on this point would be impregnable; it could not be approached and nothing commands it.

The Eastern shore is somewhat more elevated, and with a gradual ascent forms an amphitheatre. A handsome town could be hereafter built there.

This port is, moreover, so much the more advantageous, as the English and Iroquois can easily run down to Montreal by the River la Présentation, which rises in a lake bordering on the country of the Mohawks and on Corlar.

Had they taken possession of this river they would block the passage of that of Fort Frontenac, and would more easily succor Choueguen; whereas by means of a fort on the

<sup>1</sup> Oswegatchi; now, Ogdensburgh, New-York. — Ed.



Point it would be easy to have a force there in case of need to proceed against Choueguen and intercept the English and Indians who would wish to penetrate into the Colony, and the voyage from Missilimakinac, by the river, would be accomplished without any fear.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, this establishment is only thirty-five leagues from Montreal, twenty-five from Fort Frontenac, and thirty-three from Choueguen; a distance sufficient to remove the Indians from the disorders which the proximity of forts and towns ordinarily engenders among them.

It is convenient for the reception of the Lake Ontario, and more distant, Indians.

Abbé Picquet's views are to accustom these Indians to raise cows, hogs and poultry; there are beautiful prairies, acorns and wild rice.

On the other hand it can be so regulated that bateaux carrying goods to the post might stop at La Présentation.

The expense of transportation would become smaller; men would be found to convey these bateaux for fifteen to twenty, instead of forty-five and fifty, *livres*, which are paid for the entire voyage.

Other bateaux belonging to La Présentation would convey them farther, and the first take, in return, plank, boards and other timber which are abundant there.

This timber would not come to more than twelve to fifteen *livres*, whilst it sells for sixty-eight *livres* at Montreal, and sometimes for more. Eventually this post will be able to supply Fort Frontenac with provisions, which would be a considerable saving to the King.

Abbé Picquet adds, in his letter, that in the course of his voyage he examined the nature of the rapids in the Fort Frontenac river, which is of great importance to secure us the possession of Lake Ontario, on which the English have an eye.

These rapids are fourteen in number; the most dangerous are *Le Trou* and *Le Buisson*. Abbé Picquet points out a mode to render this river navigable; and to meet the expense, he proposes that each canoe sent up shall pay ten *livres*, and each hand one *écu*, which according to him would produce three thousand *livres*, a sum sufficient for the workmen.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Jonquière and Bigot observe that they consider this establishment necessary; also the construction of a saw-mill there, on account of the advantage to accrue therefrom in the diminution of the price of timber; but as regards the rapids they will have them verified, in order to ascertain whether the river can in fact be rendered navigable, and will transmit an estimate of the work.

They have caused five guns, of two pound calibre, to be sent to Abbé Picquet for his little fort, so as to inspire the Indians with confidence, and to convince them that they will be safe there.

M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, in particular, says, that he will see if proprietors of bateaux would be willing to contribute to the expense necessary to incur for the rapids; but he asks that some convicts from the galleys, or people out of employment (*gens inutiles*) be sent out annually to him to cultivate the soil. He is in want of men, and the few he has exact high wages.

1<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1749. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot transmits a special memoir, also, of the expense incurred by Abbé Picquet for improvements, amounting to three thousand four hundred and eighty-five *livres*, ten *sous*; he has been supplied, in addition, with provisions for himself and workmen, and this settlement is only commenced.

M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière will not be able to dispense with sending an officer thither with some soldiers; Sieur de la Morandière, engineer, is to be sent there this winter to draw a plan of

<sup>1</sup> et l'on voyagerait sans crainte dans la rivière de Missilimakinac. *Text.*

barracks for this detachment, and a store for the provisions. Were no garrison at that post, a considerable foreign trade would be carried on there.

7<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1749. Subsequent to these letters M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière has written another, in which he states that M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil had informed him that a party of Indians, supposed to be Mohawks, had attacked Sieur Picquet's mission, on the twenty-sixth of October last; that Sieur de Vassan, commandant at Fort Frontenac, had sent a detachment thither, which was unable to save two vessels, loaded with hay, and the stockades of the fort from being burnt. Abbé Picquet's house alone was saved.

The loss by this fire is considerable. It would have been greater were it not for four Abenakis, who on this occasion gave a proof of their fidelity.

The man named Perdreux had half of his hand carried away. His arm had to be cut off.

One of the Abenakis received a gun shot; the ball remained in his blanket.

M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil has provided everything necessary. M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière gave him orders to dispatch a detachment of ten soldiers thither, and will take measures, next spring, to secure that post.

M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière adds, that the Indians were instigated to this attack by the English. The Iroquois, who were on a complimentary visit at Montreal, were surprised at the occurrence, and assured M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil that it could only be Colonel Amson<sup>1</sup> who could have induced them to make the attack.

He omitted nothing to persuade these same Iroquois to undertake that expedition, and to prevent them going to pay their respects to the Governor, having presented them with Belts, which they refused to accept.

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*Conference of M. de la Jonquière with the Cayugas.*

Propositions of the Cayugas to the Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, and that General's answers to said propositions, 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1750.

By a Belt.

Father, On your arrival in this country, the Five Nations resolved to request you to accept the same name that M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière bore; we called him, "Peace." He took great care of all the Nations, and often spoke good things to us. Father, We hope you will be equally good to us; we shall always follow your advice and do our best to obey your pleasure; you know the conduct I have observed, I beg you to speak to us from the bottom of your heart, as we do to you. People often speak to us one way and think another; were only one child of the Cayuga Nation left, he will be always faithful to you. We beg of you to labor like us only in doing good.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Johnson. — Ed.



## By another Belt.

Father, It appears that you wish all the Indians who are on the Beautiful river to withdraw; you know that is a Republic composed of all sorts of Nations, and even many of those who lived near you have settled there. It is a country abounding in game, and this it is that attracts them thither. This island belongs to the Red Man (*Nations noires*); it is the Master of Life who has placed them on it, for he hath located those who are White on the other side of the Sea.

Father, You cannot easily get back all your Frenchmen who are dispersed throughout the entire country, each seeking to obtain a living; how do you suppose it possible to get back our young men? you know there exists no subordination among us.

Take pity on us when you send to those parts; think only of doing good, as you have hitherto done. As for me, I assure you, I shall labor always so to do, however embarrassed I may be, for often I know not whom to believe. You tell me to distrust the English; the English say the same to me of you; and this has led me to remain neutral during the War, in order to see who absolutely was wishing for my destruction. Father, be assured of my fidelity, and I shall not cease to occupy myself with what is good.

## By three Strings.

You know we abandoned with pleasure our wives, our children and our country; that the sole desire of seeing you has been the motive of our remaining during the winter; but in the course of that time attempts have constantly been made to disturb our minds, by telling us that our Father, who is gone to France, had a bad heart and was conspiring our destruction; doubtless your sentiments are the same. If you desire to know those who talked to us in this way, we shall name them to you, for I, Cayuga, fear nothing and have nothing to reproach myself with. We are even threatened that, if any come hither from that country, he will be transported; and, if any do not come, people will go and kill them at home.

Propositions of the Cayugas which are to remain in the Secretary's office, in order to show them the Belt in case of need. 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1750.

Father, You see your children, the Cayugas, who are on the point of leaving, and who thank you for all the good advice you have given them. Had it not been for you there would, perhaps, be no more mention of the Five Nations. We see clearly that the English seek only our destruction, and are grasping all the lands we inhabit. We are already in their midst.

Here is a Belt which we present you, whereby we assure you of our fidelity. It is our heart we leave in your hands; we will support each other and shall never cease being attached to you. Nothing will be capable of separating us. I, Cayuga, will never take up the hatchet against you, no matter what war may be declared. Should it happen that some of our young men stay from their duty, and do wrong, we beg you to allow us time to confer with you; this we shall also do on our side; this is the only way to live in peace; were there but one Cayuga chief remaining, he will be always loyal to you. The Master of Life disposes of us and we know not who will live the longest: Wherefore, Father, we are very glad that Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Varin and Noyan are present, so that he who will live the longest, may be able to repeat what we have just said to those who will succeed them. Should anything occur in our cantons deserving your attention, we shall communicate it to you. We hope that you will not forget us.

Whatever turn matters may take, even should war exist, come, Father, in all safety to your children, the Cayugas. You will be always well received by them.

Your son, Joncaire, here present, knows us all ; he knows the bottom of our hearts.

Should any one trouble us, we will have recourse to you ; the ancients have lighted a Council fire here, and planted a tree of peace, at the foot of which we deposit this Belt, which remains as a pledge of our promise, so that it may be near us when any one will desire to see it again.

#### Answer of the General.

##### By a Belt.

Children, I receive with pleasure the name you gave my predecessor, which signifies "Peace." I shall take very great care of all my children, and particularly of you, Cayugas, who have been the most faithful to me during the war. Continue in your present good sentiments, if you follow my councils and do my will, you will find a good Father, who will receive and always solace you with pleasure. I shall not cease to converse with you in terms of friendship, persuaded, as I am, that you will pay every attention thereto. It will be always with an open heart that I shall speak to you. I entertain no doubt of the fidelity you promise me, as you must also be persuaded of the sincere attachment I shall always feel towards you.

##### By a Belt.

Children, It is not my intention to make all the Indians withdraw that are on the Beautiful river ; I merely wish that all those who have abandoned their families and villages should return and join them.

If you find what you want in this country I am glad ; but you would not regard me as a true father, were I not to remark to you that the English are settling there, notwithstanding you have forbid them ; be careful to give good advice to those who are on the Beautiful river, so that they may be wiser in future, and not take charge of bad Belts to give to their brethren, my children.

If the Master of Life wished, at the beginning of the world, that none but Red men should inhabit this continent, it was only to give them to understand how pleasant it is to be near a good Father, and he has willed that Ontiogo (that is the King) should send some of his subjects hither to comfort you, and to engage you to acknowledge him as your good Father.

The French, who will go to the Beautiful river, will carry wherewith to supply the wants of those who are there, and will be careful not to disturb them. I send your son, Sieur de Joncaire, thither ; I know that you love him, and have great confidence in him. I hope the French, who will go to those parts, will meet a kind reception ; you ought to use your efforts to that end. I doubt not the assurance you again give me to labor only to do good. You know that I have never given you any but good advice ; the English, on the contrary, have never ceased persecuting you during the war, even with threats, to make you accept their hatchet, which would only hasten your destruction. This is what they greatly desired, and dare not undertake.

##### By three Strings.

I am very sensible of the attention you pay me, and doubt not the pleasure you feel at seeing me, for which I am very grateful ; the bad talk you heard during your winter encampment must not make any impression on your minds, and therefore you ought not pay



any attention to it. Mr de la Galissonnière and I do not desire your destruction; on the contrary, children, I seek only to comfort you. Mr de Celoron has been at the Beautiful river only to make those return who had gone astray, and to give sense to those who had lost it; you know this.

Those who will come here will be always welcome, and will have every reason to be satisfied with the reception I shall give them; you will afford me pleasure by inducing them to come.

Give me the names of those persons who told you that if your Nation came here, I would send them off, so that I may reprimand and chastise them, if they be Frenchmen.

#### Answer of the General to the Belt of the Cayugas.

By a Belt.

Children, I am very glad to see you depart contented; you ought never have doubted that the good advice I have continually given you aims only at the preservation of the Five Nations, whom I have always loved. It is for you to preserve yourselves in the country you inhabit, and to take care not to become the slaves of the English.

I receive, with much pleasure, the Belt you give me, whereby you promise me to be faithful; I also receive your heart, and shall take very great care to preserve it; children, persevere in the good sentiments in which I now behold you.

I accept your offers of service, and you must be persuaded that if you require mine, it will afford [ me ] pleasure [ to tender it ].

I doubt not the repugnance you felt, and ought always to entertain, at taking up the hatchet against a Father who so tenderly cherishes you, and to whom you are under so many obligations. I hope that you others, chiefs, will be so particular in speaking to the young men that they will never commit any ill act.

I am delighted that Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Varin and Noyan are present and witnesses of the promises you make me.

You will afford me pleasure by reporting to me whatever will occur in your Cantons and in those of your neighbors.

Children, I shall ever go in all security to your country, and you must never entertain any fear when you come hither; which I invite you to do.

I know that Sieur de Joncaire is acquainted with your heart; he has given me an account of it.

I shall be always ready to assist you and to preserve your villages; especially yours, Cayugas, who have been ever faithful to me, and with whom I have never been at war.

I shall preserve, with very great pleasure, the Belt you present me, and which you deposit at the foot of this Tree of Peace. By this one I give you my heart; you will understand how good and sincere it is, and how well you ought to preserve it. In whatever circumstances affairs may be, never be afraid to come and see your Father, who is continually reaching out his hands to you and who will always receive you with tenderness.

Children, I recommend you not to listen to the bad advice that may be offered to you.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout New France and the territories and countries of Louisiana.

Certify that the present copy is conformable to the original on file in our Secretary's Office. In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents, and have caused the seal of our Arms to be affixed to, and our Secretary to countersign, the same.

Done at Montreal, the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1758.

(Signed), . . . VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord : (Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

*M. de la Jonquière to M. de Rouillé.*

Quebec, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1750.

My Lord,

Previous to receiving the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March last (accompanied by an order of the King for the exchange of the prisoners respectively belonging to this government for those of New England), I adopted all the measures imaginable to effect their liberation. I proceed to render you an account thereof.

The deputation of Sieurs de Beauharnois<sup>1</sup> and L'Anniers<sup>2</sup> to the Governors of Boston and New-York having accomplished nothing, especially towards the recovery of the 26 Abenaki, who were taken at the beginning of the war; and the Abenakis of St. Francis renewing their entreaties for the restoration of their brethren, I determined on dispatching the said Sieur de Beaubassin to New England, and gave him orders to do his best to speak to the said Abenakis and to bring them back with him. I wrote to those Governors and strongly urged them to facilitate the exchange of our people for theirs.

Sieur de Beaubassin has not yet returned, but I had the consolation to learn that my trouble and pains had some success by seeing all the said Abenakis arrive. Nothing could be compared to the satisfaction this afforded the entire Abenakis Nation. They are our most faithful allies, and will never forget what I have done for them.

Sieur de Beaubassin's arrival is apparently delayed only by the arrangements the English Governors adopt in consequence of the orders of the King, their master, to collect again together all our prisoners and give them up to him. I expect his return immediately.

On my part, my Lord, I have executed the King's order in every particular.

The very moment I received it, I sent for M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, the English officer, who had been deputed to me on the part of the Governor of New-York, and who had remained in this city to await the effect the Sieur de Beaubassin's new mission may produce. I communicated to him said order and notified him that I was going to carry it out; that all the English in my hands would be at once surrendered to him, and that as regarded those detained among the Indians, I would dispatch the Interpreter of these Nations, and issue orders to the commandants and missionaries to do everything in their power to have them given up.

M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert and M<sup>r</sup> Van Schaick, who speaks the language of the Indians and their prisoners, set out with said Interpreter and assisted at all the conferences held with said Indians. They

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Beaubassin. See fourth line further on.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Ligneris. — Ed.



had liberty to speak to their people, and if these have not returned with M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert it is not my fault.

As I have had time, since I came to this Colony, to be acquainted with the English Governors, and have found them very unmanageable and disposed to create difficulties, I have taken my precautions that the truth of all that I have done may appear in an authentic form.

You will see it, my Lord, by the three *procès-verbaux*, copies whereof I have the honor to send to you annexed hereunto, wherein I mention everything said on one side and the other on the subject of the exchange and ransom of said prisoners, and that the majority of them have desired to remain with the Indians, having been adopted and having made their abjurations, as appears by the letter written me by Sieur Douville, commandant of Sault St. Louis, the original whereof I have handed to said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert. You have a copy of it annexed.

You will see, also, that I have forced Sieur Mangé to give a prisoner up to M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, though he had purchased him from the Indians. This is a direct proof of my good will, and that I would have done the same for those in the power of the Indians had the matter depended on myself, and had said Indians not had the effrontery to tell M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert that if I obliged them to release those prisoners, the English would be the victims of their resentment, and that they would avenge themselves on them; which they would have done.

I cannot avoid performing the promise I have given M. Mangé, to request you, my Lord, to be pleased to give orders that he be repaid out of the Public Treasury the sum of 500<sup>li</sup>, which he paid to get said prisoner out of the hands of the Indians.

In regard to the negro, in the possession of Sieur de la Corne St. Luc, I thought proper not to send him back, every negro being a slave wherever he be, as I have observed in the *procès-verbal*. Besides, herein, I only do what the English themselves did in 1747. Ensign de Malbronné, on board *Le Serieux*, had a negro servant who was at first taken from him; I took pains to reclaim him, the English refused to surrender him on the same ground, that every negro is a slave, wherever he happen to be.

As for the rest, my Lord, you will perceive by the general list, hereunto annexed, that this affair is in the best condition; that M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert has made an exchange with me of all the prisoners, and that as for those who have remained in this Colony, he declares he was unable to carry them back with him, what facilities soever I had afforded him for that purpose.

M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert left with said prisoners on the 28<sup>th</sup> of last month, for Fort St. Frederic, whence he will dispatch one or two of the prisoners to inform the Governor that they are at liberty, so that the latter may forthwith send back all the prisoners, both French and Indians, in his power, to M<sup>r</sup> Lydius, on the frontiers of New England, and order the officer who will be in command of them to send him an express with word, so soon as they shall have arrived, and to halt one day so that they may be mutually exchanged at the foot of the Great Carrying Place of Lake St. Sacrament, whither he will proceed in order to conclude the reciprocal liberation of the French and English prisoners.

I sent with M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, Sieur de Bleury, Ensign of Infantry, whom I ordered to go as far as Orange, and even to New-York, if necessary, to claim all our prisoners, both French and Indians, and to bring them back with him.

I wrote, at the same time, to M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, Governor of New-York, and have sent him the King of England's Order, which you did me the honor to address me.

Thus, my Lord, all the English are at liberty ; you see that I have used great diligence ; there is every reason to hope that the English Governors will respond to it, and that our prisoners will be soon on their return to this Colony, whereof I shall have the honor to render you an account in my next letter.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

LA JONQUIÈRE.

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*Minutes of the Exchange of Prisoners. 1750.*

On the twenty-third day of June, in the year one thousand, seven hundred and fifty, Before us, the Marquis de la Jonquière, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commodore in the Navy, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France and the territories and countries of Louisiana, and in the Castle wherein we are quartered in the town of Montreal, in presence of M<sup>r</sup> Varin, Commissary of the Marine, Superintendent (*ordonnateur*) in said town ; M. de Celeron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Major and Commandant of Detroit ; M. de Noyelles, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry ; Sieur de Montesson, Lieutenant-General in the Royal Jurisdiction of this town ; Sieur de la Chauvignery, Ensign of Infantry, Iroquois Interpreter ; Sieur Joseph Gamelin, Interpreter to the Abenakis of St. Francis ; Joseph Maddox, English Interpreter, in our service :

Appeared, agreeably to our orders, M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, Lieutenant of Infantry in the New-York troops, and M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Van Schaick, Captain of a Company of New-York Militia, to whom we said that in consequence of the orders of the King, our Master, we had sent to St. Francis for the man named John, an Englishman by nation, taken near Kaskebec,<sup>1</sup> in the government of Boston, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-six, by an Abenakis of Panaouanké, who gave him, somewhere about the same time, to an Abenakis of the village of St. Francis, belonging to the family (*cabanne*) of one Francois Xavier Abemission, with the intention to deliver him up to the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, with the other English prisoners detained within our general government, and as the said John, an English prisoner, refuses to return to New England, we have summoned said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert to speak to him, himself, in order to ascertain his wishes. Whereupon M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert told him he had come to this town by order of M<sup>r</sup> George Clinton, Governor of New-York, for the purpose of taking back all the English prisoners who are detained in this Colony. The said John answered him that he would not return to New England, and that he wished to remain with the Abenakis of St. Francis, where he had been instructed in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Religion, in which he wished to live and die. We, the said Marquis de la Jonquière, told the said English deputies that we did not intend to keep the said John in our government, and that we from

<sup>1</sup> Casco bay. — Ed.



this moment gave him liberty to leave it, and that the said deputies had only to persuade him to follow them; whereupon, the said John persisted in his first answer; said English deputies told us they would report the aforesaid to their Governor, and as evidence of their diligence requested us to draw up the present Minute, which we have done to serve and be valid for their discharge.

Which Minute we have signed in Duplicate with the gentlemen present, the said English deputies, said John, the English prisoner being illiterate, to whom we have given one of the said originals.

(Signed),	B. STODDERT,	LA JONQUIÈRE,
	ANTHONY VAN SCHAICK,	VARIN,
	JOSEPH GAMELIN, and	DE NOYELLE,
	JOSEPH MADDOX.	MONTRESSON,
		LA CHAUVIGNERY.

True copy.

LA JONQUIÈRE.

In the afternoon of the twenty-fifth day of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, Before us, the Marquis de la Jonquière, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commodore in the Navy, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France, and the territories and countries of Louisiana, and in the Castle wherein we are quartered in the town of Montreal, in presence of M. de Varin, Commissary of the Marine, Superintendent of said town; Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Noyelles and de Verchères, Knights of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis and Captains in the troops of this Colony; and of Montresson, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Jurisdiction of this town, Sieur de la Chauvignery, Ensign of Infantry, Iroquois Interpreter, and M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Maddox, English Interpreter in our service:

Appeared M. Stoddert, Lieutenant of Infantry in the New-York troops, and M<sup>r</sup> Anthony Van Schaick, Captain of a Company of New-York Militia, to whom we said that in consequence of the orders of the King, our Master, we had caused to come to this town the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, in whose hands are Philips Philips, Simon Fort and Thomas Volmer, English prisoners, in order that they should deliver up the said English prisoners to the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, and agree with him respecting the terms of their ransom, on our causing to be communicated to the Indians that they had only to make their demand, and the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert having represented to us that he had neither orders nor funds from his Governor to redeem said prisoners, and that, nevertheless, said M<sup>r</sup> Van Schaick took on himself to advance the ransom on said Simon Fort, the sister of Agouareche, to whom he belonged by adoption, having stated that she would not give him up at any price, whatever, we have ordered the said Squaw and her brother to deliver, forthwith, the said Simon Fort to M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert for the sum of six hundred *livres*, which M<sup>r</sup> Van Schaick offered to pay, and if she refused we should authoritatively oblige her to give up the said Englishman without any ransom; said Indian and his wife told us they were ready to obey our order, without exacting anything, but if said Simon Fort returned to New England they would follow him so close that the English would be the victims of their resentment, which the said Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stoddert and Van Schaick having heard, we have concluded that it was prudent not to force said Squaw to give up the said prisoner, and that it was better to lose him than to occasion the Iroquois to make an attack on the English.

Of the whole of what precedes we have drawn up this our minute, which we have signed with the gentlemen present and the said English gentlemen in duplicate, whereof one remains in our hands and the other has been given to the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert.

(Signed),	JOSEPH MADDOX,	LA JONQUIÈRE,
	B. STODDERT,	VARIN,
	ANTONY VAN SCHAICK.	DE NOYELLES,
		VERCHÈRES,
		MONTRESSON,
		LA CHAUVIGNERY.

Copy.

LA JONQUIÈRE.

In the forenoon of the twenty-sixth day of June, of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, Before us, the Marquis de la Jonquière, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commodore in the Navy, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, and in the Castle where we are quartered in the town of Montreal, in presence of M<sup>r</sup> Varin, Commissary of the Marine, Superintendent of said town; of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Noyelles and de Verchères, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Captain in the troops of this Colony; of Montresson, Lieutenant-General of the Royal Jurisdiction of Montreal, and of M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Maddox, English Interpreter, and in our service :

Appeared M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, Lieutenant of New-York Infantry, and M<sup>r</sup> Antony Van Schaick, Captain of a Company of New-York Militia, to whom we said, that in conformity with the orders of the King, our Master, we had caused to be brought to our Castle the men named Elisha Stansburry, Timothy Colbe, Southerland Ford and Thomas Colson, English prisoners, them to surrender to the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, whom we empowered from this moment to take and carry them back to their country, which the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert immediately did; we, likewise, delivered to him the man named Matté Gatroup, an English Indian, a servant of the Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, in this town, who gave him up to them without exacting any repayment of the sum he had paid for the purchase of said Indian. Sieur Mangé, a citizen of this town, in whose service is one Peter Bogamot, another Indian, having represented to us that in return for surrendering him to the said M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, it was just that he be repaid the sum of five hundred *livres*, which he had paid the Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis for the said Indian; we have ordered him to give up the said Indian to M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert, which he did, and we have promised him to write to the Court to have him indemnified; and in regard to Samuel Frement, a negro, in the service of Sieur de la Corne St. Luc, Lieutenant of Infantry, we have ordered that he remain in the Colony, all negroes being slaves, in whatever country they reside.

Of the whole of what precedes we have prepared this Minute, which we, with the gentlemen present, and said Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stoddert and Van Schaick, have signed in duplicate, whereof one copy has remained in our hands and the other has been given to M<sup>r</sup> Stoddert.

(Signed),	JOSEPH MADDOX,	LA JONQUIÈRE,
	B. STODDERT,	VARIN,
	ANTONY VAN SCHAICK.	DE NOYELLES,
		VERCHÈRES,
		MONTRESSON,
		LA CHAUVIGNERY.

Copy.

LA JONQUIÈRE.



General Return of the English prisoners detained in the government of New France.

		Videlicet.	
Prisoners' Names.	Observations.	Prisoners' Names.	
Anthony Van Schaick, Captain of the Militia of the Govern- ment of New-York, John Vroman, Peter Vosborough, William Goff, Christopher McGraw, John Philips, Edward Varen, Benjamin Blachford, Peter Clinctou, John Thompson, Daniel Eden,	Depart with M <sup>r</sup> Stoddert for Fort St. Frederic.	Albert Vedder, Adam Mole, Francis Conner, Cornelius Sprong, Elisha Stansbury, Thimoty Colbe, Southerland Fort, 'Timothy Colson, Peter Dogaman, Mattée Gatroup, 3 Mohawks, — 24	
Rachel Quackenbus,			
Samuel Frement, a Negro,	Has abjured and desires to remain in the Colony; M <sup>r</sup> Stod- dert has spoken to her repeatedly, without being able to persuade her to accompany him.		
Simon Vort, Philip Philipson, Thomas Volmer,	Remains in the Colony for reasons set forth in the Minute of the 26 <sup>th</sup> June, 1750.		
Jacob Suitzer,	Do not leave for reasons set forth in the procès-verbal of the 25 <sup>th</sup> June, 1750, and, besides, because they have since declared that they wish to remain with the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, having made abjuration, as appears by Sieur Douville's letter to M <sup>r</sup> Stoddert.		
Jacob Volmer, Joshua Nicolson, Henry Piper,	Desires also to remain with the Indians of Sault St. Louis.		
Christian Volmer,	Joshua Nicolson is disposed to go; the other two desire to remain with the Iroquois of the Lake of the Two Moun- tains and Nipissings, who, moreover, are unwilling to allow any of the said prisoners to leave at any price whatsoever, as they love them very much.		
John,	Is hunting with the Iroquois of the Lake of the Two Mountains, and on his return will be set at liberty if he wish to return to New England.		
Edward Cheaole,	Desires to remain with the Abenakis of St. Francis, as appears by the procès-verbal of the 23 <sup>d</sup> of June, 1750.		
	Married a Squaw among the Hurons of Lorette, and desired to remain with them.		

Prisoners' Names.	Observations.
An old man,	{ Is hunting with the Hurons of Lorette, and will be set at liberty on his return if he be inclined to go to New England.

— 13 I, the undersigned, Lieutenant of Infantry in the troops of New-York,  
 — deputed by order of M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, Governor of the said New-York, to the Marquis  
 24 de Jonquière, Governor-General of New France, do declare to have received  
 — from the said Marquis de la Jonquière the twenty-four prisoners mentioned  
 37 in the present list, with whom I will proceed, forthwith, to Fort St. Frederic  
 — under the guidance of Sieur de Bleury, Ensign of Infantry, where arriving I  
 promise to dispatch one or two prisoners to inform my Governor that they are  
 at liberty, so that he may send, at the same time, all the prisoners, both French and Indians, who  
 may be in his hands, to M<sup>r</sup> Lydieus, and give orders to the officer who will have charge of them  
 to send me an express on their arrival at that place to inform me thereof,<sup>d</sup> and to tarry one day  
 so that they may be exchanged, one against another, at the foot of the Great Carrying place  
 of Lake St. Sacrament, whither I will repair in order to conclude the reciprocal exchange of  
 the French and English prisoners. And as regards the thirteen others, also mentioned in the  
 present list, it has not been in our power to bring them back with us, notwithstanding the  
 facilities and orders said Sieur de la Jonquière has given, for the reasons annexed in the present  
 list. In testimony whereof the said Marquis de la Jonquière hath signed with us, the English  
 deputy aforesaid.

Done, in duplicate, at Montreal, the twenty-seventh of June, one thousand seven hundred  
 and fifty.

Signed, LA JONQUIÈRE and B. STODDERT.

Copy.

LA JONQUIÈRE.

Copy of the letter written by Sieur Douville, commandant at Sault St. Louis, to  
 the Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor-General of New France, 27<sup>th</sup> June,  
 1750.

Sir,

The English prisoner, belonging to la Delisle, has come to tell me that I could have the  
 honor to inform you he did not desire any longer to return; that the principal reason is  
 that he has embraced our religion; that when he told the English he wished to return, he  
 acted unreflectingly. On the other hand that his father is dead, and by the laws of his country  
 whoever has been ransomed, if obliged to borrow the money, is bound to service until he have  
 repaid, by his labor, the sum he cost; that he prefers being a slave with the Indians than in  
 his country where there is no religion.

He who belongs to Ononraguété's nieces has come to tell me, also, that inasmuch as his  
 elder brother, who is at the Lake of Two Mountains, will not return, neither will he; that  
 his father was poor; that he must work all his life to pay his ransom; on the other hand, he  
 has embraced our religion, which is the strongest reason.



Ononragueté said to him, in my presence: You are at liberty to go away if you like. He answered, No; that he hated too strongly the English Nation, where he was almost a slave, to give up his religion and his liberty.

I have the honor to be, etc.

Signed. DOUVILLE.

I acknowledge to have received from the Marquis de la Jonquière the original of this letter. Montreal, the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1750.

Signed, STODDERT.

Copy.

LAJONQUIÈRE.

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*Earl of Albemarle to M. Puy sieulx.*

The underwritten Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Majesty of Great Britain, has orders from the King, his master, dated Hanover the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month, to represent to the Court of France, how much he is surprised at hearing the violent proceedings of the French in America, under the authority and direction of M. de la Jonquière, who has readily avowed them.

M. Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia, has informed the Duke of Bedford, by a letter dated the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, this year, that the French have taken possession of Nova Scotia, beyond the Bay of Fundi, from the River Chignecto to that of St. John, making the first the limits of that Province.

They have reduced Beubassin to ashes, and carried to the other side of the river the inhabitants, with their effects; compelled them to take up arms, and form'd them into companies; so that the Sieur La Corne, a French officer, has at that place, under his command, a body of 2500 men, made up of regular troops, Canadians and Indians.

The Sieur La Corne and Father Loutre, a French missionary, have made use of repeated and innumerable promises and menaces, in order to persuade all the inhabitants of the Province to leave the country.

The inhabitants declare openly their abhorrence of these proceedings; but the Sieurs La Corne and Loutre threaten them with a general massacre of the Indians, our declared enemies, who enlist under the banners of the French. They detain the King's subjects, his officers and soldiers prisoners. They excite the King's French subjects to rebellion, and those who remain loyal they threaten with destruction. They send their Indian slaves all over the country, where they are guilty of all sorts of outrages.

They have set fire to the town acknowledged by themselves to appertain to his Britannic Majesty.

Governor Cornwallis sent the Sieur Lawrence, Major of foot, with a detachment to Chignecto, where he arrived on the 20<sup>th</sup> of last April. They saw the French set fire to the town of Chignecto, French colors planted on the ditches, and the Sieur De la Corne at the head of his detachment, braving Major Lawrence, and declaring that he would defend to the last that ground as belonging to France.

The Sieur De la Corne having sent to desire a conference with the Sieur Lawrence, the latter, accompanied by two captains of foot, went to meet him, and demanded by whose orders he had thus come into his Britannic Majesty's territories, and committed such acts of violence. The Sieur De la Corne answer'd, it was by those of M. De la Jonquiere, who had also commanded him to take possession of Chippodi, John's river, Mamram, Cooke, Pitcordiack and of all that country, as far as the river, which was on the right hand of Major Lawrence, as belonging to his most Christian Majesty; or, at least, that he was to keep and defend it as such, till such time as the limits were settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose.

Though the Sieur Lawrence had under his command a detachment of regular troops, very little inferior to that commanded by Sieur De la Corne, he forebore committing any hostilities, in obedience to the King of Great Britain's orders for that purpose.

The King cannot persuade himself that these acts of violence have been committed with the knowledge of the Court of France, and he is so fully convinced of his most Christian Majesty's equity, and his desire to maintain a good understanding between the two Crowns, that he assures himself the most Christian King will readily show his disapprobation of such conduct.

Governor Cornwallis has never made nor designed to make any settlements out of the limits of the Peninsula, which the French before never pretended to belong to them: the King of Great Britain having had no intention in forming a settlement in his Province of Nova Scotia, to encroach on the rights of his most Christian Majesty, or to take forcible possession of a country, of which the King had referred the right of property to the decision of commissaries appointed for that purpose, before it was possible for them to have met in order to proceed to the settling of the limits.

The underwritten ambassador has orders to demand, that the conduct of M. de la Jonquiere be disavowed; that positive orders be sent to him immediately to withdraw his troops and the Indians under his authority, from the places which belong to Great Britain; that amends be made for the acts of violence which have been committed, and the damages which the King's subjects have suffered. And his Majesty is persuaded that the Court of France will make no difficulty, to give the underwritten Ambassador a duplicate of the orders, which will be sent to the Governor of Canada, that he may transmit them to his Court.

Done at Compeigne, the 7th of July, 1750.

Signed ALBEMARLE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM ANNE KEPPEL, second Earl of Albemarle, was born 3d June, 1702, and was educated in Holland—his father having been Lord de Voerst, in the Province of Guilderland. He returned to England in 1716, and on the 25th August, 1717, was appointed Captain of a company in the Coldstream guards. He went back to Holland in the beginning of 1722; became Knight of the Bath in 1725, and was appointed Aid de Camp to the King in 1727; afterwards Lord of the Bedchamber, and was promoted to be Colonel of the 29th foot, 22d November, 1731. He next became Colonel of the 3d troop of Horse guards, 3d May, 1733; Governor of Virginia (a sinecure) in 1737, and Colonel of the Coldstream guards in 1744. He distinguished himself in the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and was wounded in the latter. He commanded the right wing at the battle of Culloden, and next became Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland. He obtained the Garter in 1747; was Groom of the Stole in 1750; next Ambassador to the Court of France, and died suddenly at Paris, 22d December, 1754. *Mackinnon's Coldstream Guards*, I., 293; II., 477; *Beaton's Political Index*, II., 5; *Grenville Papers*, I., 67, 133; *Debrett's Peerage*. — Ed.



*M. Puy sieulæ to the Earl of Albemarle.*

Sir,

In the memorial, which your Excellency has given me concerning the complaints of M. Cornwallis, Governor of Acadia, are contained many facts, so contrary to the equity of his Majesty, the instructions of M. De la Jonquiere, that, if they are found to be such as they are represented, the King will take care justice shall be done to his Britannic Majesty's subjects, and will give such fresh orders as will prevent the rise of any dispute of what kind soever between the two nations, his Majesty being thoroughly persuaded his Britannic Majesty will give, on his side, orders to the same purpose.

Give me leave, sir, to tell you I cannot be prevailed upon to believe but that the facts are exposed with too much exaggeration, and from my knowledge of M. de la Jonquiere's prudence, and the instructions which he has, I am sorry M. Cornwallis has not applied for redress before he had made complaint to his Court. I sent your memorial, as soon as I received it, to M. Rouillé, and desir'd he would take the proper steps, to be informed in a speedy and precise manner, of what has passed at Canada, so as I may be enabled to give your Excellency a more positive answer.

I have the honor to be &c.,

23 July, 1750.

Sign'd PUY SIEULX.

*M. Bigot to M. Rouillé.*

My Lord,

Some months ago the English killed in Fort St. George some Abenakis Indians belonging to the village of Panasamské; the latter complained of this assassination, and were promised justice by putting the guilty to death in their presence at Boston. This affair went to sleep, the Abenakis of Panasamské and that vicinity being so connected with the English, that they did not wish to insist on justice.

But we have caused to be represented to the Abenakis of Bécancourt and St. Francis, the disgrace which would rebound on their nation, should they leave this crime unpunished; Sieur Tonnancourt, my deputy at Three Rivers, and who is adopted by these villages, has induced them to take this course, as the government could not appear, so that they are gone from Three Rivers to attack the English. Some are of opinion to unite with the Micmacs; others wish to lay waste the frontiers of New England; the great point is, they have marched the day before yesterday to the number of one hundred and fifty, including Abenakis and Algonkins, and their party will increase according as they approach other Abenakis villages.

They had sent a belt to the Iroquois of the Sault to join them, but these are too much English to do so, and I am persuaded they will have immediately sent off an express throughout New England to give notice of the project. They at Three Rivers were wrong to have allowed that Belt to be sent.

I had ordered M<sup>r</sup> Tonnancourt to make them some small trifling presents to engage them to this act of vengeance; it cost a mere trifle; I had them supplied also with provisions to enable them to reach the other Abenakis villages of Panasamské and Narantsouak.

I have the honor to be with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant

6<sup>th</sup> August, 1750.

Signed. BIGOT.

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*Ministerial Minute on Despatches from Louisiana.*

We learn by letters just received from M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, Governor of this Colony, dated the month of June and month of July, that the English are more active than ever, not only in spreading themselves over the Continent both in the direction of Louisiana and in the interior of the Canadian territory which unites the two Colonies, but moreover in exciting the different Nations of Indians against us.

They have been for a long time at work to gain over the Chactas, a very numerous Nation of Louisiana; they had succeeded in attaching to their party a pretty influential Chief named Red Mocassin (*Soulier-Rouge*), who for many years gave trouble to our Colony, and by whose death the influence of the English was much weakened. By force of presents they have, however, preserved some villages, from which a few warriors came last year to make an attack on two of our settlements. M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil has required of the villages of our allies to avenge this insolence, which they did with so much success, that they brought him one hundred and thirty scalps to Mobile on the fourteenth of April last. This brilliant achievement on the part of our allies has determined the greatest portion of the revolted villages to alter their sentiments, or at least their conduct in our regard; and in order to afford M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil proofs of their sincere return, they have been out against the Chicachas, twelve of whose scalps they brought him, and have, likewise, killed three English traders, who were opposed to their reconciliation with their brethren; all the villages of the Nation except two, came afterwards in a body to M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, to whom they made the strongest protestations of their resolution to labor earnestly to root out the English from among them.

Everything passed off well in the conferences with these Indians, among whom he distributed some presents; in that distribution he made a distinction in favor of those who were most prominent, and remarks, that he hopes to succeed in expelling the English from among that Nation, and in destroying that of the Chicachas, which is already greatly diminished.

He has also received the visit of some fourteen villages of Alibamons, Talapouches and Abékas,<sup>1</sup> Nations inhabiting the frontier of the English Colonies, and has had reason to be well satisfied with the dispositions in which he found them.

<sup>1</sup> Or Cousas; in the present State of Alabama, on the head waters of the river of that name. *Mitchell's Map of North America*, 1755. — Ed.



He is equally so with the other allied Nations, and observes, that with the assistance to the Colony which he has been promised, he will be able to make more progress than he has hitherto done.

He is, however, not free from uneasiness in regard to the projects of the English. He has learned that they have succeeded in causing a revolt among the Miamis, at present settled on the Rock river (marked with a cross on the map), the Ouyatonons, a Miami tribe, the Maskoutins settled in the same quarter and the Peanguichias on the River Ouabache, and in engaging them in a conspiracy against us. These Indians had even invited the Illinois to join them, but the latter refused, and it was by them that M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil has been informed of these movements. This Governor observes that he will not spare any effort to dispel this storm, but that M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, who has been informed of it, was to have adopted some measures in Canada.

We have learned, in fact, that M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière had been in receipt of nearly the same intelligence, and was to send last spring a detachment to that quarter, according to other information which he was expecting.

We must not be surprised that the English are seeking to insinuate themselves among our Indian Nations; they cannot even be prevented making that attempt, besides our doing the same thing. Most of these movements on the one side and the other can be attributed only to the cupidity of private Traders, who run every risk to extend their commerce.

But what merits most our attention is the design of the English to push their settlements into the interior of the country so as to be able to interrupt the communication between the two Colonies of Canada and Louisiana.

With this view it is that they, since a long time, are projecting a settlement on the Beautiful river; M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière, who had been informed before his departure, that they had dispatched some people thither, determined on sending a detachment also there, to force them to retire, and M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière has observed, lastly, that the officer in command of that detachment had returned and reported that the English had retired at the first summons.

Moreover, the regulation of the boundaries was arresting these sort of enterprises; but in the uncertain state of that regulation, no other course remains than to watch the conduct of the English, in order to prevent their undertakings, and this is what has been recommended to the Governors of the two Colonies.

18<sup>th</sup> September, 1750.

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### *Memoir on the French Colonies in North America.*

By M. DE LA GALISSONNIÈRE.

The pretensions set up by his Britannic Majesty's Commissioners respecting the extent of Acadia, and the measures which England is prosecuting to reëstablish herself on that part of the American Continent, are of a nature to demand the most serious attention on the part of the government.

Whilst peace appeared to have lulled the jealousy of the English in Europe, this bursts forth in all its violence in America; and if barriers capable of staying its effects be not opposed at this very moment, that nation will place itself in a condition to completely invade the French Colonies at the opening of the first war.

It is with this view that it would secure to itself all the avenues of Canada. In order to show the importance of this matter it will be necessary to enter into some detail regarding that Colony and the neighboring countries.

The utility of Colonies in general will be first, but briefly, established. None of the objections that can be presented against Canada, in particular, shall be concealed, but it will be demonstrated that there are essential and paramount reasons for carefully attending to the preservation, strengthening and increase of that Colony.

Its description will be begun at the North and with Hudson's bay, which bounds it on that side; thence we shall review, in succession, the settlements in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Ile Royale and Acadia; whence we shall proceed along the River St. Lawrence towards the centre of the Colony. The importance of the posts of Chouaguen, Niagara, Detroit and Illinois will be examined; the necessity of keeping up the communication with Louisiana by the Beautiful river; and from this various information, will be deduced the means considered indispensable to effect the overthrow of the ambitious projects of England, and to preserve to France countries which have become one of the most interesting portions of the Domain of the Crown.

All these different subjects will be treated in so many separate Articles.

#### ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>.

##### *Of the Utility of Colonies and the Necessity of Attending to their Preservation.*

It is not proposed to dwell on the Utility of Colonies. There are few persons at this day who do not admit that they are in some degree necessary to a great State.

If any doubt on this point still exist in men's minds, it would suffice, in order to remove it, to cast an eye on the accounts of the revenue of the King's farms, the immense quantity of all sorts of commodities and manufactures sent to the Colonies, the returns which come from them, some whereof are necessary to manufactures, others to wants which have become habitual, and in some degree indispensable, in the Kingdom; finally, on the surplus exported to foreign countries, and which contributes essentially to make the balance of wealth incline in favor of France: objects which become daily more interesting, according as each State forms new projects in order to dispense with the products and manufactures of its neighbors.

Those who have had occasion to visit the Islands, in the neighborhood of the Tropics, have had an opportunity to see for themselves the quantity of very rich lands at present in St. Domingo and Martinico; and without crossing the seas are not a vast number of families seen, every day, who were poor and have acquired very considerable wealth in a short time, almost without risk, and with trifling industry and labor.

Moreover, and this is a reflection deserving of particular attention, the question is not whether Colonies shall in future be established or not; they are established, and the most of them firmly established. It is to be determined whether they will be handed over to jealous neighbors, whose entire ambition is to strip France of them.

#### ARTICLE 2<sup>nd</sup>.

##### *Objections against the Preservation of Canada and Louisiana.*

It may be objected that we must carefully preserve such of the Colonies as are a source of revenue to the State and of wealth to the Kingdom, as St. Domingo, Martinico and the other



Tropical Islands; but that those Colonies, which, far from being productive of revenue or wealth, are, like Canada and Louisiana, an expense, ought to be abandoned to themselves.

It is not designed to lessen the weight of this objection, on the contrary it will be corroborated by the enumeration of all the inconveniences or disadvantages which nature, events or circumstances have attached particularly to these two Colonies.

1<sup>st</sup> Their immense extent often prevents their being ruled by the same mind, and able to afford each other that assistance they mutually stand in need of.

2<sup>nd</sup> They cannot send nor receive anything except by sea, and by the mouths of two rivers more than nine hundred leagues distant, whatever course be taken. The interior of the country is liable to be exposed to great scarcity of goods from France and to be glutted with its own products should a maritime power, such as England, undertake to blockade the only two outlets of that vast Continent.

3<sup>d</sup> It is not even impossible for that power, or some other, to seize on the lower part of one, or of both, rivers, and erect forts there, which would, doubtless, most seriously jeopard these two Colonies.

4<sup>th</sup> Although these Colonies may be able to furnish Europe and the Islands of America with the same commodities as New England, we must not flatter ourselves that they can ever do so as cheaply, especially those of great bulk which ordinarily constitute the principal and most certain object of trade: the difference arising from the difficulty of navigating both rivers, from the length of the voyages, and from the inability of going to Canada except at a certain season of the year, whilst it prolongs the voyage and renders it more expensive and difficult, and increases its dangers, augments, at the same time, the rate of insurance.

5<sup>th</sup> If this be not an inconvenience in time of peace, and on the contrary, it may, perhaps, be an advantage that these two Colonies should not be able to dispense with France as well for clothing and liquors as for powder and arms; such is not the case in time of war. The apprehension of a scarcity obliges a large stock to be kept continually on hand; independent of the current expense, which is considerable, we are necessarily obliged to make very large advances.

6<sup>th</sup> The expenses of the Colonies not only exceed, and will continue for a long time greatly to surpass, their revenue, but they are very unequal and subject to forced augmentations, especially in time of war, when the want of the Indians renders it necessary to gain these over by force of presents.

None of the particular objections that can be offered against these Colonies have, it is believed, been omitted, and it is presumed that they have been presented in all their force. The reasons which avail for the preservation of those Colonies, notwithstanding all these disadvantages, remain to be examined.

#### ARTICLE 3<sup>rd</sup>.

##### *Of the Importance and Necessity of Preserving Canada and Louisiana.*

Motives of honor, glory and religion forbid the abandonment of an established Colony; the surrender to themselves, or rather to a nation inimical by taste, education and religious principle, of the French who have emigrated thither at the persuasion of the Government with the expectation of its protection, and who eminently deserve it on account of their fidelity and attachment; in fine, the giving up of so salutary a work as that of the conversion of the heathen who inhabit that vast Continent.



Yet we shall not insist on these motives; and how great soever may be the inconveniences set forth in the preceding article, neither will we object to them, the future and uncertain revenues both of Canada and of Louisiana, although, nevertheless, these are extremely probable, since they have for basis an immense country, a numerous people, fertile lands, forests of mulberry trees, mines already discovered, &c.

We shall confine ourselves to regarding Canada as a barren frontier, such as the Alps are to Piedmont, as Luxembourg would be to France, and as it, perhaps, is to the Queen of Hungary. We ask if a country can be abandoned, no matter how bad it may be, or what the amount of expense necessary to sustain it, when by its position it affords a great advantage over its neighbors.

This is precisely the case of Canada: it cannot be denied that this Colony has been always a burthen to France, and it is probable that such will be the case for a long while; but it constitutes, at the same time, the strongest barrier that can be opposed to the ambition of the English.

We may dispense with giving any other proofs of this than the constant efforts they have made, for more than a century, against that Colony.

We will add, however, that it alone is in a position to wage war against them in all their possessions on the Continent of America; possessions which are as dear to them as they are precious in fact, whose power is daily increasing, and which, if means be not found to prevent it, will soon absorb not only all the Colonies located in the neighboring islands of the Tropic, but even all those of the Continent of America.

Long experience has proved that the preservation of the major portion of the settlements in the Tropical islands is not owing so much to their intrinsic strength, as to the difficulty of conveying troops thither from Europe in sufficient numbers to subjugate or keep them, and of supporting such troops there; but if the rapid progress of the English Colonies on the Continent be not arrested, or what amounts to the same thing, if a counterpoise capable of confining them within their limits, and of forcing them to the defensive, be not formed, they will possess, in a short time, such great facilities to construct formidable armaments on the Continent of America, and will require so little time to convey a large force either to St. Domingo or to the Island of Cuba, or to our Windward islands, that it will not be possible to hope to preserve these except at an enormous expense.

This will not be the case if we make a more energetic and generous effort to increase and strengthen Canada and Louisiana, than the English are making in favor of their Colonies; since the French Colonies, despite their destitute condition, have always waged war against the English of the Continent with some advantage, though the latter are, and always have been, more numerous; it is necessary to explain here the causes to which this has been owing.

The first is the great number of alliances that the French keep up with the Indian Nations. These people, who hardly act except from instinct, love us hitherto a little, and fear us a great deal, more than they do the English; but their interest, which some among them begin to understand, is that the strength of the English and French remain nearly equal, so that through the jealousy of these two nations those tribes may live independent of, and draw presents from, both.

The second reason of our superiority over the English is, the number of French Canadians who are accustomed to live in the woods like the Indians, and become thereby not only qualified to lead them to fight the English, but to wage war even against these same Indians when necessity obliges.



Hence 'twill be seen that this superiority of the French in America is in some sort accidental, and if they neglect to maintain it, whilst the English are making every effort to destroy it, 'twill pass into the hands of the latter. There is no doubt but such an event would be followed by the entire destruction of our settlements in that part of the Globe.

This, however serious it may seem, would not be our only loss; it would drag after it the superiority which France must claim over England.

If anything can, in fact, destroy the superiority of France in Europe, it is the Naval force of the English; this alone sustained the house of Austria at the commencement of the war of the Spanish succession, as it caused France to lose, at the close of the last war, the fruit of the entire conquest of the Austrian Lower Countries.

We must not flatter ourselves with being able long to sustain an expenditure equal to theirs; no other resource remains then but to attack them in their possessions; that cannot be effected by forces sent from Europe except with little hope of success, and at vast expense, whilst by fortifying ourselves in America and husbanding means in the Colonies themselves, the advantages we possess can be preserved, and even increased at a very trifling expense, in comparison with the cost of expeditions fitted out in Europe.

The utility of Canada is not confined to the preservation of the French Colonies, and to rendering the English apprehensive for theirs; that Colony is not less essential for the conservation of the Spanish possessions in America, especially of Mexico.

So long as that barrier is well secured; so long as the English will be unable to penetrate it; so long as efforts will be made to increase its strength, 'twill serve as a rampart to Louisiana, which hitherto sustains itself only under the shadow of the forces of Canada, and by the connection of the Canadians with the Indians.

Should any unforeseen revolution disturb the intimate union now existing between the two Crowns, we should even be able, by means of Louisiana, to share with the Spaniards the profit of the rich settlements they possess in America; but this event appears so distant, that it is the opinion that France, for its own interest, and in order to remove every jealousy, must not seek to extend its possessions Westward, that is to say, towards the Spaniards, but apply all its resources to strengthen itself at the East, that is, in the direction of the English.

In fine, Canada, the fertility whereof is wonderful, can serve as the granary of the Tropical Colonies, which, in consequence of the men they destroy, sell their rich products very dear. It is proved that the number of Canadians who die in these Colonies that are admitted to be the most unhealthy, is much less than that of European French.

All that precedes sufficiently demonstrates that it is of the utmost importance and of absolute necessity not to omit any means, nor spare any expense to secure Canada, inasmuch as that is the only way to wrest America from the ambition of the English, and as the progress of their empire in that quarter of the globe is what is most capable of contributing to their superiority in Europe.

#### ARTICLE 4<sup>th</sup>.

#### *Of Hudson's Bay.*

Having treated of Canada in general, we consider ourselves bound to enter into some details respecting its different parts, and shall commence with those of the North.



Hudson's bay, which was one of its most lucrative establishments, has been ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht under the denomination or title of restitution. They carry on a profitable trade there, but the excessive cold and the difficulty of subsistence will never permit them to form establishments there capable of affording any uneasiness to Canada; and if the strength of the latter country be augmented, as proposed, 'twill possibly be in a condition, in the first war, to wrest Hudson's bay from the English.

The Treaty of Utrecht had provided for the appointment of Commissioners to regulate the boundaries of Hudson's bay; but nothing has been done in that matter. The term, Restitution, which has been used in the Treaty, conveys the idea clearly that the English can claim only what they have possessed, and as they never had but a few establishments on the sea coasts, 'tis evident that the interior of the country is considered as belonging to France.

#### ARTICLE 5<sup>th</sup>.

##### *Of the French Posts in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; of Ile Royale and Acadia.*

We shall say but one word on the posts France possesses as well on the coast of Labrador as on the Gulf of St. Lawrence for Seal fishing. These posts are useful to commerce in time of peace, but afford trifling advantage over the enemy in time of war.

The loss of Acadia has necessitated a very particular attention to be paid to Ile Royale, where Louisbourg has been built and fortified. Acadia constituted, formerly, a part of Canada, and is doubtless one of the most serious losses we have experienced at the peace of Utrecht. The establishment of Louisbourg, with a view to repair that loss as much as possible, is but a feeble recompense.

'Tis universally admitted by all those acquainted with the locality, and cannot be too often repeated, that if Canada does not take Acadia at the beginning of the next war, Acadia will take, or cause the fall of Louisbourg.

It is not, however, to be concluded, as many seem to have done in the last war, that the preservation of Canada depends absolutely on Louisbourg. It has been proved that Canada could sustain herself without that place; but 'tis no less true that it is of great advantage to her in time of war.

The simple view of the position of Louisbourg dispenses with entering into any detail in this regard; but if it be evidently useful to New, it is no less so to Old, France both in time of war and of peace.

The harbors of Ile Royale, especially that of Louisbourg, are most favorably situated as a place at which vessels may touch on their return from long voyages, also as a retreat for privateers and a point whence they can have an opportunity of destroying the enemy's trade, inasmuch as on leaving that port they are almost on the track of all the rich ships of the world.

In fine, it is, next to Acadia, the best adapted situation for the fishery; a branch of trade as useful on account of the money it saves to and brings in the Kingdom, as well as on account of the great number of seamen it employs, exercises, accustoms to labor without exposing them to acute and mortal diseases; an advantage not enjoyed by the rich Colonies of the Tropics.

The importance of these objects must tend to excite more attention than ever to the means of securing the preservation of Ile Royale, and arresting the progress of the English in the direction



of Acadia, so that the settlements they are making there may approach Canada and Louisbourg only as little as possible.

Nothing is more essential to the preservation of Ile Royale than to secure for it the means of communication with Canada, and to spare no pains to establish entrepôts of provisions, and especially of cattle as well in Ile Royale itself, though they cannot be either considerable or sufficient, as in the Island of St. John ( which is better adapted for that purpose ), and in that part of Canada bordering on the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

There is a part of the year when there is no communication between Louisbourg and Canada by the River St. Lawrence, and no route practicable except by way of the River St. John.

This is one of the principal considerations that gives interest to the preservation of that part of Canada, which the English would appropriate under the name of Acadia. Its soil, of itself, is of little fertility ; any detachments at all considerable cannot be supported there for a long time to come ; but the River St. John, which runs through that country, is the sole available route during six months of the year, between Louisbourg and Quebec ; and the only one affording a passage to small detachments, which, dispersed through the woods and sustained by the Indians, are often capable of disconcerting the projects of the English and rendering their execution of them difficult and murderous. Were they masters of this communication, the aid of the Indians would at the same time be lost, Louisbourg would find itself abandoned too often and for too long a time to its own strength, not to succumb to the first hostile attack, and the environs of Quebec would be exposed to the incursions of the enemy by reason of the facilities the latter would possess of reaching that city by ascending the River St. John, which rises in the vicinity of the settlements bordering on the River St. Lawrence. So many powerful reasons show the necessity of attending to the preservation of that part of Canada.

Hence it results that too much precaution cannot be used in arranging the boundaries of Acadia. According to strict construction of the Treaties, and the ancient descriptions of that Province, the cession made to the English terminates at Port Royal and its liberty (*banlieue*<sup>1</sup>), and at the part of the coasts which extends from the extremity of the Bay of Fundy unto Cape Canso. They must not possess anything on the Bay of St. Lawrence nor towards the Isthmus, nor towards what is called Minas, the inhabitants of which are French and Catholics. If, nevertheless, for the sake of peace, it be determined to cede to them a portion of the Peninsula, which doth not appertain to them, it seems that it ought not to be done, except in return for some advantages, and that it could not be done with safety but by attaching some conditions thereto, without which it would be better perhaps that the claims on both sides remain, with the resolution to maintain them by force in case the English should employ any to extend their possessions beyond what is legitimately their right.

The conditions on which it is presumed that France could cede the part of the Peninsula belonging to her, are

1<sup>st</sup> That the English should not erect any fort, make any sedentary settlement, nor any improvement on the Island of Canso, which should remain neutral ; nor along the coast of the Peninsula from Cape Canso to Bay Verte, which coast should remain in the possession of the Indians ; that the Isthmus should not be fortified by either party within a distance of three

<sup>1</sup> *Banlieue* is a certain space without the walls of a town, yet within the jurisdiction of its courts. Some compute it at two thousand paces of 5 @ 6 feet each. *Richelot*. The Banlieue of Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal, is laid down in the map prefixed to the *Memoires des Commissaires du Roi*, 4to, 1755, I. — Ed.



or four leagues, and that the passage across it should remain open to the French to go from one sea to the other; that the English should not be at liberty to pass the Gut of Canso, nor navigate the Gulf; and in order not to afford them reason to complain that exorbitant conditions are exacted, it might be stipulated that France would not, on its side, build any fort within three leagues of the coast of the Etchemins<sup>1</sup> and of the Bay of Fundy, nor establish any Fishing post in that part of the sea.

2<sup>nd</sup> That all the French settlers should be permitted to leave English territory with their property and cattle, and for this purpose should be allowed a period of 18 months, to count from the day they would have commenced to enjoy this permission.

3<sup>rd</sup> That the boundary line of New England should remain fixed at the River Kinibequi, or at such other (river) to be agreed upon, which would be on the Boston side, at least twenty leagues from the River St. John; that, moreover, the Abenakis should be maintained in the possession of their villages of Narantsouak and Panaouamské and continue to enjoy the protection of France.

4<sup>th</sup> That in future the water-shed (*les eaux pendantes*) should serve as the boundary line reciprocally of both nations along the frontiers between New England and the other Colonies which lie along the same line as far as and including Georgia on the one side, and Canada and Louisiana on the other; this would carry with it the abandonment by the English of Fort Chouaguen, otherwise it would be impossible to maintain a durable peace between the two Colonies, and this circumstance must render it evident how essential this last condition is. Its importance will be more fully developed in the next article.

#### ARTICLE 6<sup>th</sup>

##### *Of the Canadian Posts Inland.*

The interior of Canada is traversed by the River St. Lawrence, and the Lakes which supply the waters of that great stream.

Its navigation and trade can be interrupted more easily than people suppose. That facility, which a powerful maritime enemy can possess, is one of the greatest misfortunes of Canada; a partial remedy only can be applied to it, by building one or two forts at Gaspé and the Seven Islands, under the cover of which vessels may retreat, but the true remedy would be, to place the Colony generally in a position to overawe those in the possession of England, and to make her fear war in America.

(We shall not speak of the naval expedition the enemy might be able to make for the conquest of Canada. Though they should succeed, which could not be the case except by a very rare combination of circumstances in their favor, we do not think they would find it easy to retain that place even one minute.

But should they continue to increase the strength of their Colonies, and should the French Colonies not advance in the same proportion, 'tis not to be doubted but the former will soon be in a condition to lay Canada waste nearly to Montreal, and even to pillage the latter place, which would render the French as despicable in that country as they are now respected there, and terminate shortly in their entire ruin.

One of the principal means to avoid this misfortune is to strengthen, still further, not only Quebec and Montreal, but also Fort St. Frederic, at which place it would be essential to settle

<sup>1</sup> They inhabited the country from the River Penobscot to the head of the Bay of Fundy. — Ed.



a large, well fortified French village, in time of peace, and to attract thither an Indian village in time of war. All that will cost little, if at the same time we take care to settle some farmers on Lake Champlain, and form some villages there.

It would be proper, also, to fortify, but discreetly, the post established in 1748 on the River St. Lawrence by M<sup>r</sup> Picquet near La Galotte, Fort Frontenac and to settle some villages in the vicinity.

Fort Frontenac is at the outlet of Lake Ontario, on which the English have established a post or fort called Chouaguen; an usurpation the most flagrant, and at the same time the most pernicious to Canada.

This post, located on ground, and on the borders of a lake, always in the possession of the French, has not been erected by the English until a number of years after the Treaty of Utrecht, and in a period of profound peace. The Governor of Canada then confined himself to protests, and the post has continued, and remains, when it ought to have been pulled down in the beginning by force.

Now the English regard that post as an acquired right, and rely on the article in the Treaty of Utrecht, which states that the French will not molest the Five Cantons of Indians, subjects of Great Britain. The engagement that France has contracted by that article reduces itself to not attacking the Iroquois, against whom the English were, at that time, apprehensive the Canadians would wage war. But, besides, what is said of the authority of the English over the Iroquois, is a simple enunciation; it does not constitute a title; it could not make subjects of the Iroquois; they do not depend on England either in fact or of right; they have made war and peace before and since the Treaty of Utrecht, without the consent and against the will of the English; they have publicly protested their independence, which they have constantly enjoyed without the English having dared or daring to contradict them in America.

Moreover, this article of the Treaty of Utrecht, however favorable it may be presumed to be to the English, leaves the question of territory totally undecided; the stipulations it contains respecting the liberty the Indians shall enjoy, of visiting indiscriminately the Colonies of both Nations, and the mutual obligations not to molest them, deprive the French of no possessory rights they might have acquired, anteriorly, over territories not yet subject to any proprietorship, whereof the Indians have not even an idea; besides, the personal subjection of these Nations would not entail that of a country, because they have no circumscribed limits, and being liable to change of habitation, being, really, dispersed in divers places, in which privilege they are not to experience any molestation, it would follow from the pretension of the English that the Iroquois would transport the dominion of England in every place they might transport their habitations to, even were it in the centre of the French Colonies, such as the vicinity of Montreal, where two villages have been formed. The absurdity of the consequence demonstrates both the little foundation of this pretence and the necessity to return from it to the preliminary question, to wit: Who first took possession of that territory? Then the question can neither be doubtful nor equivocal in favor of France.

We shall not enter here into any lengthy discussion on the point of right; but we must not omit observing that this post, which has been almost regarded as an object of trifling importance, is capable of causing the entire ruin of Canada, and has already inflicted on it the greatest injury.

There it is that the French often carry on a fraudulent trade which transmits to England profits the most unquestionable, that Canada ought to afford to France.



There it is that the English scatter rum among the Indians, the use of which had been forbidden them by the King's Ordinances, because it set them crazy.

In fine, it is there that the English entice all the Indian Nations, and endeavor by force of presents, not only to debauch them, but also to induce them to assassinate the French traders dispersed throughout the vast extent of the forests of New France.

As long as the English will possess Chouaguen there will be a perpetual distrust of Indians the most loyal to the French; twice more troops than the state of the Colony requires, or comports with its condition, will have to be maintained in times of the most profound peace; forts will have to be established and kept in an infinite number of places, and very numerous and very expensive detachments sent almost every year, to restrain the different Nations of Indians. The navigation of the lakes will be always exposed to be disturbed; agriculture will not advance, except very slowly, and cannot be pursued except in the heart of the Colony; in fine, matters will be always in a situation possessing all the inconveniences of war, even without any of its advantages.

Nothing, then, must be left undone to destroy this dangerous post, on the first occasion for reprisals the English will offer by some of those hostilities they are but too much accustomed to commit in time of peace; supposing that its cession, by common consent, cannot be obtained, for some equivalent.

What has been observed already in the course of this Memoir, when treating of the utility of Canada in regard to the preservation of Mexico, shows the absolute necessity of the free and certain communication from Canada to the Mississippi. This chain, once broken, would leave an opening of which the English would doubtless take advantage to get nearer the silver mines (*la source de l'argent*). Many of their writings are full of this project, which will never amount to anything but a chimera, if France retain her Canadian possessions.

That of the River Oyo, otherwise called the Beautiful river, is the most interesting in this relation. It rises near the country at present partly occupied by the Iroquois, runs southwardly, falls into the Ouabache, and with that river into the Mississippi.

This last has been discovered by Sieur De la Salle, who took possession of it in the King's name; and it would perhaps to-day be full of French settlements, had not the Governors of Canada been deterred from establishing permanent posts there by the apprehension that a counterband trade between the French traders and the English would be the consequence.

Neither have the English any posts there, nor did they come to that quarter to trade, except clandestinely, until the last war, when the revolt of some neighboring nations against the French, encouraged them to come more boldly.

They have been summoned since the peace, to retire, and if they do not do so, there is no doubt but the Governor of Canada will constrain them thereto by force, otherwise the case would be the same as at Choueguen, and this misfortune would be still more disastrous, for a post on the Beautiful river would possess more opportunities to do damage than Chouaguen alone.

1<sup>st</sup> They would have much greater opportunities there than at Chouaguen to seduce the Indian nations.

2<sup>nd</sup> They would possess more facilities to interrupt the communication between Canada and Louisiana, for the Beautiful river affords almost the only route for the conveyance from Canada to the River Mississippi, of detachments capable of securing that still feeble Colony against the incursions of the neighboring Indians of Carolina, whom the English are unceasingly exciting against the French.



3<sup>d</sup> If the English ever become strong enough in America to dare attempt the conquest of Mexico, it will be by this Beautiful river, which they must necessarily descend.

4<sup>th</sup> By it alone will they also be able to attack, with any considerable force, and any hope of success, the Illinois posts and all those which will be established along the River St. Louis, otherwise, Mississippi.

5<sup>th</sup> It is, moreover, by that route that they can attack the post of the Miamis, which, again, cuts off one of our best communications with the River Mississippi, and involves the loss of Detroit, an important post whereof mention will be made hereafter.

The establishment of some posts on the Beautiful river is considered, then, one of the most urgent expenses; but 'tis believed, at the same time, that these posts will not acquire any solidity except so far as the strength of Niagara and Detroit will be augmented.

This last mentioned place demands, now, the greatest attention. Did it once contain a farming population of a thousand, 'twould feed and defend all the rest. Throughout the whole interior of Canada, it is the best adapted locality for a town where all the trade of the lakes would concentrate; were it provided with a good garrison and surrounded by a goodly number of settlements, it would be able to overawe almost all the Indians of the Continent. 'Tis sufficient to see its position on the map, to understand its utility. It would stand on the River St. Lawrence within reach of the Oyo, the Illinois, the River Mississippi, and in a position to protect all these different places, and even the posts north of the lakes.

Continuing the same route and the same views, the post deserving of most attention next to Detroit, or concurrently with it, is that of Illinois.

Here the climate is almost altogether changed; we are no longer exposed to the rigors of a seven months' winter; nor obliged, as in the neighborhood of Quebec, to make ruinous clearances for the purpose of improving very poor lands. Beyond the banks of the river, the entire country is open, and waiting only for the plough; there are, already, some settlers supplied with a pretty good stock of cattle, but nothing in comparison with what they could accommodate. Moreover, these vast prairies, which, in various directions, extend as far as several hundred leagues beyond the River Superior, are covered with an innumerable multitude of buffaloes, a species which will probably not run out for many centuries hence, both because the country is not sufficiently peopled to make their consumption perceptible, and because the hides, not being adapted to the same uses as those of the European race, it will never happen that the animals will be killed solely for the sake of their skins, as is the practice among the Spaniards of the River de la Plata.

If the Illinois buffaloes do not supply the tanneries with much, eventually, advantages at least equivalent may reasonably be expected, on which we cannot prevent ourselves dwelling for a moment.

1<sup>st</sup> These animals are covered with a species of wool, sufficiently fine to be employed in various manufactures, as experience has demonstrated.

2<sup>nd</sup> It can scarcely be doubted that by catching them young and gelding them, they would be adapted to ploughing; perhaps, even, they would possess the same advantage that horses have over domestic oxen, that is, superior swiftness; they appear to be as strong, but perhaps are indebted for this to wild breeding; in other respects, they do not seem difficult to tame; a 4 or 5 year old Bull and Cow have been seen that were extremely gentle.

3<sup>d</sup> Were the Illinois country sufficiently well settled to admit of the people inclosing a great number of these animals in parks, some of them might be salted, a business susceptible of



being extended very considerably, without Illinois possessing a large population for that purpose. This trade would perhaps enable us to dispense with Irish beef for Martinico, and even to compete with the English, and at a lower rate, for the supply of the Spanish Colonies.

'Twill, doubtless, be objected that these advantages are very remote, and that possibly unforeseen obstacles will occur; but be this consideration ever so remote, one question always remains, not whether this post must be abandoned, but whether it will be delivered up to England, who will make a permanent entrepôt of it for the purpose of attempting the conquest of Mexico.

We pass over the mines which 'tis pretended have been discovered in that quarter. Apart from the insufficient information we possess respecting them, it is the opinion that no attention ought to be paid to the subject, until we will have received a sufficient accession, principally of men, grain and cattle.

#### ARTICLE 7<sup>th</sup>.

##### *Of Louisiana.*

We shall not dwell at any length on what relates to Louisiana, which, in its present feeble condition, cannot sustain itself independent of Canada.

Louisiana is a country very susceptible of useful husbandry, and lacking only settlers. It can be peopled from the mouth, and from the upper part, of the river, and neither of the two is to be neglected. The progress of trade will be most rapid by filling up the section convenient to the sea; but it is doubtful whether this is the part to which government ought to direct its principal attention. Aside from being most liable to excite the envy and clamors of the neighboring Colonies, it is the section which will be soonest peopled without any intervention on the part of government.

If the strength and permanency of the posts alone are to be considered, then Louisiana must be settled from the upper part of the river. It ought to derive its principal strength and resources from the post of the Illinois mentioned in the preceding article. This post, as represented, is by no means so attractive as the lower part of the river; it is in some sort a lost country, where trade will not flourish for a long time, nor rapid fortunes be realized; but as a recompense for that, they will be perhaps more solid than in any other part of the Colonies.

It must be considered, also, that the difficulties of ascending the river are so great that the lower section of the Colony can never feed Illinois; the latter post, on the contrary, appears to be located expressly to secure the subsistence of New Orleans, whither 'twill be able to send grain and meat in all seasons, and despite all the Naval force of the world.

Some observations might be made on the neighboring posts of Georgia and Carolina, but as they are immediately connected with the government of Louisiana, and I have only an imperfect knowledge of them, I shall abstain from speaking of them, the rather as this Memoir is already lengthy, and the remarks on the Beautiful river and Chouaguen are applicable to those posts.

#### CONCLUSION.

The result of this memoir is, that no means must be neglected to increase and strengthen Canada and Louisiana; to settle permanently the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederic, and the posts of Niagara, Detroit and the Illinois.



For this purpose the resolution ought to be adopted to send a great many people to New France, in order to enable those who have the administration thereof, to work at the same time at the different proposed posts.

These people ought to be principally soldiers, who can in a very short time be converted into good settlers.

Some smugglers, and even some bad women (*femmes de mauvaise vie*), may be added to them, but none of the latter must be sent until applied for, which probably will not be soon, as there are generally more women than men in Canada.

Some sturdy beggars can be also added, but they must be few at a time, so that they may be forwarded, according as they will arrive, to the different places where they are to work.

In fine, nothing must be spared to strengthen these Colonies, since they may, and are to be considered as the bulwark of America, against the attacks of the English; since they alone can make up for the want of Naval forces, and the outlay they will occasion will save more considerable expense whereof the effects are much less certain, especially if we allow ourselves to be reduced to the necessity of having to transport reinforcements thither from France, in order to preserve these Colonies in time of war; and since they cannot be abandoned to their actual strength alone, without being delivered over in some sort to the English, who, by the wealth they would draw thence, to the exclusion of other Nations, would most certainly acquire the superiority in Europe.

December, 1750.

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*Conference between the Marquis de la Jonquière and the Indians.*

Propositions of the Onondagas of the Five Nations to the Marquis de la Jonquière, Governor, Lieutenant-General for the King, throughout the entire of New France, the territories and country of Louisiana, in presence of the Civil and Military Chiefs of the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis, and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, of the Abenakis of Saint Francis, and of the Otagais Sinagos and Kiskakons of Missilimakinac, which propositions, as well as the answers, have been interpreted to each Nation, word for word. The 11<sup>th</sup> of July, 1751.

PROPOSITIONS.

Kaksenthiony, Onondaga speaker. By two strings.

1.

I speak for the Onondagas, and on behalf of the Five Nations.

2.

You see all your children assembled here by your order; we met with an accident yesterday, a woman belonging to our Nation was dangerously wounded by her grandson, who was drunk; we are sorry for it, but we console ourselves because this woman belongs to us, and the affair was between relations. 'Twere well that no Brandy be drank until business shall have been transacted.

## 3.

Father, You have had the goodness to send persons to meet us at Lachine to wipe away our tears and clear our throats; we thank you for your kindness; permit us to do the same in your presence, by our brethren of the Sault and of the Lake.

Addressing those of the Lake and of the Sault, by three Strings.

## 4.

Brethren of the Sault and of the Lake, I wipe away your tears; we ought all forget our past trouble; the presence of our Father Onnonthio must render us more joyous; I clear your throat and ears with these three Strings.

By three Strings.

## 5.

We are very glad to give you news of your warriors, who, to the number of eighteen, were defeated last year at the Ant-hill (*montagne de la Fourmi*); we learned from an Oneida that two of our young men, who had been with them, were killed by the Cherakis, but we doubt not they were accompanied by the English, and that these struck the blow, for none had been scalped, and your men have been found with their arms, clothes and wampum, which the Cherakis would not have failed to take; it is to be presumed that the English committed this murder.

## 6.

Exhibiting a Belt.

Here is a Belt which was given to us by Mékinack, an Otasais chief of Detroit, on the behalf of the Marquis de la Galissonnière in the name of all the French and ten other Nations, his children, who were, then, assembled with him, to inform us that we had committed a grave error in allowing a settlement to have been made on the Beautiful river, and to persuade us to cause our young men and the Nations who are gone thither to retire; we are always ready to obey that message; we have summoned the English to withdraw from the other side of the mountain, in order that the earth be free, it being essential to preserve the hunting of those countries for the warriors.

## 7.

We have already obeyed M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonniere's Belt, by showing it to the young men who are on the Beautiful river; 'tis true our people resort there, but 'tis only for the purpose of hunting, of which the English deprive them; we have sent these English word to retire.

## 8.

By a Belt deposited at the Store in Montreal.

Father, Here is a Belt on which you will find marked the Nations who united with us to make those young men retire; we assure you we will not permit any Nation to establish posts there; the Master of Life has placed us on that territory, and we alone ought to enjoy it, without anybody having the power to trouble us there.



There are people belonging to all Nations on the Beautiful river, we pray you to have them sent off, especially those of the Sault and of the Lake, the Abenakis and Outasais, whose chiefs are here present.

## 9.

When Mékinac gave us M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonniere's Belt, he recommended us to obey our Father's message; to be careful not to commit blunders; he threatened us, and requested us not to allow ourselves to be spoken of in connection with bad business.

By a Belt deposited in the Store at Montreal.

## 10.

I told Mékinac in reply, that he was as foolish as I; that trouble originated as much with him as with me. I added: remember, when you met us at Chouaguen, you communicated news to us, and have always created trouble; control your people only, I will control mine, and you will see that things will go well, and that the nations will be quiet; we are Onnontio's children and as loyal as you can be.

Answers of the General, by two Strings.

## 1.

Son Kakæenthiony, I have listened attentively to all you have said to me for yourself and for the Five Nations, though each village ought to have sent deputies with you.

## 2.

I see you here present, my dear children, with pleasure; I would have been very glad had you come all of last year; I expected you, and though children who love their father sincerely ought to leave everything to go and see him, yet, impatient as I was to give you proofs of my goodness, I deputed Sieur Chabert de Joncaire to go to all your villages to pay you a visit from me; and charged him to come himself and bring me news of the Five Nations.

I feel great interest in the assault committed on a woman of your village by her grandson. I hope the attention paid her by my Surgeon will operate her cure; it is for you, children, to administer such correction as you will find suited to this young man.

Were my orders not contravened, my children would never get drunk; but they are so smart that they deceive me, and find Frenchmen who treat them to brandy in secret, of which you ought to take care.

## 3.

My attention in sending to meet you at Lachine, must prove to you my good feelings; I desired not that you should arrive in my village with wet eyes; I had your tears wiped away by your son, M<sup>r</sup> de la Chavignerie, and had your throat cleared in order that your words may flow free and easy.

By three Belts.

Children, You have done well to wipe away the tears of your brethren of the Sault and of the Lake; I would be rejoiced if my presence made you forget all your troubles; if you

interpret my sentiments toward you all, correctly, you will be persuaded that I labor only to make you happy.

## 4.

I grieve much for the melancholy fate which befell, at the Ant-hill, eighteen Iroquois of the Sault, whereof two were young men of yours. I unite with you, my dear children, in bewailing them.

## 5.

I see the Belt which was sent by the Marquis de la Galissonnière in the name both of the French and ten other nations.

I applaud your constant readiness to obey that Belt, and cannot sufficiently exhort you to do your best to get your people and the other nations to retire from the Beautiful river to their ancient village; 'tis certain, my children, that these tribes cannot do anything but mischief there, and if you would make use of the authority you have over them, they would conclude on following your good advice.

The steps I have taken to oblige these nations to withdraw, ought to convince them that I have only their interest at heart, and I am sufficiently disposed to believe that they would have profited by the amnesty I granted to them, had the English, who are with them, not urged them not to listen to my voice.

You cannot deny that these English are the authors of all the mischief; you ought to oblige them not to appear any more on the Beautiful river; I agree that you should hunt there; the French have never troubled you, whilst the English occupy themselves only with their own plans which tend to your ruin; confess, my children, that they have no right to go there, and that they would be careful not to make their appearance in that quarter, did you not receive them there.

## 6.

You ought not content yourselves with showing the Marquis de la Galissonnière's Belt to the Nations on the Beautiful river; you ought, also, to tell them decidedly, that you would constrain them to obey that Belt; had you spoken to them in this tone, you would have made them think seriously, and the Earth would be at peace.

I know that you are accustomed to go to hunt at the Beautiful river, and that you never come back without having transacted some business with the English; I can also add, that some of your young men, as well as some belonging to other nations, always remain there; it is in this way that that country now finds itself inhabited by several bands of different nations, who prefer a lawless life to living in their village in the centre of their families.

The English are much less anxious to take away your peltries than to become masters of your lands; they labor only to debauch you; you have the weakness to listen to them, and your blindness is so great, that you do not perceive that the very hand that caresses you, will scourge you like negroes and slaves, so soon as it will have got possession of those lands.

By a Belt deposited in the store at Montreal.

## 7.

I shall always preserve the Belt you have given me to let me know the nations who have united with you to carry out M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière's good views.



I cannot but believe the assurance you give me that you will not permit any nation to establish posts at the Beautiful river ; doubtless you have not spoken without reflection ; but how comes it—do you deceive me ?—that the English traders have each their house, or their huts there ? Whence comes it—do you desire to conceal from me—that your people live with them, hand and glove (*à pot et à feu*) ; truly, my children, your conduct hardly corresponds with my intentions ; I cannot perceive, without deep pain, that the blindness of all the nations does not permit them to see that they are nourishing vipers in their bosom, whose sting will be more dangerous to them than the death of themselves, their children and all their posterity.

I repeat that the lands on the Beautiful river are to be reserved for your hunting, and you may be assured that I will aid you with all my might to drive from them all those who will trouble you there.

No nation is ignorant that I have, up to the present time, used every mild means to recall back to their villages the nations who have taken refuge at the Beautiful river ; I must not even conceal from you that they have somewhat abused my kindness, and yet my heart, which breathes only love for my children, would be disposed to pardon them all their past faults, and I would still open my arms to receive them. You of the Lake and you Otasais, pay attention to what I have just said, and on your side, use all your efforts to recall all your people back to your village ; I recommend you to do so, and require it of your friendship for me.

8.

Mékinac could not too earnestly recommend you to obey Mr de la Galissonnière's message, and not to allow yourselves to be spoken of in connection with bad business.

9.

The answer you gave Mékinack pleases me, and you surprise me by saying that he has meddled with bad business ; I shall not fail to reproach him with it.

I see that he has been at Chouaguen like many others ; Rum draws you all to that place ; you have no idea, children, how pernicious that liquor is to you. The English employ it to spoil your heart and senses, and you must, moreover, have perceived that such liquor injures your health. How many of your brethren has it not killed.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana.

Certify the present copy to be conformable to the original remaining the office of our Secretary. In testimony whereof, we have signed these presents, caused the same to be sealed with the seal of our Arms, and to be countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal, the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1758.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord

(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

## Propositions of the Iroquois of the Five Nations settled at La Présentation.

Quebec, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 1751.

## Propositions of the Indians.

## The General's Answer.

1.

God has favored us with the fine weather yesterday, to enable us to reach you in safety; these are people who come from the head of the islands (*bout des îles*); we rejoice to see you in perfect health; all these are chiefs and warriors who bid you good morning.

1.

Children, I feel sincere pleasure in seeing you. I thank you for the interest you take in my health.

2.

We have not the talent of the French; we are Indians; we pray you to pardon us if our speech be not couched in appropriate terms.

2.

I know that you are young, and that you cannot yet be great orators; I am, however, pleased with your speech; it has been well spoken; you will not fail to acquire great talents, and to be able to work sedulously for the public good by executing whatever the Abbé Picquet will direct you from me to do for the service of the King, my master.

3.

We are newly born children; we have heard of the attack on the people of the Sault; we have made every search to discover who committed it.

3.

You can only weep for your brethren of Sault St. Louis who have experienced a sad fate; I regret them as well as you; you have done well to search out the true authors of their death.

4.

We have ascertained that they were Cheraquis; we ask if it be your pleasure that we take up the hatchet against them; they have shed our own blood; our brethren, the people of the Sault, of the Lake, and all those who are under your wing will join us.

4.

I cannot disapprove your taking up the hatchet to strike the Cheraquis, who have steeped their hands in the blood of your brethren; your brethren of the Sault, of the Lake, and all those who are under my wing, will confer a pleasure on me by uniting with you.

5.

How do you wish us to proceed; we are born only to-day; we have embraced Prayer; our young braves, who have taken refuge among us, are resting themselves, and are desirous to strike a blow, if you will favor our mission, we must avenge the death of our

5.

I admit that you ought not defer the forming of this party, and I repeat to you, that I consent to it.

Neither ought you neglect anything to increase your village and to give me proofs of your zeal for religion.



brethren ; after that, our mission will increase more and more ; our father, who instructs us, is as much embarrassed as we ; he sees young men coming who desire to start next day for the war path.

By a Belt.

6.

We beg you to be persuaded that we are of the same mind as the French, we execute our projects, and we assure you by this Belt that we shall leave at the breaking up of the ice, with hatchet in hand, to go and strike.

6.

I am very glad that you are firm in your plan and that you will execute it ; I receive your Belt with pleasure, and give you another to assure you that on the breaking up of the ice, I shall order the powder and lead you will require to be delivered to you.

By a Belt.

I give you also this Belt, whereby I wish to bind myself to you ; present it to the people of the Sault, of the Lake, to the Iroquois of the Five Nations, and to all those who are under my wing ; I tie them to you so that they may not separate from you until you will have avenged the death of your brethren.

7.

You are aware of the sentiments of your children of La Presentation ; you know that we have nothing, we cast ourselves into your arms ; you know that we are unarmed, we ask nothing of you ; we leave you to consider what we stand in need of for the expedition we are about to undertake.

7.

I open my arms to receive you ; I repeat to you that I shall provide, with all my heart, for your wants.

You see, besides, the presents that I make you, and that I have accomplished all that you require.

8.

I do not wish to weary you ; I desire to leave in two days : you know that the Five Nations are numerous ; I wish so to manage as to collect them all together, which will not fail to increase our village ; I fling my body into your hands ; I wish to die for my father, Onontio Gwa.

8.

You will do well to persuade your brethren of the Five Nations to unite with you, and to attract them to your village.

9.

We have to refer to your speech and that of his Lordship, the Bishop, encouraging us to increase our mission ; all those who come to

9.

There are goods and clothes in the King's stores ; Abbé Picquet will take care of your brethren when they will remove to his house.

join the village are naked; we hope that you will give us some necessaries to encourage them.

10. *... 10.*

If we were in more comfortable circumstances, our village would increase perceptibly. We want 37 kettles; it is the women who ask them.

I do not forget your women; here are the kettles they ask of me.

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*Ministerial Minute on the Attempts of the English to settle on the Ohio.*

CANADA.

The English always occupied with plans to extend their possessions, and to confine those of his Majesty, in North America, have undertaken since the last war to carry their trade towards the Beautiful river, which is situated in the interior, between Canada and Louisiana, and forms the principal communication between these two Colonies; to corrupt the Indian Nations of that quarter, and even to establish posts there.

The Marquis de la Jonquière having been informed of those attempts, adopted measures last year to prevent their success. He organized divers detachments of Frenchmen and Indians, which, according to his arrangements, were to form a junction this spring to proceed at once to the Beautiful river, drive the English from it, and bring back the Indians who might have allowed themselves to be debauched by the intrigues of that Nation.

News of the result was expected at the end of this year, but private letters have arrived from Canada stating that the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned that project, and insinuating that private interest has led some one, in whom he had placed his confidence, to dissuade him from it, by making him apprehend creating thereby a general Indian war.

This motive would be good, if it were valid. It is proper always to avoid, as much as possible, war with the Indians; but, it appears, that on this occasion, it was not difficult to guarantee himself against it.

The question is not to operate against the Indians, but to prevent the interloping trade the English are driving in a country belonging to us, and which, previous to the last war, they would be careful not to dispute us; this is proposed to be effected by checking at the same time the views they entertain of establishing posts there. It is easy, therefore, to render the Indians indifferent in this regard; nay, even to induce them to understand that for the sake of their own tranquillity and of the freedom of their trade, in which we have never clogged them, they must wish that we should stop the progress of the English schemes.

'Twould therefore be unfortunate if the Marquis de la Jonquière has abandoned the project he had formed for that purpose; and although the private advices announcing that change on his part may be unfounded, it appears, nevertheless, proper not to keep him in ignorance of them; to inform him, at the same time, that his Majesty continues to expect the execution of this project; that there is, in fact, no other course to adopt than to drive from the Beautiful river any European foreigners who will happen to be there, so as to make them lose all taste for returning thither, observing, notwithstanding, the caution practicable in these sorts of matters.



As for the rest, there is no reason to apprehend any justifiable complaints on the part of the Court of England. The French were the discoverers of the Beautiful river, which has always served as a communication, as already observed, between Canada and Louisiana. We always carried on trade there without any interruption, and have sent considerable detachments thither on various occasions.

23<sup>d</sup> September, 1751.

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*M. de la Jonquière to M. Rouillé.*

Quebec, 17<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup>, 1751.

My Lord,

The post I have caused to be established at the foot of the Niagara Carrying Place, and [the arrest] of the four Englishmen, three of whom were taken at Ayonontouns,<sup>1</sup> and the fourth at the French fort of the Miamis, have given occasion to M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, the Governor of New-York, to write me on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June last, the letter whereof copy is annexed. You will perceive, my Lord, by the despatch I have written to him in answer on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August last, copy whereof is in like manner annexed, that I questioned the reasons he has alleged both against the said post and the arrest of said four Englishmen.

I am with most profound respect, My lord,

Your most humble and most

Obedient Servant,

LAJONQUIÈRE.

Copy of the letter of M<sup>r</sup> Clinton, Governor of New-York, to the Marquis de la Jonquière, dated 12 June, 1751.

[ Duplicate; already printed in VI, 711. ]

Copy of the Marquis de la Jonquière's letter written to M<sup>r</sup> G. Clinton, Governor of New-York, dated 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1751.

[ Duplicate; already printed in VI, 731. ]

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*Ministerial Minute on the English Encroachments on the Ohio.*

CANADA, 1752.

The Marquis de la Jonquière reported last year, that the Indian Nations of the Upper Countries were threatening a sort of general conspiracy against the French, and that the

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VI, 733, note 1. — Ed.

English who succeeded in debauching them by presents and intrigues, were pledged to sustain them by arms.

He stated, at the same time, that the reports made to him by some faithful Nations, caused him to conclude that effectual measures must be indispensably adopted, both to bring the nations that had joined the conspiracy, back to their attachment to France, or to oblige them to return to their duty, and to destroy, by force of arms, the posts the English might have undertaken to erect on our territory toward the River Oio, whence they set all these movements on foot; and this Governor transmitted at the same time, a plan of operations which he was to execute, and which consisted principally in dispatching at the beginning of autumn last year, several detachments for various posts, whence they were to make a junction at the opening of the spring, at a rendezvous indicated to them, to act according to circumstances.

We learn by letters received from the Marquis de la Jonquière, and dated last September, that his plan was badly executed; that the officers entrusted with its execution had undertaken nothing against the rebellious Indians, nor against the English posts, and that the movements of those Indians are becoming every day more dangerous.

The Marquis de la Jonquière states, however, that he does not despair of reëstablishing tranquillity in the Upper Country; he has adopted new measures for that purpose, and explains the details thereof in the annexed letter.

Meanwhile, he has caused the arrest of 4 Englishmen who were trading on the lands of the Colony, and were endeavoring to debauch our Indians. It appears from the interrogatories they were subjected to at Quebec, that they were authorized by the English Governors, though they had not, however, produced their passports. The Marquis de la Jonquière has sent three of them to France, the 4<sup>th</sup> being unable, from sickness, to embark. Those three have been imprisoned at Rochelle, and 'tis proper that they be left there. It is not expected that the Court of England will reclaim them; at least they have not claimed that class of prisoners who had been taken in Louisiana, some years before the last war, and sent to France. But at all events, should any complaint be made on this subject, it will be easy to give an answer to it. As for the rest, the seizure of these trading posts is the least expensive, least inconvenient, and perhaps the most effectual way to put a stop, in the Indian country, to the movements the English are endeavoring to excite there.

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*Earl of Albemarle to the Earl of Holderness.<sup>1</sup>*

Paris, March 1, 1752.

My Lord,

I must acquaint your Lordship, that in the month of November last, I received a letter from three persons, signing themselves John Patton, Luke Irwin and Thomas Bourke, representing to me that they were Englishmen who had been brought to Rochelle and put into prison there, from whence they wrote; having been taken by the French subjects, who seized their effects as they were trading with the English and other Indians on the Ohio, and carried prisoners to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VI., 757, note. — Ed.



Quebec, from whence they have been sent over to Rochelle, where they were hardly used. Upon this information I applied to M. St. Contest,<sup>1</sup> and gave him a note of it, claiming them as the King's subjects, and demanding their liberty and restitution of their effects, that had been unjustly taken from them.

These three persons, I find by the paper your Lordship has sent me, are of the number of those demanded of the French by Mr. Clinton, and named in M. de la Jonquière's letter. I have wrote a merchant at Rochelle to inquire after them, and to supply them with money, to make their journey hither, if they are not gone, that I may receive from them all the informations necessary; on my seeing M. St. Contest next Tuesday, I will represent the case to him, in obedience to his Majesty's commands; that M. la Jonquière may have positive orders to desist from the unjustifiable proceedings complained of; to release any of his Majesty's subjects he may still detain in prison, and to make ample restitution of their effects. And I shall take care to show them the ample necessity of sending instructions to their several Governors, not to attempt any such encroachments for the future.

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*Minute of Instructions to be given to M. Duquesne.*

CANADA. INDIANS.

It appears from a letter of the Marquis de la Jonquière, that the efforts the English are making, and the expenses they incur, to gain over the Indians, are not without success among several Nations.

Information has been received last year of the progress they had already made among the Indians in the environs of the River Ohio, where they have undertaken, since the peace, to form some establishments.

The Marquis de la Jonquière had rendered an account of a plan he had prepared both to drive the English from that river and to chastise the Indians who allowed themselves to be gained over. That plan was to dispatch several detachments of Frenchmen and Indian allies, who were to form a junction at a rendezvous which was indicated to them, to operate afterwards relative to the object of that movement. Although the details of the Marquis de la Jonquière's dispositions in this regard might call forth some observations; yet as the project was good, and was, besides, to have been executed before that Governor could receive these remarks, his Majesty thought proper to approve what he had done. But all the consequent operations reduce themselves to the seizure of some English traders with their goods, and to the murder of two Indians of the Miamis Nation.

The seizure of the English traders\* whose effects have been confiscated and even plundered by our Indians, cannot but produce a good effect, by disgusting the other traders of that Nation. But the murder of the two Miamis may be attended by

\* These are they who have been sent to France.

<sup>1</sup> FRANÇOIS DOMINIQUE BARBERIE, Marquis de Saint Contest, was born 26th January, 1701, appointed King's Advocate at the Châtelet of Paris, 27th November, 1721, and, after filling various other important offices, and being Ambassador to Holland in 1750, he was, through the influence of Mme. de Pompadour, called on the 11th September, 1751, to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the dismissal of the Marquis de Puyseulx. His principal policy was the preservation of peace. He remained in office until his death, which took place on the 24th July, 1754. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

unfortunate consequences; and in fact intelligence has been received that it had already caused a good deal of excitement among the rebel Nations.

The Marquis de la Jonquière pretends that if his expedition has not had the success he expected, it was because *Sieur Celoron*, Major and Commandant of *Detroit*, which was to be the centre of all the operations, has badly executed the orders and instructions he had given him.

But it would be useless, now, to enter into the examination of the faults that may have been committed. We must start from our present position, and establish some principles on which his Majesty may issue such orders as he may deem proper.

The English may pretend that we are bound by the Treaty of *Utrecht* to permit the Indians to trade with them. But it is certain that nothing can oblige us to suffer this trade on our territory.

Accordingly in all the alliances or quasi treaties or propositions we have had with the *Far Indians*, we have never obliged them expressly to renounce going to the English to trade; we have merely exhorted them to that effect, and never did we oppose that treaty by force.

The River *Ohio*, otherwise called the Beautiful river, and its tributaries belong indisputably to France, by virtue of its discovery by *Sieur de la Salle*; of the trading posts the French have had there since, and of possession which is so much the more unquestionable as it constitutes the most frequent communication from Canada to Louisiana. It is only within a few years that the English have undertaken to trade there; and now they pretend to exclude us from it.

They have not, up to the present time, however, maintained that these rivers belong to them; they pretend only that the *Iroquois* are masters of them and being the Sovereigns of these Indians, that they can exercise their rights. But 'tis certain that these Indians have none, and that, besides, the pretended sovereignty of the English over them is a chimera.

Meanwhile 'tis of the greatest importance to arrest the progress of the pretensions and expeditions of the English in that quarter. Should they succeed there, they would cut off the communication between the two Colonies of Canada and Louisiana, and would be in a position to trouble them, and to ruin both the one and the other, independent of the advantages they would at once experience in their trade to the prejudice of ours.

Any complaints that may be presented to the Court of England against the English Governors would be altogether futile. On the one hand it would be very difficult to obtain proofs of the most serious facts; and on the other, no matter what proofs may be produced, that Court would find means to elude all satisfaction, especially as long as the boundaries are not settled.

It is necessary then to act on the spot, and the question to be determined is, what means are the most proper.

It is not known what steps the Marquis de la Jonquière will take this year; but whatever they be, it appears that the orders to be given on this subject to *M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne*, who is to succeed him in the government, must have principally for their object, to avoid, as much as it will be possible, an Indian war on that account.

Wars of this character are always extremely expensive, and very rarely productive of any real advantage.

Therefore, without undertaking, as the Marquis de la Jonquière appears to have proposed, to drive from the River *Ohio* the Indians who are looked upon as rebels or suspected, and without wishing even to destroy the liberty of their trade, it is thought best to adhere to two principal points.



1<sup>a</sup> To make every possible effort to drive the English from our territory, and to prevent them coming there to trade.

2<sup>a</sup> To give the Indians to understand at the same time that no harm is intended them, that they will have liberty to go as much as they please to the English to trade, but will not be allowed to receive these on our territory.

There is reason to believe that by this course of conduct; by providing our posts with plenty of goods and preventing our traders dictating to the Indians, our trade will soon recover the superiority over that of the English in those parts; for 'tis certain the Indians do not like to go into their towns, nor forts.

The Marquis de la Jonquière has rendered an account of a solemn Council which was held on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July last,<sup>1</sup> with the Onontagués of the Five Iroquois Nations, in presence of the chiefs of the Iroquois domiciliated at the Sault St. Louis and at the Lake of the Two Mountains; of the Abenakis of St. Francis and of the Outaouïois of Michilimakinac. Everything appears to have gone off well in that Council on the part of those Indians, who have evinced very favorable dispositions. But two articles were discussed there, respecting which it is proper to give M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne particular orders.

The first is relative to the lands on the River Ohio. The Onontagués asserted in their speech, that these lands are the property of the Five Nations. The Marquis de la Jonquière has unadvisedly answered them so as to countenance that pretension, by giving them to understand that the French would not settle on those lands without their permission.

'Tis necessary to disabuse them on this head. They have, in fact, as has been already observed, no right to the River Ohio. We had discovered it long before they themselves had known it, and we have resorted to it when no other Indians were there but the Chaoüanons, with whom they were at war, and who have always been our friends.

The second turned on the murder of 18 Iroquois by some Cherokees. The Marquis de la Jonquière took advantage of that occasion to induce the Iroquois to make war on the Cherakis, who are allies of the English. He expects great advantages from this war; and by letters from M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, Governor of Louisiana, it appears that such is his opinion, also, on that point. But 'tis not known whether it would not be of more advantage to endeavor to make peace between these two Nations, and to profit by that occasion to conciliate the Cherakis in our favor. There is, at least, no doubt that the English pursue that course, and will succeed in it sooner or later.

However that be, 'tis considered proper to direct M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne to lay down henceforward in Canada a different system from that always followed hitherto in regard to wars among the Indians. With a view to occupy and weaken them, the principle has been to excite and foment these sorts of wars. That was of advantage in the infancy of the settlement of Canada. But in the condition to which these Nations are now reduced, and in their present dispositions generally, it is in every respect more useful that the French perform between them the part of protectors and pacificators. They will, thereby, entertain more consideration and attachment for us; the Colony will be more tranquil in consequence, and we shall save considerable expense. Cases, however, may occur in which it will be proper to excite war against certain Nations attached to the English; but even such cases call for two observations; one, to endeavor, first, to gain over these same Nations by reconciling them with ours; and the other, to be as sure as possible that our Indians will not suffer too much from these wars.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 232. — Ed.

The Marquis de la Jonquière has likewise reported the measures he has adopted for the continuation of the Indian movements in the direction of Acadia. They correspond with the caution prescribed to him in regard to the English. There is nothing to be changed on this head in M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne's instructions. It appears merely proper to enjoin on him expressly to prevent the French painting or dressing themselves like Indians, in order to assault the English. 'Tis a flagrant treachery which must not be permitted even in time of war.

There are still other particular details in the Marquis de la Jonquière's letters respecting the Indians; but they do not deserve his Majesty's attention, and, besides, do not call for any special instructions to M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne. It is observable, however, that all that transpires among the different nations, goes to show that the English are employing every sort of manœuvre to debauch them. What is most unfortunate is, that they are now incurring more expense than they have ever done.

Approved. April, 1752.

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*M. de Longueuil to M. de Rouillé.*

21 April,<sup>1</sup> 1752.

My Lord,

The late Marquis de la Jonquière had the honor to report to you, in his letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, the ill success of the orders he had given in a secret instruction to M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron; that the band of *La Demoiselle* and other Indians of the Beautiful river had pushed their rebellion to excess, had adopted the English and had openly declared themselves the sworn enemies of the French.

In the same letter that General had the honor to inform you that he had adopted wise measures to secure the conquest of *La Demoiselle's* fort, to expel the English from the Beautiful river, to punish the Indian nations and to make them feel the King's power.

I doubt not, my Lord, but that letter had at first created great hopes of the execution of the expedition which was projected and concerted in the best possible manner by the late M. de la Jonquière.

But the despatch which that General had the honor to write you on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October, on the subject of M<sup>r</sup> de Belestre's voyage, and of the scalps taken by the Nepissings, will only create an apprehension in your mind that his orders and purest intentions would still be fruitless.

In fact, my Lord, the orders which M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière dispatched last spring to M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron, and repeated in his letter to him of the first of October, were not executed any more than those he had given him as far back as 1750, before his departure for Detroit. I cannot actually fathom the reasons which prevented that officer obeying them, as he makes no mention thereof in the letter he has written to the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière on the twenty-sixth day of January last.

That letter has been preceded by several other despatches from M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron and the Commandants of our other posts at the South, even, I think, at Illinois, but neither the one

<sup>1</sup> Sic, but evidently an error, as 'twas written subsequently to the death of the Marquis de la Jonquière, on the 17th May. — Ed.



nor the other has reached me. M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron had addressed these despatches to M<sup>r</sup> de la Lavalterie, the Commandant at Niagara, who detached a soldier to convey them to Fort Rouillé,<sup>1</sup> with orders to the storekeeper of that post to transmit them promptly to Montreal. It is not known what became of that soldier. About the same time a Mississagué from Toronto arrived at Niagara, who informed M<sup>r</sup> de Lavalterie that he had not seen that soldier at the fort, nor met him on the way. 'Tis to be feared that he has been killed by Indians, and the despatches carried to the English. M<sup>r</sup> de la Valterie has not failed to recommend to this Indian to make every search on his way back to his village, and to assure him, that should he find that soldier, and convey the despatches entrusted to him to the storekeeper of Toronto, he would be well rewarded.

M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron's letter is accompanied by one that M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris wrote to the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière on the 4<sup>th</sup> of January. 'Tis from this last letter that I learned more particularly the unfortunate state of our affairs.

From the accounts which M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron transmitted to the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière subsequent to those, a detail of which that General had the honor to give you, and previous to M<sup>r</sup> Celoron's being able to receive his last orders, sent in his letter of the first of October, it appears that it will be out of his power to make any movement.

He observes, first, that after the arrival of the Militia men under the command of Lieutenant de Longueuil, and twenty days' consultation among the nations, the latter had concluded, our force being insufficient to attack *La Demoiselle* and his allies, to keep the hatchet to use it when complete success would be certain, and to wait until the spring; that the delay these Indians demand, puts it out of his power to execute anything with the few Frenchmen he has; that is easy to perceive, by the manœuvre of the Indians, that they cannot be induced to follow the French unless the latter are in strong force; that he has notified the Commandants of the River St. Joseph and of the Syatonons of the resolution these Indians had adopted, and that, should their Indians be of the same mind, nothing can probably be effected, and they must confine themselves to putting their post in a secure state.

In a letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron notifies M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière that no dependence is to be placed on the Indians for any expedition, although Mikinac had assured him that nothing but the fear of the small pox had stopped him, and that all the villages will march in the spring, if forces be sent. Finally, M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron states, in his last letter, that he cannot say anything positively respecting the nations of his post, as he had not seen them since their departure for their winter grounds.

M<sup>r</sup> de Ligneris, Commandant at the Syatanons, believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Maskoutins, and that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kispapous. He even adds, that we are not to reckon on the nations which appear in our interests; no Syatanon Chief has appeared at his post for a long time, although they had promised to inform him of all that they knew.

Mr. de Villiers, Commandant at the Miamis, has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White river, part of whom had been to see him, the small pox having put the whole of them to the route. Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. *Le Gris*, Chief of the Tepicons, and his mother, are likewise dead; they are a loss because they were well disposed towards the French.

<sup>1</sup> M. de la Jonquière had a fort built which was named Rouillé, after the Minister of the Marine; 'twas more commonly called Toronto, which is the present name of the place. *Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 13. — Ed.



The Nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said that they would be ready to perform their promise so soon as Onontio would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The Commandant of this post writes on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January that all the Nations appear to take sides against us, that he would not be responsible for the good dispositions these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their near relatives.

The Missilimakina Nations who had in like manner promised, have not budged either. M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis Fabert writes on the first of January that he has been informed some of the enemy have been seen on the Grand river.

It is exceedingly probable that the Commandant at Fort Chartres will not have any greater authority over the Nations of his post.

The result of all that I have the honor of reporting to you, my Lord, is that not only have our rebels of the Beautiful river not experienced any ill treatment from the Nations that the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière had excited against them, but even moreover, that the same Nations promised wonders to that General only with a premeditated view to deceive him, and that at heart they preserve the same feelings of attachment for those rebels to whom they are connected by blood.

The perfidy of these Nations, however unfortunate it may be, is not the most untoward event that could happen to us, and it was not without reason that the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière questioned whether the two scalps taken by the Nepissings would give any trouble to our rebels, or render them more mutinous. His alternative has been but too well realized to our greatest disadvantage.

On the one hand, M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire repeats that the Indians of the Beautiful river are all English, for whom alone they work; that they are all resolved to sustain each other, and that not a party of Indians goes to the Beautiful river but leaves some there to increase the rebel forces.

On the other hand M<sup>r</sup> de St. Ange, Commandant of the post of Vincennes, writes to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the French; that he is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies.

The Commandants of our posts have so much more cause to be on their guard against all events as our enemies have steeped their hands in French blood, and as we deeply feel the cost of the two scalps taken by the Nepissings near *La Demoiselle's* village.

The Miamis of Rock river have scalped two soldiers belonging to M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers' fort; this blow was struck last fall, doubtless shortly after that of the Nepissings.

The Pianguichias, who were at war with the Chaouanons, according to the report rendered by M<sup>r</sup> St. Clin to the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, have declared entirely against us. They killed at Christmas five Frenchmen at the Vermillion.<sup>1</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered, but when this detachment arrived at the Vermillion, the Pianguichias had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice.

M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris was assured that the Pianguichias had committed this act, because four men of their Nation had been killed by the French at the Illinois, and four others had been taken and put in irons. It is said that these eight men were going to fight the Chikachas, and had, without distrusting anything, entered the quarters of the French who killed them. It has

<sup>1</sup> Vermillion river rises in the present State of Illinois and falls into the Wabash, in the State of Indiana, north of Vincennes. Another river of the same name falls into the Illinois, in La Salle county, Illinois. — Ed.



been reported, also, to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris that these Frenchmen had recourse to this extreme measure only, because a Frenchman and two slaves had been killed a few days before by a party of Pianguichias, and that the Indians in question had no knowledge of that circumstance.

The like report was made to M<sup>r</sup> de St. Ange, Commandant at the post of Vincenne, and that many of the Illinois had been defeated.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> of October the Pianguichias had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues, lower down than the post of Vincenne.

Two days afterwards the Pianguichias killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincenne.

The murder of these nine Frenchmen and these two slaves is but too certain.

M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire has informed the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière, by a letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of September, that he had been assured by a party of the warriors, that the Flatheads had scalped three Frenchmen at a place called *La Chutte*,<sup>1</sup> in the lower part of the Beautiful river, and took a fourth Frenchman prisoner, whom they delivered, with the scalps, to the English; this news may be false, though there is reason to believe that it is true.

I expect nothing less than to learn by accounts I shall receive this spring, that other Frenchmen have been killed. The advices I have received from all quarters leave me no doubt on this head.

M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris thinks that many of the Syatonons, who form with the Pianguichias and the Miamis but one Nation, may join them.

A Squaw, the widow of one of the Frenchmen who had been killed at the Vermillion, has reported to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris that the Pianguichias, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the Prairies of , the place where Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years ago, and when they had built a fort to secure their families, were to make a general attack on all the French.

'Twas also reported to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris that a Pouteouatami chief, of the River St. Joseph, being at the Syatonons in the fall with letters for him, whilst he was at the Miamis, told a Pianguichias chief, privately, that his Nation would never accept the tomahawk to strike the Miamis. This assurance may have greatly emboldened the Miamis.

M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire writes, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of August, that he had just learned that a meeting of the Illinois, Syas, Pianguichias, Miamis, Delawares, Chaouanons and the Five Iroquois Nations, was to be had this year at *La Demoiselle's*, and that the whole tends, in his opinion, to a general revolt.

The storekeeper of Toronto writes to M<sup>r</sup> de Verchères, Commandant at Fort Frontenac, that some trustworthy Indians have assured him that the Saulteux, who killed our Frenchmen some years ago, have dispersed themselves along the head of Lake Ontario, and seeing himself surrounded by them, he doubts not but they have some evil design on his fort.

There is no doubt, my Lord, but 'tis the English who are inducing the Indians to destroy the French, and that they would give a good deal to get the savages to destroy Fort Toronto, on account of the essential injury it does their trade at Choueguen.

The capture of the four English traders by M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron's order last year, has not prevented other Englishmen going to trade to the Vermillion river, where the Reverend Father la Richardie wintered.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Louisville, Ky. *Flint's Mississippi Valley*, I, 397. — Ed.

It has been reported to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris that other English traders had been to the Beautiful river and to the White river to trade, under the guidance of some Syatanons who were wintering there.

An English trader assured M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire that the Governor of Virginia was coming in the beginning of September with 800 horses, to the Beautiful river to hold a council with the Chaouanons at Cheningué.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers' garrison.

To so many circumstances equally critical, are superadded the scarcity of provisions, and great appearance of famine at our Southern posts.

M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron writes, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September, to M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière that the Indian corn is worth twenty *livres* the *minot*, payable in peltries, and that he will possibly be obliged to send away some of the Canadians from Detroit owing to the want of provisions.

To add to the misfortunes, M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris has learned that the Commandant of the Illinois would not permit Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche, who had contracted with the King to supply the Miamis, Syatanons, and even Detroit with provisions from the Illinois, to purchase any provisions for the subsistence of the garrisons of those posts, on the ground that an increase of troops and families had arrived who would consume the stock at the Illinois.

M<sup>r</sup> de St. Ange, Commandant at Fort Vincenne, does not state anything in this regard to M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris; he merely says that he has no intelligence from the Illinois, and that he is still uncertain whether the convoy had arrived there.

Whatever augmentation of troops and families may have taken place at the Illinois, 'tis certain that, on receipt of the letter, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Jonquière and Bégon have written to the Commandant and Commissary of Fort Chartres, who will do their best in order that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Delisle and Fonblanche may perform their contract, unless they suffer from a similar scarcity to ours. The great difficulty is, the arrival of the General and Intendant's orders at their destination. M<sup>r</sup> Desligneris sent them off on the 3<sup>d</sup> of January by 4 Mascoutins, but he doubts much if they will reach the Illinois; he knows not, even, that they will arrive at the post of Vincenne, on account of the enemies that encompass him.

The crops have also failed at the Beautiful river. M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire and the other Frenchmen have been reduced to a couple of handfuls (*une jointée*) of Indian corn a day; neither meat, nor grease, nor salt.

Famine is not the sole scourge we experience; the small-pox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. One woman has died of it at the Huron village.

This disease prevails also at the Beautiful river.

'Twere desirable that it should break out and spread, generally, throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army.

Before the small-pox broke out at Detroit, 40 persons died belonging to the village of the Stagois, and almost as many at the Poutegatamis.

Kinousaki is likewise dead. We lose a chief who was, apparently, much attached to the French.

M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron has been again told that the remainder of the fugitive Hurons will retire to Detroit this spring. The contagious disease will contribute a great deal to their return.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Warren, Warren county, Pennsylvania. See *Mitchell's Map*, 1755; also, *post*, p. 255, note 3. — Ed.



You are fully informed, my Lord, by the detail that I have just had the honor to submit to you :

- 1<sup>st</sup> That the expedition which M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron was ordered to get up, did not take place.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> That the promises the Indians had made to the late M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière were feigned, and that they are more in favor of our rebels than of us.
- 3<sup>d</sup> That the attack of the Nepissings has only rendered our rebels more dangerous.
- 4<sup>th</sup> That the Miamis have scalped two soldiers.
- 5<sup>th</sup> That the Pianguichias have killed 7 Frenchmen and two slaves.
- 6<sup>th</sup> That the same Nation had, shortly before, killed another Frenchman and two slaves.
- 7<sup>th</sup> That, according to what has been stated to M. de Joncaire, the Flatheads have scalped three Frenchmen and taken a 4<sup>th</sup>, whom they delivered to the English with said scalps.
- 8<sup>th</sup> That we are menaced with a general conspiracy.
- 9<sup>th</sup> That we must fear even for Tòronto.
- 10<sup>th</sup> That the English are the indirect authors of the murder of the French.
- 11<sup>th</sup> That famine at Detroit and its dependencies is quasi certain.
- 12<sup>th</sup> That small-pox is ravaging the whole of that Continent.

You perceive, my Lord, the sorrowful condition of the entire of that Upper Country. I am invested, by the death of the Marquis de la Jonquière, with the government of Canada, under very unfortunate circumstances. I lay before your eyes the blood of the French of that Colony, of which you are the powerful protector. My zeal, my fidelity for the King's service, and the love I feel for my country combine to inspire me with just sentiments of vengeance; everything urges me not to defer it, and to make our enemies feel his Majesty's power. But I have thoroughly searched for solid means to second my wishes. Though I overcome, at first, certain obstacles, I am always met by the insufficiency of provisions, canoes and time, which prevents me guaranteeing that I shall make peace succeed the most vigorous war.

This I shall undertake next year to do, with as much prudence and firmness as I dare flatter myself with.

I do not lose sight, my Lord, of what you have prescribed to the late M. de la Jonquière,<sup>1</sup> in your letter of the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, which reached him only in the beginning of winter. I owe it to the memory of that General, who had no other object than to reëstablish good order in the countries which cause us so much trouble [to bear witness] that everything that has been written against him is the work of calumny, which is the sole talent of certain evil spirits of this country, whom I beg you, my Lord, to visit with the punishment due to their audacity.

It is notorious that M<sup>r</sup> de la Salle took possession of the Beautiful river in the King's name,

<sup>1</sup> JACQUES PIERRE DE TAFFANEL, Marquis de la Jonquière, was born in 1686, at La Jonquière, a small country seat in Languedoc, France. The family was, originally, from Catalonia. He entered the Navy in 1698; was in the expeditions in favor of Philip V., of Spain, and Adjutant in the army, in 1703; was taken prisoner, near Barcelona, in 1706; served at the siege of Toulon in 1707, and in the expedition to Rio Janeiro in 1711; was created Knight of St. Louis, and appointed Captain of an Independent company in 1731; Captain in the Navy in 1736; Inspector of Marine in 1741, and in 1744 was flag-officer of Vice-Admiral de Court, when he engaged Admiral Matthews; accompanied the Duke d'Anville's fleet in 1746, and in 1747 was appointed Governor of Canada, but was taken prisoner by the British on the 3d May, on his way to that country, where, consequently, he did not arrive until 2d September, 1749. He was tall in stature, well made, and of an imposing figure, excessively brave, but he tarnished his reputation by his avarice, which embittered his last hours. For though worth millions, during his last illness he ordered the wax tapers that were burning in his room to be changed to tallow candles, observing that the latter would answer every purpose and were less expensive. He died at Quebec, 17th May, 1752, in the 67th year of his age, and was buried in the church of the Recollects. *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 24; *Smith's Canada*, I., 223. — Ed.

at the time of the discovery of the Mississippi; that his Majesty's property of it cannot be validly questioned; that we are clearly authorized not to suffer any European strangers to undertake resorting thither, and that hereupon depends the free communication by that river between this Colony and Louisiana.

I likewise know that 'tis not the Indians who carry on the contraband trade; that 'tis not they who desire to establish posts on our lands, and that 'tis not against them that there would be any question of acting, since we do not seek to embarrass them in their trade, and leave them free to settle wherever they please.

In fine, experience teaches us but too well, that the English look with eyes of concupiscence both on the lands of the Beautiful river, and generally on all that vast country; that they are the fomenters of the rebellion of the nations who, from all time, have been loyal to us, and who, at their instigation only, have been led to the extreme of killing our Frenchmen.

No remedy for our evils would have been more effectual than to drive the English from our lands, and no other course would remain to be taken to insure its success than to send a sufficient force to Detroit and the Beautiful river, to adopt all possible precautions to protect the French from the fury of the Indians and to guarantee their effects against pillage. My first object is in every point of view interesting, and if not accomplished, 'twill not be for want of foresight on my part.

I shall dispatch this summer 400 Canadians, under the command of Chevalier de Longueuil, to Detroit, to proceed thence to winter at the other posts nearest our enemies. Next spring I shall send off five or six hundred Canadians to form a junction with the former at the rendezvous to be designated by M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil. I shall transmit to him, then, my orders which I regulate according to his experience, and the accounts he will send me during the winter. I could not be beforehand with my orders, because our affairs will possibly change from one moment to another.

I shall not employ any Indians on this expedition, unless they offer to follow the French, to aid them in looking up the bones of their brethren.

Should Chevalier de Longueuil's mission be as successful as he and I dare hope, the Upper country will be free, and the French able to trade there in all surety. The Indian nations will return to their attachment to us, and then I shall have it in my power to adopt measures to oblige the English to disburse. But I must have the honor to observe to you, my Lord, that however fortunate this expedition may be, and whatever foresight I may have in closing the road on the English, their avidity will lead them to surmount all risks, and the Indians are capable, besides, of making by-roads to escape my vigilance.

My Lord, it would therefore be of infinite importance to limit the possessions of the English, and that the boundaries of the two extremities of this Colony should be so firmly regulated that the English could not find any pretext to trouble us in our territory. I am persuaded that the capture of the four English traders by M<sup>r</sup> de Celoron, and the letter M<sup>r</sup> de la Jonquière had the honor to write you on the 16<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup> will not have contributed a little to accelerate the labors of the Commissioners. The tranquillity of this Colony depends on their decision.

I am with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and most  
obedient servant

LONGUEUIL.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See IX, vii. — Ed.



*Conference of Captain Phineas Stevens with the St. Francis Indians.*

Propositions of the Abenakis of St. Francis to Captain Phineas Stevens, delegate from the Governor of Boston, in presence of the Baron de Longueuil, Governor of Montreal, Commandant of Canada and of the Iroquois of the Sault Saint Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 1752.

Atiwaneto, Chief Speaker.

Brother, We speak to you as if we spoke to your Governor of Boston.

We hear on all sides that this Governor and the Bostonians say that the Abenakis are bad people. 'Tis in vain that we are taxed with having a bad heart; it is you, brother, that always attack us; your mouth is of sugar but your heart of gall; in truth, the moment you begin we are on our guard.

2.

Brothers, We tell you that we seek not war, we ask nothing better than to be quiet, and it depends, Brothers, only on you English, to have peace with us.

3.

We have not yet sold the lands we inhabit, we wish to keep the possession of them. Our elders have been willing to tolerate you, brothers Englishmen, on the seaboard as far as Sawakwato; as that has been so decided, we wish it to be so.

4.

But we will not cede one single inch of the lands we inhabit beyond what has been decided formerly by our fathers.

5.

You have the sea for your share from the place where you reside; you can trade there; but we expressly forbid you to kill a single Beaver, or to take a single stick of timber on the lands we inhabit; if you want timber we'll sell you some, but you shall not take it without our permission.

6.

Brothers, Who hath authorized you to have those lands surveyed? We request our brother, the Governor of Boston, to have these Surveyors punished, as we cannot imagine that they have acted by his authority.

7.

Brother, You are therefore masters of the peace that we are to have with you; on condition that you will not encroach on those lands we will be at peace, as the King of France is with the King of Great Britain.

8.

By a Belt.

I repeat to you, Brothers, by this Belt, that it depends on yourselves to be at peace with the Abenakis.

9.

Our Father who is here present has nothing to do with what we say to you; we speak to you of our own accord, and in the name of all our allies; we regard our Father, in this instance, only as a witness of our words.

10.

We acknowledge no other boundaries of yours than your settlements whereon you have built, and we will not, under any pretext whatsoever, that you pass beyond them. The lands we possess have been given us by the Master of Life. We acknowledge to hold only from him.

11.

We are entirely free; we are allies of the King of France, from whom we have received the Faith and all sorts of assistance in our necessities; we love that Monarch, and we are strongly attached to his interests.

12.

Let us have an answer to the propositions we address you, as soon as possible; take this message in writing to give to your Governor; we, also, shall keep a copy of it to use in case of need.

Without stirring a step it is easy for your Governor to transmit his answer to us; he will have merely to address it to our Father who will have the goodness to send it to us.

13.

Brothers, I shall report your Message to my Governor, and in order that it may not suffer any alteration I shall take it in writing. He will transmit his answer to the Baron de Longueuil as you desire.

#### The English demand of the Abenakis.

1.

Brothers Abenakis, I ask you if the attack which your Nation has made these two years, on the English is in consequence of encroachments by the later on your lands?

2.

Are you satisfied with the death of your people on account of your attacks on the English?

3.

I know that it is not permitted to go on your lands; those who have been there are young fools, without any character.

#### The Answer of the Abenakis.

1.

Brothers, When peace was concluded we hoped to enjoy it, like the French, but we learned at the same time, that you, English, had killed one of our people, and had hid him under the ice.



We asked you wherefore you killed us? You answered that you would give us satisfaction, but your ill-will having been sensibly indicated by your inaction, pending seven months, we resolved to avenge ourselves, and to pull down one house.

Since then we have missed one man and one woman belonging to our village; we learned their sad fate only from an Englishwoman, who is at present at our place, who assured us that that man and woman were killed in her presence by Englishmen, and in order to afford us a convincing proof thereof, she gave us a bag which we perfectly recognized as having belonged to those unfortunate people. We felt, as we ought to do, this murder, and avenged it last year.

The two Englishmen that we killed this year on the head waters of our river, and the two others that we have taken prisoners, must attribute their misfortunes to themselves, because they hunted Beaver on our lands, and on this point we repeat to you, with all the firmness we are capable of, that we will kill all the Englishmen we shall find on the lands in our possession.

2.

Our heart is good, and since we struck the blow our thirst for vengeance is extinguished.

3.

Listen, Brothers Englishmen, to what is our Indian custom among ourselves, with persons we would find on the lands we possess; we should take their game, and if they made any resistance, we would knock them on the head.

How can you suppose, Brothers, that we should suffer you on those lands?

You have only to excite fear in your houses. We are not capable of offering the least insult, but should any of you be found on our lands, they shall die.

#### The Iroquois to the Abenakis.

We have heard, with pleasure, what you said to the English deputy; we are charmed that you have vigorously maintained your rights. We exhort you to keep your word with the English; should the case require it, we oblige ourselves to aid you with all our might.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the entire of New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana,

Certify that the present transcript is conformable to the original remaining in our Secretary's office; in testimony whereof we have signed these presents, caused the same to be sealed with the seal of our Arms and to be countersigned by your Secretary.

Done at Montreal the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1758.

Signature of the

MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord,

SAINT SAUVEUR.

*M. Duquesne to M. de Rouillé.*

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform you that I have been obliged to alter the arrangements I had made, whereof I rendered you an account last fall.

You will see, my Lord, by the extract of the Journal, hereunto annexed, the reasons which compelled me to reduce, to almost one-half, the van-guard that I had informed you consisted of 400 men, and those that determined me to prefer landing the troops at the harbor of Presqu'isle,<sup>1</sup> on Lake Erie, which I, very fortunately, discovered, instead of at Chatacouit,<sup>2</sup> where, I informed you, I would begin my posts.

This discovery is so much the more propitious as 'tis a harbor which the largest barks can enter, loaded, and be in perfect safety. I am informed that the beach, the soil and the resources, of all sorts, were the same as represented to me.

The plan I send you of this place is only a rough sketch until it be corrected. I have given orders that this be proceeded with.

The letter I received on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January last from M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire, has obliged me to proceed to force to obtain provisions from the farmers to enable me to oppose the projects of the English, who, he advised me, had sent smiths to Chinengué<sup>3</sup> and the River au Bœuf,<sup>4</sup> where they were even settled, and that there was a terrible excitement among the Indians, who looked upon it as certain that the English would be firmly settled there in the course of this year, not imagining that my forces were capable of opposing them. This fear which made me attempt the impossible, has had, hitherto, the most complete success; all the provisions have arrived from without, after a delay of fifteen days, and I had them transported, with all imaginable diligence, into a country so full of difficulties, in consequence of the great number of voyageurs which I required to ascend the rapids, the race of which is getting scarce.

I was not long without perceiving that this movement made a considerable impression on the Indians, and what has thrown more consternation among them is, that I had not recourse to them, for I contented myself with telling our domiciliated tribes that if there were eight or ten from each village who had the curiosity to witness my operations, I would permit them to follow Sieur Marin, the commander of the detachment, whom they were well acquainted with, and in whom they have confidence; of two hundred whom I proposed to send forward, only 70 are sufficient for scouts and hunters.

All the nations that came down to see me from the Upper country, and who met the multitude of bateaux and canoes which were conveying the men and effects belonging to the detachment, presented themselves all trembling before me, and told me that they were aware of my power by the swarm of men they had passed, and [begged me] to have pity on them, their wives and their children. I took advantage of their terror to speak to them in a tone firm and menacing the first that would falter, and instead of a month or five weeks that they were accustomed to remain here consuming the King's provisions, I got rid of them on the fourth day.

<sup>1</sup> Erie, Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Chatacouit, i. e., Portland, New-York.

<sup>3</sup> Chinengue, or Shenango, is laid down, in *Mitchell's Map*, at the junction of the Conewango and Allegany rivers, and is now called Warren, Pennsylvania. — Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Now, French creek, Erie county, Pa.



It appears, up to this time, that the execution of the plan of my enterprise makes so strong an impression on the Nations that all the vagabonds who had taken refuge on the Beautiful river have returned to their villages.

I keep the Five Nations much embarrassed, because they have not come down to Montreal, and the only step they have taken has been to send the Ladies (*Dames*) of their Council to *Sieur Marin*, to inquire of him, by a Belt, whether he was marching with the hatchet uplifted, or to establish tranquillity. This Commander answered them, that when he marched with the hatchet, he bore it aloft, in order that no person should be ignorant of the fact, but as for the present, his orders were to use it only in case he encountered opposition to my will; that my intention was to support and assist them in their necessities, and to drive away the evil spirits that encompassed them and disturbed the earth.

I was aware that the English of Philadelphia had invited them to a General Council, and that they had refused to attend it; further, I knew from a man worthy of credit, who happened to be among these Indians when the English arrived, that they have rejected the Belts which had been offered them to oppose the entrance of the King's troops into the River Oyo, since they had sold it to the English. They answered that they would not meddle with my affairs, and that they would look quietly on, from their mats, persuaded, as they were, that my proceedings had no other object than to give a clear sky to a country which served as a refuge for assassins who had reddened the ground with blood.

This Nation, which possesses a superior government to all others, allowed itself to be dazzled by continual presents, and did not perceive that the English are hemming it in, so that if it do not shake off this yoke, 'twill soon be enslaved. I shall lead them to make this reflection, in order to induce them to pull down Choueguen, which is destroying them, and will be the ruin of the Colony.

Should we have had to use reprisals, I would soon have taken that post. I have already forwarded to Fort Frontenac, the artillery and everything necessary for this *coup de main*.

*Sieur Marin* writes me on the 3<sup>rd</sup> instant, that the fort at *Presqu'isle* is entirely finished; that the Portage road, which is six leagues in length, is also ready for carriages; that the store which was necessary to be built half way across this Portage is in a condition to receive the supplies, and that the second fort, which is located at the mouth (*entrée*) of the River au Bœuf, will be soon completed.

This Commandant informs me, moreover, that he is having some pirogues constructed, whilst men are actively employed in transporting his stores, and he tells me that all the Delawares (*Loups*), Chaouanons and Senecas on the Beautiful river had come to meet him, and that he had so well [received] them, that they are very zealously assisting, with their horses that they have brought along with them, in making the Portage.

There has not been, up to the present time, the least impediment to the considerable movements I have caused to be made; everything arrived at its destination with greater celerity than I anticipated, and among the prodigious number of bateaux or canoes that have passed the rapids, only one has upset, drowning seven men.

As it is impossible, in a moment as vast as it was precipitous for this country, that some of the provisions should not be spoiled in open craft, despite all the precautions that could be taken, I have sent on as much as was necessary to repair the loss.

Everything announces, my Lord, the successful execution of my project, unless some unforeseen accident have occurred, and the only anxiety I feel is, that the River au Bœuf



Portage will delay the entrance of our troops into the Beautiful river, as it is long, and there is considerable to carry, and the horses I have sent thither have arrived there exhausted by fatigue. But I hope this will be obviated by those the Indians have brought thither, and that the mildness of the climate will admit of the completion of the posts.

The extreme boldness with which I have executed a project of so much importance, has caused me the liveliest inquietude; the famine which met me on my arrival at Quebec, having reduced me to forwarding only 900 barrels of flour, as the whole supply.

From the knowledge I have acquired this winter, I would have composed my van-guard of 700 men, had I had an entrepôt of provisions at Niagara, because that body of men would have assuredly advanced to the Portage which I was desirous of occupying, having to fear some opposition on the part of the Indians of the Beautiful river, at the instigation of the English, my plan having been discovered and bruited abroad since Mr de la Jonquière's death, in consequence of the explorations that I caused to be made by some bark canoes, notwithstanding the color I wished to give to these movements.

I leave you to judge, my Lord, the trouble of mind I felt at the reduction of this van-guard to 250 men, which I was obliged to send like, what is called in the army, a forlorn hope, when dispatched to explore a work; on the other hand, I should proceed at a snail's pace (*me mettre à la tortue*) could I continue my operations only with the assistance derived from the sea, the inconveniences of which I understood.

In fine, my Lord, if there be any merit in doing everything contrary to the prudence of a person of my age, who has not the reputation of being devoid of that virtue, the enterprise in question would be entitled to very great [credit], but necessity having constrained me to it, I do not adopt it, and attribute its success only to singular good fortune which I would not, for all the world, tempt again.

The discovery I have made of the harbor of Presqu'isle, which is regarded as the finest spot in nature, has determined me to send a Royal assistant pilot to search around the Niagara rapids for some place where a bark could remain to take in its load. Nothing would be of greater advantage in the saving of transport and the security of the property of the new posts and of Detroit, but it is necessary to find a good bottom, so that the anchors may hold, for it could safely winter at Presqu'isle, where it would be as it were in a box. I impatiently await the return of this pilot, and I would be much flattered could I be able to announce to you in my latest despatches, that I have ordered the construction of this vessel.

I must not leave you ignorant, my Lord, how much I am pleased with Sieur Marin, the commander of the detachment, and with Major Péan. The former, who has an experienced capacity, manages the Indians as he pleases, and he has, at his age, the same zeal and activity as any young officer that may enter the service. The second is endowed with all the talent imaginable for detail and resources, and knows no other occupation than that of accomplishing the object he is entrusted with. He alone had charge of dispatching all the canoes and bateaux, and acquitted himself of that duty with great order. Chevalier Le Mercier, to whom I assigned the duties of engineer, and who is also entrusted with the distribution of the provisions, is an officer possessing the rarest talent. Sieur Marin expresses himself to me in the highest terms of all those who are under his orders, and who vie with each other in diligence.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

Montreal, 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1753.

DUQUESNE.



*Governor Dinwiddie to M. de St. Pierre.*

Sir,

The lands upon the River Ohio, in the western parts of the Colony of Virginia, are so notoriously known to be the property of the Crown of Great Britain that it is a matter of equal concern and surprise to me, to hear that a body of French forces are erecting fortresses and making settlements upon that river, within his Majesty's dominions. The many and repeated complaints I have received of these acts of hostility lay me under the necessity of sending, in the name of the King, my master, the bearer hereof, George Washington, Esq., one of the Adjutants-General of the forces of this dominion, to complain to you of the encroachments thus made, and of the injuries done to the subjects of Great Britain, in violation of the law of nations, and the treaties now subsisting between the two Crowns. If these facts be true, and you think fit to justify your proceedings, I must desire you to acquaint me by whose authority and instructions you have lately marched from Canada with an armed force, and invaded the King of Great Britain's territories, in the manner complained of; that according to the purport and resolution of your answer, I may act agreeably to the commission I am honored with, from the King, my master. However, sir, in obedience to my instructions, it becomes my duty to require your peaceable departure; and that you would forbear prosecuting a purpose so interruptive of the harmony and good understanding, which his Majesty is desirous to continue and cultivate with the most Christian King, &c.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

October 31, 1753.

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*M. de St. Pierre to Governor Dinwiddie.*

[Pennsylvania Colonial Records, V., 715.]

Sir,

As I have the honor of commanding here in chief, Mr. Washington delivered to me the letter, which you wrote to the commander of the French troops. I should have been glad that you had given him orders, or that he had been inclined, to proceed to Canada to see our General, to whom it better belongs, than to me, to set forth the evidence and the reality of the rights of the King, my master, to the lands situate along the River Ohio, and to contest the pretensions of the King of Great Britain thereto. I shall transmit your letter to the Marquis du Quesne. His answer will be a law to me. And if he shall order me to communicate it to you, Sir, you may be assured I shall not fail to dispatch it forthwith to you. As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions I am here by virtue of the orders of my General; and I entreat you, Sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution which can be expected from the best officer. I do not know that in the progress of this campaign anything has passed which can be reputed an act of hostility, or that is contrary to the treaties which subsist between the two Crowns; the continuation

whereof interests and pleases us as much as it does the English. Had you been pleased, Sir, to have descended to particularize the facts, which occasioned your complaint, I should have had the honor of answering you in the fullest, and, I am persuaded, the most satisfactory manner, &c.

LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE.

From the Fort on the River au }  
Bœuf,<sup>1</sup> December 15, 1753. }

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*Cabinet Memoir on the Designs of England and Austria against France.*

Count Christiani's writings, though not clothed with authenticity, do not the less merit the most serious attention. There is no doubt but that Minister is informed of the designs of their I. M., and the papers he has just given, shed such strong light on the views of the Courts of Vienna and London to renew the war, that by connecting them with all that has hitherto transpired on the subject, it is not difficult to penetrate them entirely.

From this connection, it results that the two Courts, having discovered, in the last war, that France was one of the greatest obstacles to the superiority they wished to arrogate, the one on land and the other at sea, and that alone they could not destroy her, have adopted the system of ruining her through her allies, either by detaching them from her, or by oppressing, if they could not detach, them. With this design, in order to save themselves from the reproach of having infringed the peace reëstablished by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and to gain time to make their arrangements quietly, they have concluded on having Russia commence the execution of their project in the North and in Germany, and the Emperor in Italy, because these powers not having been parties to the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, no engagements can be pleaded against them. Both the Courts of Vienna and London fully expect that they will be called on, as contracting parties to this treaty, to endeavor to arrest the enterprises of the other two; but they will answer, in regard to Russia, that they are not masters of their allies, and in regard to the Emperor, that his I. M. only exercises the rights of the Empire which were confided to him agreeably to the capitulation he has sworn to, especially as relates to the Italian fiefs, and that as the Emperor and the Empire have made no engagements contrary thereto, they cannot be prevented exercising their rights in all their extent; but that, notwithstanding, they will, willingly, employ their influence with these two powers to reconcile them if possible. The two Courts, under the specious mask of these peaceable dispositions, will endeavor to blind Europe and to lull the vigilance of France; the Russians will, during that time, continue their intrigues against the King of Prussia, and the Emperor,

<sup>1</sup> Fort Le Bœuf was situated on the South or West fork of the French creek, Pennsylvania, near the water, almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it which forms a kind of Island. Four houses composed the sides; the bastions were of poles driven into the ground, standing more than 12 feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port-holes cut for cannon and loop-holes for small arms. Eight six pounders were mounted in each bastion, and one four pounder before the gate. In the bastions were a guard-house, chapel, surgeon's lodgings and commandant's private store. It stood on the present site of Waterford, Erie Co., Pa. *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII, 387, 388. The Indian name of the place was Casewago. *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, V., 659, 660. — Ed.



his against the Republic of Genoa; the Infanta Don Philip will be placed in check, and the said Courts will take their measures to openly join his friends, and accomplish the object of their project, as soon as they will believe themselves in a position to do so with impunity, a period which does not seem very remote, and which everything indicates to be shortly after the election of the King of the Romans, and the election of the new British Parliament.

The fullest evidence exists that such is the project of the Courts of Vienna and England, and it seems, by the dispositions of the Russians and of the Imperial Court, that it already begins to be put in execution both in Germany and in Italy, where, assuredly, the place of Imperial Commissioner has not been given to the Marquis Botta with a view to keep up a good understanding with Genoa.

From the whole of this exposé it follows that there is not a moment to be lost in order to oppose the progress of the enemies of the public tranquillity. The first step to be taken appears to be, to denounce to Spain the views of the Courts of Vienna and of London, confirmed by Count Christiani's memoirs, to enlighten them as to the dangers the Infanta, Italy and herself run. It is a settled principle that if France is to behold her ruin in that of her allies, Spain must see hers in that of France, for it is only by putting it out of the power of the latter to succor the former, that England can hope to achieve its plans of aggrandizement in America. It is to be hoped that these reasons will lead the Court of Madrid to adopt measures in concert with France to avert the danger. There remain no defenders for Europe except the King and the King of Spain, and on their combined foresight rests the safety of their Empire and that of the entire of Europe.

15<sup>th</sup> December, 1753.

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*M. Varin to M. Bigot.*

Montreal, the 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1754.

M. l'Intendant,

The English defeated by M. de Villiers, after a battle of 10 hours.

I have the honor to inform you that M<sup>r</sup> du Sablé has just arrived from the Beautiful river, where the English, to the number of 500, surrendered by capitulation on the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> of this month, to M. de Villiers, seconded by M<sup>r</sup> Le Mercier, after an engagement of 10 hours, although they were in a fort covered by an intrenchment, with 9 pieces of cannon. The capitulation, whereof a copy is hereunto annexed, will show you the glory our Canadians have acquired on that day, and the humanity with which the English have been treated. We lost on that day 2 Canadians [one] of whom [was] Sieur Desprez' oldest son, and have had 70 wounded, the majority of them slightly; of these, two are Indians. M<sup>r</sup> Péan's Panis has been also killed. The English, on their side, have had 80 or 90 men killed or mortally wounded. M<sup>r</sup> le Mercier has had their 9 pieces of cannon broken, and the English, who took to their heels after the capitulation, have abandoned even their flag. M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers had 700 men with him, 600 of whom were French, and 100 Indians, who attacked Fort Necessity<sup>1</sup> in broad day; he discovered, despite the fire of the enemy, who

<sup>1</sup> The site of this fort is in Fayette county, Pa., four miles east of Laurel Hill, and above 300 yards south of the National road, on a creek emptying into the Yohiogany river. *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII, 422, 423. — Ed.



had at first come out of their fort, [that] they had formed themselves in the order of battle to meet M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers, whose first fire, however, they did not wait before they wheeled back under their intrenchment. Fire has been set to all the buildings in that fort, as well as to some houses at this side of it, and to a large storehouse constructed to serve as a dépôt, within 10 leagues or thereabouts of Fort du Quesne. There is reason to believe that this action will disgust the English with the Beautiful river, and that the defeat they have just experienced for the second time, will entirely disgust the Indians with taking any manner of part with them. You judge correctly, Sir, that this brilliant news has greatly pleased the General, and I am persuaded it will no less gratify you.

M<sup>r</sup> Péan is gradually improving, and I believe is to make his circuit by way of Detroit and Missilimakinac, now that all is peace and quietness on the Beautiful river. M<sup>r</sup> le Mercier states that he was about starting with the detachment to join M<sup>r</sup> Péan at Presq'Isle and make the circuit. The General originally intended to send orders to them to form a junction, but on reflecting that his messenger would not arrive in time, he has detained him for some days, being pleased, in other respects, that the Detroit and Missilimakinak Nations should see the conquerors of the English, and he forthwith set about dispatching Trudel to take these good news to you.

I have the honor to be with inviolable attachment and infinite respect, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

VARIN.<sup>1</sup>

Extract from M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers' Journal annexed to M<sup>r</sup> Varin's letter.

On the 3<sup>d</sup> of July, at break of day, I prepared to depart from the camp abandoned by the English. I invited the Indians to provide some scouts. The weather was inclining to rain, but I foresaw the necessity of anticipating the enemy in the works he might construct. I even flattered myself that he would be less on his guard in such bad weather.

The Nepissings and Algonquins did not wish to proceed; I told them they could remain; I set out with the other Nations, which made the former so much ashamed that they all joined me except two. Before marching, two of my first scouts came to me and told me that they had taken three prisoners, who were coming from the Chouanons, and that they had left them at the storehouse. This fact was confirmed by the letter of the sergeant whom I had left there with twenty men. We marched the entire day in the rain, and I sent scouts after scouts. I halted at the place where my brother<sup>2</sup> had been assassinated, and saw some dead bodies there yet.

When I came to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a league from the English fort, I ordered each officer to march in column, that I might be better able to dispose of them as necessity would require.

<sup>1</sup> FRANÇOIS VICTOR VARIN was a Frenchman of very low origin; some say the son of a shoemaker, others, of a schoolmaster. He was vain, lying, arrogant and the most capricious and obstinate of men—small in stature, nothing imposing in his physiognomy, licentious and a libertine in his habits, which frequently led him into scrapes. He possessed, however, a good deal of smartness; understood finance perfectly and was industrious; sought, like others, the way to enrich himself, and retained whatever he could get. He had the supplying of all the Western posts. Associated with others, he monopolized everything, fitted out canoes, built a large storehouse, which was carefully furnished with whatever was wanting in the King's stores, for which they charged their own price. Means were also found to furnish the same article several times to the government, and always at an advance. As Varin was the Commissary at Montreal, his orders were arranged accordingly. The people, who clearly perceived the object of this new store, called it in derision *La Friponne*, or, The Swindle. *Collections of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, pp. 67-69. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. du Jumonville.



I sent scouts out as far as the camp, 20 men to sustain them, and I advanced in order, when I was informed that we were discovered; that the English were approaching in the line of battle to attack us, and hard by; I ordered my men to form themselves in a suitable manner for a bush fight. It was not long before I discovered that my scouts had misled me, and I ordered the troops to advance on that side where we might be attacked. As we had no knowledge of the locality, we presented our flank to the fort, whence they began to fire cannon on us; almost at the same time I perceived the English on the right coming in order of battle against us. The Indians, as well as we, set up a great shout and advanced towards them, but they did not give us time to fire before they wheeled into an intrenchment adjoining their fort, which we, then, prepared to invest; it was situated advantageously enough in a meadow, within a musket shot of the wood. We drew as near them as possible, that we might not expose his Majesty's subjects to no purpose.

The fire was very brisk on both sides, and I selected that place which appeared to me the best to resist a sortie. We succeeded in silencing (so to say) the fire of their cannon with our musketry. 'Tis true, the ardor and zeal of our Canadians and soldiers made me uneasy, because I saw that in a short time we should perhaps be out of ammunition. M<sup>r</sup> le Mercier proposed to me to have fascines constructed to secure our posts, and hem in the English, during the night, in their fort, and wholly prevent them leaving it. I ordered M<sup>r</sup> de Bayeul to go and collect as many men as possible to succor the quarter that would be attacked in case of a general sortie. We took during that time some *caches* of provisions, ammunition and goods which circumstance encouraged the Indians and the Militia.

The enemy's fire increased towards six o'clock in the evening with more vigor than ever, and lasted until eight. As we were all the day under the rain, and as the detachment was tired and the Indians sent me word that they would depart next day, etc., a cessation of hostilities was proposed to the English, and a captain came to speak to us. The conditions of the capitulation were accepted. (They are annexed.)

The English have had 70 @ 80 men killed or mortally wounded, and many others slightly.

The Canadians have had 2 men killed, Desprez, Junior, and the Panis, belonging to M<sup>r</sup> Péan, and 70 wounded, two whereof are Indians.<sup>1</sup>

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*M. Duquesne to M. de Machault.<sup>2</sup>*

My Lord,

I have the honor to report to you what has occurred at the posts during the year.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Villiers' Journal is published at length, together with the capitulation of Fort Necessity, in the Duke de Choiseul's Memorial.

<sup>2</sup> JEAN BAPTISTE MACHAULT of Arnouville, was born 13th December, 1701. He became President of the Grand Council in 1738; Intendant of Hanaut in 1743, and in 1745, Comptroller-General of the finances. On 9th December, 1750, he received the additional appointment of Keeper of the Seals; he succeeded M. Rouillé 28th July, 1754, in the Colonial department, and organized the fleet which defeated Admiral Byng. Through the intrigues of Mme. Pompadour, he was sent, 31st January, 1757, into exile with Count d'Argenson (*supra*, p. 29), where he remained until the fall of the Bastille. In 1792, he removed to Rouen, whence he was taken in 1794, by the agents of the Revolutionary Government, and lodged, as a person suspected, in the prison of Madelonettes, where he died on the 13th July of the same year, in the 93d year of his age, without being permitted, by his inhuman jailers, even the assistance of a physician. *Biographie Universelle*. The French post at the mouth of French creek, Pennsylvania, was called, in his honor, Fort Machault. — Ed.



The Indians of the North are very quiet because Sieur Marin, who commands at The Bay and leads the Indians at will, has procured repose for them by the peace he has caused to be concluded with the Christinaux.

The Sautaux of Camanestigwia and Michipicoton have had a difficulty among themselves. Seventeen of them have been killed, but this animosity, which is at present abated, has been prejudicial only to the hunting, and they are now quiet.

Chevalier de Repentigny, who commands at the Sault St. Mary, is busily engaged with the settlement of his post, which is essential for stopping all the Indians who come down from Lake Superior to go to Choueguen, but I do not hear it said that this post yields a great revenue.

The Poutwatamis, Kickapoux, Maskoutins and Scioux of the prairies, have assembled together to go and destroy the Peorias, who, for a long time, regard with insolence the other Indians; they are, moreover, people of no faith, who steal, with impunity, even in their neighbors' cabins.

This war, in which I am not at all interested, can be productive only of a good effect in putting down such banditti; I have, nevertheless, ordered the Commandants to adjust all matters after these rascals will have received a sharp lesson.

As I had fixed for the Peanguichias to be at the Miamis where Sieur Péan would pass, and as those Indians have waited for that officer with all possible patience, nearly a month, evincing great repentance for their fault, I have ordered the Commandant of the Wyatanons, whither that nation had retired, to grant them pardon on condition that they would bring me, next year, the murderers; by this means it may be calculated that these Indians have at present submitted.

The Cherakis, who, for a year, had a French prisoner in their village, whom they treated very civilly, have sent him back to M<sup>r</sup> de Kerlerec, saying to him, if you are grateful for the good treatment we have shown you, go tell our Father that we are desirous of having a firm peace with him, and you will come and bring us back his answer.

M<sup>r</sup> de Kerlerec, who feared that reasons of policy did not permit the acceptance of this peace, demanded my authority to conclude it, if I thought it proper; I consented because none of our Indians go to fight the Cherakis, but really the Flatheads and Techichas, whom it is necessary to reserve in order to have a bone to gnaw. This Governor advises me that it is a consequence of my movements and that all his Indians are enchantingly docile.

M. Macarty sent me word that it would be necessary, after this peace, to build a fort at the mouth of the Cherakis river,<sup>1</sup> which falls into the lower part of the Oyo, but I have answered him, that though I should judge it very necessary, the state of the King's finances could not meet that increased expense.

Abbé Piquet's mission, reputed by our domiciliated Indians to be made up of spies of the Five Nations, has just given the strongest proofs of attachment and fidelity, by sending me the medals the English had presented to some of that village who had furtively assisted at the Council at Orange, and they have expelled one of their brethren who was suspected of having an English heart. This mission is improving, and the Abbé Piquet's presence can only increase their good dispositions.

Acadia is a gulf of indispensable expense, and the Abbé Leloutre has taken the axe in hand for the aboiteaux,<sup>2</sup> which must render it very fertile, but the Fort at Point Beausejour is hardly

<sup>1</sup> Tennessee river.

<sup>2</sup> This is a local expression, signifying a dam in a creek, with a gate which closes and prevents the entrance of the tide; at the same time a causeway or levee is constructed from the dam between the low land and tide water. *Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 31, note. — Ed.



in a state of defence, inasmuch as the settlers who work at it are incredibly lazy. *Sieur de Verger*, the Commandant there, does his best to encourage them at this work, which is important under actual circumstances; this officer informs me that a fleet of four ships has arrived at Halifax, and that another of a like number is expected; this appears to me to be an indication that Old England proposes something on that side, for the English are bringing considerable people there.

It seems to me that by the census of the Island of St. John, which has been sent me by *Sieur de Bonaventure*, formerly Commandant there, that place is going to be considerable, if the harvest has been good; it would in that case be the granary of Louisbourg and of Acadia.

I never thought of establishing a post at *Peskadamokauti* before having received your orders, especially since *Father Germain* has assured me that not a farmer could be placed there, inasmuch as it is all rock. I have, meanwhile, informed *Sieur de Boishebert*, who commands at the River St. John, to repair thither whenever he can, in order to have a correct draught of it, and I expect that officer will render me an exact account thereof.

Agreeably to your orders, I have sent *Sieur Pellegrin* to the Seven Islands; from the plan he has drawn of the place I have remarked that it would take at least two batteries to prevent any of the enemy's ships anchoring there, which would cost an immense sum, not only for their construction but also for the maintenance of the garrisons, because the soil there is good for nothing. 'Tis true that the anchorage is excellent.

I am with most profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

Quebec, the 13<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1754.

DUQUESNE.

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*M. Duquesne to M. de Machault.*

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1754.

My Lord,

I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August last, which reached me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> instant, wherein you are pleased to inform me of the views the King of England has manifested up to the present time, for the maintenance of peace, and that you presume he has not authorized the movements on the River Oyo.

Without referring you, my Lord, to all that I have had the honor to submit to you in my last despatches, I have to observe to you, in addition, that it is not possible that the King of Great Britain has not consented to and even ordered all the movements which the English are making on this Continent, and the consequences thereof appear to me very just.

1<sup>st</sup> The Governors of New England, besides being independent one of the other, cannot levy troops without an order of the King of Great Britain, and you will have observed by *Mr Washington's Journal* that all the Provinces have furnished a quota to his detachment. I know, moreover, that the Quakers, who never make war, have also furnished their contingent.

2<sup>nd</sup> Sieur Drouillon, an officer who was with Sieur de Jumonville's detachment, has been taken by this same M<sup>r</sup> Washington as a prisoner of war, as you will also see by his Journal.

3<sup>d</sup> The irruption made by M<sup>r</sup> Shirley, Governor of Boston, who has marched with a body of troops of 700 men to seize the upper part of the River Narantchouac where he has had a fort built, without waiting for the determination of the boundaries, as I have had the honor to inform you.

4<sup>th</sup> The Governor of Halifax has proclaimed throughout Acadia that every Acadian who will be taken with arms in his hands against them, shall be hanged.

5<sup>th</sup> The solemn congress held at Orange in the month of July by seven Governors, to persuade the Nations they had invited thither to attack us.

After the assassination of M. de Jumonville and the above consequent proofs, do you believe, my Lord, that I am authorized to anticipate a rupture on the part of the English? but it is easy to perceive, that before arriving at that point, they wish to gain over our domiciliated Indians, since they employ all sorts of artifices to corrupt them, and do not disdain even the most unworthy means to effect their object.

On the other hand, I remark that the English, who have observed my cautious conduct, take advantage of it to encroach on our lands; and I will confess to you, my Lord, that my position, as critical as it is disagreeable, in consequence of the prudence I have to observe, so as not to occasion a rupture, induces them to make attempts to push on to the neighborhood of Quebec.

You will see, my Lord, by the reports I have already submitted, how cautious I have been in my conduct, and I defy the English to complain that I have given the least interruption to the good understanding which is so strongly recommended to me, but it is evident that the Governors of New England have not the same orders, or do not execute them, inasmuch as they have violated the most sacred laws, and think only of usurpations.

As for the expense, which concerns me, I am unceasingly occupied in diminishing it, but troops cannot be moved here without great cost.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DUQUESNE.

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*M. Duquesne to M. de Machault.*

My Lord,

The Indians of the Five Nations, whom I have had the honor to announce to you, have at length arrived at Montreal, but they have been careful to prolong their voyage, in order to avoid meeting me, being aware that it is indispensable that the Governor repair to Quebec either for the autumn despatches, or to wind up the affairs of the Colony, which accumulate at that season.



You will see, my Lord, by my answer to their propositions, that I do not spare them, and that I reproach them not only with their infamous treason, but threaten, moreover, to punish them, if they do not soon recall the dogs of their village, whom they have unleashed to bite me.

The Canadians, who have always observed towards these Five Nations a regard bordering on weakness, even in cases when they essentially failed us, have been partly pained with the tone I used towards these Indians; but I could not restrain myself because it is they who have compromised me with the English, and no other course but threats remained to put an end to their treason.

I am very well pleased that I assumed a haughty tone, in consequence of the good effects my menaces have produced, to such a degree, that our domiciliated Indians, who assisted at this Council, and who feared that I would mollify, have thanked me for the firmness of my language; and the Five Nations even, when leaving, could not help saying that I was a Man, and that they would assuredly come to see me at the beginning of the spring.

I consider it my duty to remark to you, my Lord, that these Indians who were in the habit of coming annually, have not condescended to come since my arrival in this Colony, because they were plotting some mischief with the English; but having learned that the Cayugas, who have been always faithful to us, had agreed with the Oneidas and the Taskarorens not to meddle with their design; chance willed it that our domiciliated Indians of the Sault and the Lake asked my leave to visit these three last nations, their brethren, to confirm their sentiments. I took advantage of that negotiation to engage them to make them come down, and it has been productive of all the good I could hope from it.

The Onontagues, who have had recourse, without success, to every expedient to prevent their brethren coming down to Montreal, have determined to follow them, but at a distance, because they wished not to appear to me suspicious, and they have not assisted at the Council, except as hearers; I paid them well for their curiosity, and as this circumstance was kept concealed from me, I sent them, after the Conference, a message ordering them to reunite with their brethren.

The Senecas, who are the most numerous of the Five Nations, have not dared to come down because they feel themselves the most culpable; but they have sent two of their young men to assist at the Conference, who will not fail to report my words, which can have only a very good effect.

There is great appearance, my Lord, that the dismemberment of the Cayugas, Oneidas and Taskarorens will considerably counterbalance any bad part the Senecas and the Onondagas may take; I shall be at least advised by the former, but as there is question of marching again to the River Oyo, I have had the policy to engage them to come down next spring, in order to keep them in check as far as regards the execution of any evil design they might project during the winter.

I must not omit informing you, my Lord, that after the solemn Conference, the Cayugas, Oneidas and Taskarorens invited our domiciliated Indians to a secret Council, even unknown to the Baron de Longueuil, the Governor, in order that I alone may be privy to their real sentiments. You perceive, my Lord, that greater affection cannot be required of Indians than these evince for me; I believe it sincere, because the Cayugas, who have always been faithful to us, have become security for those they have brought in their party.

My negotiation with the Mohawks succeeds admirably, as you will see by their propositions, but they cannot settle in the village of the Sault St. Louis, because the lands in that quarter

are exhausted, so that more than thirty families belonging to that mission, being unable to collect wherewithal to feed themselves, are going to settle at Lake St. Francis, twenty leagues above Montreal, on the south side, where there are very good lands; the Mohawks have agreed with these thirty families to go and settle their village at this place, whither a missionary will accompany them; this change, which costs the King only the erection of a saw-mill, that will furnish abundantly wherewith to build the cabins, becomes very advantageous to the Colony, in as far as it will be easy in time of war, to be informed of all that might occur in the direction of Choueguen; besides, La Présentation, and this new village on Lake St. Francis, the Sault St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, will form a barrier which will protect the government of Montreal against all incursions, because in that weak quarter, the troops that might be sent thither, will be always supported by these Indians.

I have dwelt much on the consideration of this new expense, though very trifling, but I have reflected that if I had ordered the thirty families in question, to remain at the Sault St. Louis, I could not avoid having to feed them, which would cost an immense sum.

Never was there greater necessity to send back Father Tournois<sup>1</sup> to this Colony, as I have demanded of M. Rouillé.

The English are furious at the Indians abandoning them; they have ample cause, for the government of Orange is wholly unprotected, and there would be great need to attend to it in time of war.

You will have seen by my despatches, my Lord, that I have anticipated your wishes in making the Indians act under pretext of their private grievances, and I so manage that it will not appear that it proceeds from me.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and  
Most obedient servant,  
(Signed), DUQUESNE.

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1754.

Secret Conference held by the Oneidas, Kaskarorens and Cayugas with our domiciliated Indians at Montreal, on the 23<sup>d</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1754.

[ Annexed to the Marquis Duquesne's letter of the 31<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1754. ]

#### First Belt.

Brethren, We, as it were, place our lives in your hands; our land and yours will henceforth make but one; our interests and yours will be common; the lot of the one will always be the lot of the other, and our object is to form but one mind with you, so that our welfare being mutually dear, we shall not conceal from each other anything we shall have to hope or to fear.

#### Second Belt.

In answer to a Belt those of the Sault gave them when they were on an embassy to their country.

<sup>1</sup> Rev. JEAN BAPTISTE TOURNOIS had been Missionary at Sault St. Louis since 1742. He fell under the displeasure of the Marquis de la Jonquière, who dismissed him from that mission in 1748, and sent him to France, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Indians. *Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 22. — Ed.



This Belt was to solicit earnestly the three above named Nations to induce their brethren, the Senecas, to hearken no more to the Evil Spirit that was disturbing them, and to incline more to friendly acts.

Answer.

Brethren, We have executed your design in regard to the Senecas, and expressed ourselves most earnestly on the article that related to the Evil Spirit, by whom they allowed themselves to be ruled. We did not content ourselves with making them long speeches proper to convince them, we have even, as it were, taken hold of their head to assist them by repeatedly shaking it, to discharge all the poison that the Evil Spirit had deposited therein.

The Senecas have not yet answered this Belt, which has been presented to them in consequence, but they have promised to do so immediately.

Third Belt.

Brethren, Hearken unto us. We are about to disclose to you our true sentiments, which are not only ours but also those of all the men and women (*ceux et celles*) who have remained in our village.

Your blood is the same as ours; if heretofore a leaven hath corrupted a portion of it, it is now purified by the things we are about to declare to you.

1<sup>st</sup> Your warriors and ours will never have but the same object of war, and will march only for the same cause.

2<sup>nd</sup> Far from accepting the hatchet from the English, notwithstanding his urgent solicitations, we shall forbid our young men not only to touch it, but even to look at it.

3<sup>rd</sup> We renew here what we said by our first Belt, to convince you fully of the sentiments of union that we wish always to entertain towards you.

Fourth Belt.

Brethren, This Belt represents to you the two villages of the Oneidas, Cayugas and Kaskarorens; you see two paths laid down there; the one or the other will always terminate at the place where you will be well received and attentively heard; these two paths will for the future be well trodden by you and by us, so that the soil thereof will be always firm and even.

In consequence of the above Conference our domiciliated Indians convoked one in the afternoon of the same day, and invited the Oneidas, Kaskarorens, Cayugas, Senecas and Onontagués to it, and gave them to understand that they called them together solely in their own name, and, as it were, unknown to their Father, in order that they should fully know what were their true sentiments.

By a Belt.

Brethren, You see us here in the greatest desolation; your conduct at Orange has made us all shed tears.

We have disowned our blood when we learned that in secret Councils, in the presence of seven Governors, you have betrayed our Father's cause by agreeing with the English Evil Spirit to divest yourselves in his favor of the Beautiful river, notwithstanding the great length of time our Father has been in possession of it.

Brethren, Are you ignorant of the difference between our Father and the English? Go see the forts our Father has erected, and you will see that the land beneath his walls is still hunting ground, having fixed himself in those places we frequent, only to supply our wants; whilst the English, on the contrary, no sooner get possession of a country than the game is forced to leave it; the trees fall down before them, the earth becomes bare, and we find among them hardly wherewithal to shelter us when the night falls.

Brothers, Reflect on what we say to you by this Belt, and do not leave us long in ignorance of your mode of thinking of us, who regard as suspicious all sentiments which do not agree with our own and those of our Father.

The Iroquois cabin promised to come this spring to answer this Belt; it is supposed to be given unknown to their Father, in order that all the Iroquois may feel fully persuaded that it is not at his solicitation that our domiciliated Indians so speak.

Signature of the Marquis DUQUESNE.

Belt of the Oneidas in answer to one that the Missionaries of the Sault sent them, and which has been brought to the Mission by the Deputies from the Nation.

[ Annexed to the Marquis Duquesne's letter of 31st 8ber, 1754. ]

The Belt sent last spring was to this purpose:

1<sup>st</sup> The Onontagés, your neighbors, are dangerous; they seek to alarm you respecting our Father's conduct, accusing him of having formed the design of staining your and their mats with blood.

2<sup>nd</sup> Distrust the English, who propose to purchase your lands; they are seeking to spread themselves abroad, only in order to hem you in.

3<sup>rd</sup> Be careful not to shake the Tree of Peace which our Father, M<sup>r</sup> de Calières, has so firmly planted.

4<sup>th</sup> In order to enjoy quietly the sweets of peace, which you will not taste except by participating in good works, try the religion professed by your brethren of the Sault; desire to be praying, and we shall go and instruct you.

The answer is:

1<sup>st</sup> We will be deaf to the words of the Onontagés as well as to those of all others, unless they accord with those of our Father.

2<sup>d</sup> The English will never obtain anything from us, nor even settle on our lands.

3<sup>d</sup> Far from shaking the Tree of Peace, we will ward off from it as much as we can, the blows of the hatchet that the evil disposed might direct against it.

4<sup>th</sup> In regard to prayer, this is the word of only one of our two villages, the other not having yet taken the matter into deliberation. This is what it says: Father, you will be the master of our minds to teach us to pray; we will listen to you wherever you will be, provided brandy, which disturbs the heads of our young men, does not know the path where your fire will be lighted; we envy the lot of those to whom the Master of Life sends people to instruct them; you have made us all glad by your good word, but assure us of the time when you will begin to take pity on us. These two strings of wampum thank you on behalf of the village, for the good tobacco you have sent us.

Signature of M. DUQUESNE.



*M. de Machault to M. Duquesne.*

Sir,

I received the letters you have written to me on the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of June last, and have rendered an account of them to the King.

It is not without great pain that his Majesty has learned what has befallen the detachment which *Sieur de Contrecoeur* has sent under *Sieur de Jumonville's* orders. He does not think, however, that the consequences of this ought to be, as you expect, a rupture on the part of the English. The views evinced by the King of Great Britain up to the present time, for the maintenance of peace, do not permit even the belief that he has authorized the movements which make so much noise along the Beautiful river; and there is still less appearance that he has ordered similar movements on the other frontiers.

We are going to have an explanation on that subject with the British Court; in the mean while, I profit by a vessel which is to sail from Bordeaux, though the season of the navigation of Canada is far advanced, to let you know his Majesty's intentions as to the conduct you are to observe.

You must perceive in advance, that in the uncertainty as to what will have occurred during this summer, his Majesty cannot give you detailed orders. He can only rely on your zeal and prudence to act according to circumstances. But these are in general the principles by which he desires you to regulate your operations.

In supporting his Majesty's rights and pretensions against all enterprises on the part of the English, you are most carefully to avoid giving them any just cause of complaint; to manage on occasions in which there may be acts of violence, in such a manner as not to appear the aggressor; and to confine yourself to the adoption of all possible measures to be in a position to repel force by force.

If, to assure this defensive policy on your part, you consider it necessary to make the Indians act offensively against the English, his Majesty will approve of your using that expedient, but he desires that you determine on having recourse to it, only so far as the conduct of the English will render it indispensable for the safety and tranquillity of the Colony; for his Majesty wishes you to avoid, as much as it will be possible, the shedding of blood.

Supposing, however, that contrary to all sorts of appearances, and in spite of the confidence the King must have in the equitable and pacific dispositions of the King of Great Britain, hostilities on the part of the English should reach the point of being regarded as a rupture, his Majesty leaves you, in that case, at liberty to make such arrangements as will appear to you the most suitable for the good of his service and the glory of his arms.

But there is every reason to believe that you will not find yourself in that necessity. We shall be able to ascertain immediately what the British Court thinks of that affair, and according to its answer and the news we shall receive between this and the month of December, of what has occurred in Canada, the King will adopt those measures he will consider proper, and have new orders transmitted to you at the opening of the navigation next spring.

As for the rest, you are always, as *M<sup>r</sup> Rouillé*<sup>1</sup> has already informed you, to make your operations subordinate to the situation of the finances, as far as the safety of the Colony will possibly permit.

6<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1754.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 199, note. — Ed.

*Capitation List of Canada. 1754.*

## QUEBEC; 8,000 souls.

The Governor-General, .....	1,200
The Bishop, .....	600
The Intendant, .....	1,000
The Lieutenant-Governor, .....	150
The Major, .....	100
	250

*The Clergy.**Chapter.*

One dean, .....	125	
4 Dignitaries, .....	@ 60	240
7 Canons, .....	@ 50	350
		715

*Rectorship of Quebec, valued at 3,000.*

The Rector (or Parish priest), .....	200	
2 Vicars, .....	@ 25	50
		250

*Seminary.*

6 Directors, or Fellows, .....	@ 150 <sup>n</sup> , .....	900
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*Jesuits' College.*

15 Fathers and Brothers, .....	@ 100, .....	1,500
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*Ursulines.*

45 Nuns, .....	@ 15 <sup>n</sup> , .....	675
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*Hotel Dieu.*

40 Nuns, .....	@ 15 <sup>n</sup> , .....	600
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*General Hospital.*

30 Nuns, .....	@ 15 <sup>n</sup> , .....	450
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*Nuns of the Congregation.*

5 Nuns, .....	@ 15 <sup>n</sup> , .....	75
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*Military Officers.*

1 Chief Engineer, .....		200
12 Captains, .....	@ 90 <sup>n</sup> , .....	1,080
12 Lieutenants, .....	60, .....	720
12 Ensigns, on full pay, .....	30, .....	360
12 "Seconded" Ensigns, .....	23, .....	276
		2,436

*Officers of Justice.*

The first Councillor, .....		90
9 Councillors, .....	@ 40, .....	360
Attorney-General, .....		108
Chief Clerk, .....		100
Chief Marshal, .....		8
		666



*Provost's Court.*

The Lieutenant-General, .....	58	
The Lieutenant-Particular, .....	50	
The Attorney-General, .....	25	
The Clerk, .....	100	
	<hr/>	"233
The Grand Provost, .....	50	
The Grand Voyer ( <i>overseer of roads</i> ), .....	50	
	<hr/>	100

*Admiralty.*

Judge, .....	50	
Clerk, .....	50	
	<hr/>	100

*Clerks (Officiers de plume).*

Comptroller of the Navy, .....	150	
Chief clerks, ..... @ 75 <sup>h</sup> , .....	150	
4 Ordinary clerks, ..... 50, .....	200	
15 Non-commissioned Clerks, ..... 30, .....	450	
	<hr/>	950
The Treasurer, .....	125	
The Storekeeper, .....	125	
	<hr/>	250

*Officers of the Port.*

The Captain, .....	100	
The Lieutenant, .....	70	
The Master, .....	50	
	<hr/>	220
The Constructor in chief, .....		200

*King's Domain.*

The Director	(is Lieutenant-General).	
The Receiver, }		
The Comptroller, }	(are Councillors).	
3 Inspectors, ..... @ 125 <sup>h</sup> , .....	375	
6 Clerks, ..... 30, .....	180	
The Captain of the guards, .....	50	
	<hr/>	605

*India Company.*

One Agent, .....	150	
One Comptroller, .....	125	
One Receiver, .....	100	
One Clerk, .....	50	
	<hr/>	425
One Physician, .....	100	
One Surgeon Major, .....	100	
One Assistant Surgeon, .....	50	
	<hr/>	250

274 souls.

1,200 heads. } We may estimate 1,200 heads of families, merchants, mechanics,  
1,200 women. } masters, and other mechanics keeping store, day laborers, &c.

We shall divide them into five classes; these heads will pay for themselves and wives, viz:

1 <sup>st</sup>	100 Merchants, the most wealthy,.....	@	60 <sup>li</sup> ,.....	6,000
2 <sup>nd</sup>	100 Master tradesmen, &c.,.....	@	30 <sup>li</sup> ,.....	3,000
3 <sup>d</sup>	400 less wealthy,.....	@	10 <sup>li</sup> ,.....	4,000
4 <sup>th</sup>	600 Carters and Laborers,.....	@	3,.....	1,800
5,326.	5 <sup>th</sup> 5,326 persons, children of all ages and ser- vants, whom we believe ought not to be reckoned but as 3,000 paying, in consideration of the children under seven years and the deficient,.....	@	20 sous,.....	3,000
<hr/>				<hr/>
8,000				32,650
<hr/>				<hr/>

## MONTREAL; 4,000 souls.

The Governor,.....	500 <sup>li</sup>
The Commissary,.....	400
The Lieutenant-Governor,.....	150
The Major,.....	100
<hr/>	
1,150	

## Clergy.

Seminary of St. Sulpice, 20,.....	@	100,.....	2,000
Jesuits, 4,.....	@	50,.....	200

## Nunneries.—Hospitâlières.

25 Nuns,.....	@	15,.....	375
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## Congregation.

50 Nuns,.....	@	15,.....	750
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## Grey Nuns.

10 Nuns,.....	@	15,.....	150
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## Military Officers.

14 Companies, which will give, at the rate we have fixed at Quebec,.....	2,842
The Surgeon Major,.....	100
The Captain of the gates ( <i>portes</i> ),.....	50

## Officers of Justice.

The Judge,.....	58
The Lieutenant-Particular,.....	40
The Attorney-General,.....	25
The Clerk,.....	100
<hr/>	
223	



*Clerks.*

The Storekeeper, .....	125 <sup>h</sup>	
The Treasurer, .....	50	
6 Clerks, ..... @ 30 <sup>h</sup> , .....	180	
	<hr/>	350

*India Company.*

The Agent, .....	150	
2 Clerks, ..... @ 30, .....	60	
	<hr/>	210

186 persons,

600 heads, }

600 women. }

600 heads of families divided into 5 classes:

1 <sup>st</sup> 60 of the most wealthy merchants, ..	@ 60 <sup>h</sup> , .....	3,600
2 <sup>d</sup> Idem, less wealthy, master tradesmen, ..	@ 30, .....	3,000
3 <sup>d</sup> 250 Day Laborers, &c., .....	@ 10, .....	2,500
4 <sup>th</sup> 290 Idem, .....	@ 3, .....	870

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1,386

2,614

2,614 persons, children and servants

remain to be computed only at 1,500, @ 20 sons, ..... 1,500

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4,000 souls.

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19,870*THREE RIVERS AND THE FORGES; 800 souls.*

The Governor, .....	500	
The Lieutenant-Governor, .....	150 <sup>h</sup>	
The Major, .....	100	
	<hr/>	250

*The Ursulines.*

20 Nuns, ..... @ 10 <sup>h</sup> , .....	200	
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*Military Officers.*

4 Companies, which will give .....	812 <sup>h</sup>	
1 Surgeon, .....	10	
	<hr/>	822

*The Royal Jurisdiction.*

The Judge, .....	40 <sup>h</sup>	
The Attorney-General, .....	25	
A Clerk, .....	20	
	<hr/>	85
One Storekeeper (he is King's Attorney), .....		80

*Forges.*

One Director, .....	100 <sup>h</sup>	
One Furnisher, .....	100	
2 Men, ..... @ 30 <sup>h</sup> , .....	60	
	<hr/>	260

28 persons,			
20 heads,	}	20 heads of families, one with another,...	@ 20 <sup>n</sup> ,.....
20 women,			
732		732 Persons, of all descriptions, to be computed at 400,.....	@ 20 <sup>n</sup> ,.....
			400
<u>800 souls.</u>			<u>2,997</u>

## THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

91 Parish Priests, whose livings may be rated, one with another, at.....	@ 75 <sup>n</sup> ,.....	6,825
1,500 Wealthy farmers, .....	@ 40, .....	60,000
1,500 Less wealthy, .....	@ 25, .....	37,500
2,000 " " .....	@ 15, .....	30,000
4,200 Women, who pay, with their husbands.		
3,000 Voyageurs, hired men, volunteers,.....	@ 6, .....	18,000
29,909, Including heads of families, their wives, children and servants, down as 18,000, on consideration that the children are under 7 years,.....	@ 20 <sup>n</sup> ,.....	18,000
<u>42,200 souls.</u>		<u>170,325</u>

## RECAPITULATION.

QUEBEC,.....	8,000 .....	32,650
MONTREAL, .....	4,000 .....	19,870
THREE RIVERS AND THE FORGES,.....	800 .....	2,997
RURAL DISTRICTS, .....	42,200 .....	170,325
	<u>55,000 souls.</u>	<u>225,842</u>

*M. de Machault to M. Duquesne.*

Sir,

The movements which took place last year in the direction of the Beautiful river, have made considerable noise in Europe, and Sieur de Villiers' expedition has occasioned a particular ferment in England.

Things have been carried there so far, that the British Court has taken the resolution to dispatch to Virginia two regiments of Regulars, with officers, arms and clothing, for the levying of two others there, and this reinforcement sailed on the thirteenth of last month from some Irish ports.



That Court hath, meanwhile, caused the most positive assurances to be given, that it continues to adhere to the dispositions it has manifested, up to the present time, for the preservation of peace ; that, in sending those troops to Virginia, it had no other object than to tranquilize that and its neighboring Colonies in regard to the attacks to which they believed themselves exposed, and that it has given the most precise orders that they stand on the most exact defensive.

The King is, indeed, persuaded that his Britannic Majesty's intention is not to come to any rupture. His Majesty does not despair even, that the propositions which have some time ago been reciprocally interchanged on the subjects occasioning all those movements, will lead us to some conciliation.

But as, whilst disposed to lend himself to all just and reasonable arrangements to accomplish that object, he is equally resolved to defend his possessions and his rights, he has thought proper, notwithstanding the assurances given by the Court of England, to send, likewise, some reinforcement to Canada to protect that Colony from any attacks to which it might be exposed.

This reinforcement consists of six battalions of troops of the line, which will form a corps of three thousand men, commanded by a *Marechal de Camp*<sup>1</sup>, who will be subject to the Governor-General's orders. These troops will be embarked in his Majesty's ships, convoyed by a fleet corresponding to the list I transmit you ; I expect it will sail in the beginning of April from the harbor of Brest, where the troops are to embark, and from the character of the vessels it will be composed of, and the season of navigation, that its voyage will be short. The King has, meanwhile, had the frigates *La Diane* and *La Fidelle* put in commission to advise you of the fact ; this letter will reach you by *La Diane*, commanded by Captain Froger de l'éguille, of the Navy, who will sail immediately from Rochefort. *La Fidelle*, commanded by Lieutenant de la Jonquière, and in which M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, the Intendant, is to return to the Colony, will leave the same port on the fifteenth or twentieth of next month ; M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil will afterwards embark with the Commandant of the squadron, and, in the meanwhile, his Majesty recommends you to give your attention to four principal objects.

First, to watch the conduct of the English. The troops they have sent to Virginia will arrive there in sufficient time to act before those his Majesty's dispatches to Canada can reach Quebec, and we must await their action ; for, even on the supposition that they have, in fact, orders to remain on the defensive, the pretensions of the English, however unjust they be, will serve them as a pretext to wish to have whatever they will undertake to do in the localities in dispute, regarded as purely defensive. There is reason to believe, however, that if they resume hostilities, 'twill be, at least in the present conjuncture, in the direction of the Beautiful river only, without extending them to the other frontiers, and, according to the account you have rendered of the arrangements you have made, and of those you were proposing to make in that quarter, they will not find our posts defenceless, especially if you have been informed, as you will possibly be, of the movements which were making from the beginning of last autumn in the English Colonies.

However that be, his Majesty's principles and dispositions regarding the conduct you have to observe, are always the same. He wishes that, in maintaining his rights and possessions against the attacks of the English, you carefully avoid affording them any just subject of complaint ; that you conduct yourself on the occasions wherein there will possibly be recourse

<sup>1</sup> Major-General. *James* says it is the rank next below a Lieutenant-General. *Military Dictionary*. — Ed.



to violence, in such a manner as not to appear the aggressor, and that you confine yourself to the adoption of all measures possible to enable you to repel force by force.

If, to assure that defensive on your part, you should judge necessary to make the Indians act offensively against the English, his Majesty will approve of your having recourse to that expedient. But he desires that you determine on that course only so far as the conduct of the English will render it indispensable to the safety and tranquillity of the Colony.

Suppose, in the mean time, that the movements of the English were carried to the extent that they must be regarded as a veritable rupture on their part, his Majesty, in such case, leaves you at liberty to make the arrangements which will seem to you the most suitable for the good of his service and the glory of his arms.

Such are the principles on which you are to continue to regulate your conduct in this regard so long as you are entrusted with the government, and such are still the orders his Majesty will give your successor.

But as 'twill not be any contravention of these principles to destroy the fort which the English have erected last summer in the direction of Naurautsouak,<sup>1</sup> inasmuch as that will be an absolutely defensive operation on your part, the King's intention is, not to allow the continuance of a post so dangerous and so contrary to his rights. Therefore, supposing that the Indians have not executed the project they had formed of expelling the English thence, and that you find yourself able to undertake it yourself, openly, his Majesty desires that you immediately adopt the measures necessary thereunto; but it must be only in case you are sure of success. It will be necessary, then, that the officer who will have charge of that expedition, shall commence by summoning the English to evacuate and abandon the fort, and that he do not proceed to any forcible attack until they refuse to surrender to the summons, whereof it will be necessary for you to give him the draft, and in which you will appear to act without having received any order, and solely in consequence of the obligation you are under to defend the possessions of the government confided to you against such like usurpations, which can be regarded only as contrary to the intentions and orders of both Kings for the maintenance of peace and good harmony between the two Nations; should the undertaking succeed, the fort must be destroyed in such a manner that not a vestige of it remain.

The second object you are to attend to is the arrangements for the reception of the troops on their arrival in the Colony. By the copy I send you of the letter which I write on this subject to M<sup>r</sup> Varin, you will learn the orders I give him. You are better able than any person to judge of all that is to be done in that regard. M<sup>r</sup> Varin will consult with you respecting all his operations, and provide for those that you will consider necessary, until the arrival of M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, who, in like manner, will have orders to arrange with you on all that matter.

I send you, also, an extract of the instruction given to Sieur de l'Eguille, whereby you will see that he will have to return to Bick, in the River St. Lawrence, to wait there for the fleet, for which I have furnished him signals; you will be careful, also, to send him back without delay to that rendezvous, and to cause Sieur Pellegrin, the Lieutenant of the Port, to embark with him, accompanied by some of the best of the river pilots, to conduct the fleet, reserving some of them for the frigate *La Fidelle*, which will have orders to come also and wait for the fleet at another rendezvous, of which you will have been informed.

<sup>1</sup> Fort Halifax, in the town of Winslow, Kennebec county, Maine. *Williamson's Maine*, II., 300, 392, 594. — Ed.



The navigation of that same river will form the third object of your attentions. It is, in fact, proper that you examine whether, in order to avoid the risks that may be incurred in running large vessels up that river as far as Quebec, it would not be proper to let them remain at some of the good anchorages that are known, whence the troops could be transported in the frigates and other vessels which might be collected at Quebec; and on this point you will have to communicate your reflections to Count Dubois de Lamotte, the Commodore of the squadron, by the frigates you will send down to him.

Lastly, the fourth object is to prepare a plan of operations to be proposed to M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil and to the Commander of the troops, at the very first moment of their arrival, and that plan must be relative to the principles I have just reminded you of, and to the circumstances in which the affairs of the Colony will then be.

As for the rest, his Majesty does not prescribe anything to you in regard to the effects the first intelligence of the reinforcements in question will produce in Canada and in the English Colonies. On the one hand, it may be proper to keep the secret in order to prevent both the rise it will possibly create in provisions and goods of the country, and the English being on their guard; but on the other hand, it may be necessary to announce before hand the arrival of this reinforcement, in order either to tranquilize the Indians who are faithful to us, or to restrain those who might allow themselves to be debauched by the English; as the latter will not fail to vaunt the superiority they might derive from the troops sent to Virginia; or to arrest the English themselves in the execution of the projects they might be induced to undertake by the confidence inspired by that superiority. 'Tis for you to weigh all these different considerations, and his Majesty refers to your zeal and prudence as to what you will consider most advantageous in this regard.

17<sup>th</sup> February, 1755.

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*M. de Machault to Commissary Varin.*

Sir,

The King of England having sent two regiments of Regulars to Virginia, under pretence of defending that Colony against the attacks to which it is supposed to be exposed on the part of the French, the King has thought fit to send also three thousand men of his troops of the line to Canada, although there is reason to hope that all these movements will pass off without occasioning a rupture between the two Nations, and that the two Courts will succeed in terminating in a conciliatory manner the differences which are the subject and cause thereof. These three thousand men, composing six battalions, are to be embarked on board some of the King's ships which will sail from the sixth to the fifteenth of April, from Brest, under the convoy of a squadron. M<sup>r</sup> Bigot will precede them in a frigate that is to sail about the fifteenth of March; but in the meantime it is necessary that you attend to the arrangements necessary for their reception at Quebec.

The first must be for the sick that will possibly be among them on their arrival. Independent of the wards the Hotel Dieu can furnish, you will cause some to be prepared at the General Hospital for the reception of one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty sick; but 'twill



be necessary only to arrange the wards, to mark the places and to have bedsteads constructed, because the Hospital in the Fleet will deposit in the King's store, sheets, mattresses and other hospital furniture.

You will cause to be immediately repaired the old and new barrack bedsteads, and order some made for the wards that will be in want of them.

You will visit the houses of the city to ascertain the number of rooms capable of lodging the officers of the troops for some days; your arrangements in this regard ought to be for one hundred and fifty to one hundred and sixty officers, and you will prepare in advance a list of these lodgings.

You will cause to be collected flour or wheat equal to twelve thousand quintals of flour, and if there be a desire to sell the one and the other too dear, which will not fail to be the case the moment 'twill be known in the Colony that troops are about to arrive, you will adopt, in concert with the Marquis Duquesne, the necessary measures to secure, by authority, that quantity of provisions, the price of which will be regulated on Mr Bigot's arrival. You will observe also, thereupon, not to lose any time in having the wheat ground, in order to take advantage of the fine season.

You will take the same precautions for a supply of three thousand quintals of salt pork.

And, seeing the increase these troops will occasion in the consumption of every description of articles, it is the intention of the King that [the exportation of] all sorts of Colonial provisions be interdicted, without your having the power, under any pretext whatsoever, to allow any to be put on board, except what will be necessary for the subsistence of the vessels which will possibly be dispatched in the Colony; for the ships which will proceed from France to Quebec, will be notified that they will not be permitted to take in any sort of provisions there.

You will employ the coopers of Montreal to make barrels both for the transport of the flour which will not be put in small bags, and of the liquors to be furnished to the detachments of the troops that will possibly be sent into the field.

You will cause the large store in the gate opposite the Intendance, to be prepared for the storage of the flour and other provisions and effects, which will be landed from the fleet for the magazine.

You will set men to work at the caulking of the bateaux both at Quebec and Montreal, and have others built, should there not be sufficient of them for the transportation of from two to three thousand men, and the effects they will require for a campaign.

You are to provide yourself also with bark canoes for the same purpose, and particularly for the navigation of the River au Bœuf and the Beautiful river; and bateaux being capable of serving on Lakes Ontario and Erie, you will see if there be enough of them at the Niagara carrying place, for the passage to Presqu'île, so that, should any be wanting, some may be constructed at that carrying place, or supplied by bark canoes.

In a word, you will occupy yourself until Mr Bigot's arrival, with all the arrangements that will possibly be necessary as well for the reception of the troops as for the execution of the operations in which they will happen to be employed. You are, however, not to do anything in all this until you shall have conferred and agreed upon it with the Marquis Duquène, who, being informed of the King's intentions respecting the destination of the troops, is qualified to judge of the precautions to be taken in advance relative to the circumstances. Meanwhile, if M. Duquène happen not be at Quebec when this letter will reach you, you will and even are



at liberty, without waiting for him, to lay in supplies of provisions and make the other preparations I have mentioned to you for the reception of the troops and stores, which will be disembarked from the fleet.

But in all cases, you are as much as possible to keep the sending of the troops a secret until M. Duquesne thinks proper to allow the news to be circulated.

For the rest, the frigate, whereby you will receive this letter, and that which is to convey M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, are to return to the lower part of the river to await the fleet. It will be necessary, as I inform M. Duquesne, to distribute all the good river pilots that you will be able to find, between these two frigates.

17<sup>th</sup> February, 1755.

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*M. de Machault to M. de Bompar.*

To M<sup>r</sup> de Bompar, Governor of the Windward Islands.

Versailles, 17<sup>th</sup> of February, 1755.

Sir,

The public news will have informed you of the movements which have for some time been making on our Canada Frontiers, and particularly towards the River Ohio. The Court of England having dispatched two battalions of regulars to Virginia, and made other arrangements in that Colony and in the adjoining Provinces, the King has taken the resolution to send a reinforcement of six battalions of troops of the line to Canada, and his Majesty proposes that they shall sail in the month of April next, under a convoy of a fleet of his ships.

The King of England has caused the most positive assurances to be given that the troops sent to Virginia, and the other arrangements making in that Country, have no other object than to defend his Colonies against the invasions with which they pretend Canada is threatening them.

His Majesty, on his part, is very far from suffering any attempt at the invasion of his neighbors. He will give orders that the most exact defensive be observed in Canada, but, although sincerely resolved to confine himself thus to the defence of his right and possessions, he cannot flatter himself, especially after what has occurred last year in the direction of the River Ohio, that he will not be obliged to make use of the forces he is sending to Canada.

The dispositions his Britannic Majesty does not cease to manifest for the preservation of peace, must, meanwhile, encourage the hope that all the discussions concerning the boundaries of the respective Colonies in North America, will possibly be settled without coming to an open rupture. There is even question at present between the two Courts, of new propositions in this regard.

But, in the incertitude of events, his Majesty has ordered me to inform you, in his name, that his intention is, that you prepare yourself for all events; that you redouble the care and attention to provide, as much as possible, for every object relating to the defence of your government; that you adopt precautions to be informed of what is passing in the English Colonies in your vicinity; that you guard yourself against every surprise; but you are to

observe, at the same time, in all the dispositions you make, not to allow it to be suspected that you have received any orders to this effect.

You will be so good as to render me an account of what you will do in the matter, and I shall take care to inform you of the circumstances it will be proper for you to know, with the new orders they may require.

But in all cases, 'tis necessary that the King be in a position to decide on what may interest the security of your government. His Majesty desires that you send me by the first opportunity, and with proper precautions, a report of its condition in reference to that object; the arrangements you propose making in case of war, and the estimate of the assistance you will possibly require.

Should his Majesty approve of writing this letter to the Governors of his Colonies, exclusive of Canada, it appears necessary to add, (to that) to Mr. de Bompar, Governor of the Windward Islands, the following article:

And, as in all cases, also, it is to be expected that the English will not lose sight of their projects on the Islands in dispute, particularly St. Lucia, the King desires that you conform to the orders his Majesty has already given you on that point, not only in case the English make an attack on any one of those Islands, but also on the first certain intelligence you may receive of a rupture on their part.

The orders referred to in this article relate to St. Lucia. Mr de Bompar, has, in fact, been directed on several occasions to be always on his guard in relation to that Island, in order not to allow himself to be surprised by the English; to adopt, for that purpose, all measures possible to be informed of the movements they may have recourse to, and to be in a position to anticipate them himself on the first opportunity.

Same to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and to Mr de Kerlerec<sup>1</sup>, suppressing the first article.

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*Messrs. de Drucour and Prévost to M. Duquesne.*

Copy of the letter written by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Drucour and Prévost, from Louisbourg, to the Marquis Duquesne, on the twenty-seventh of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

Sir,

It is certain that the English are preparing to make their appearance on the lands bordering on the Ohio, or Beautiful river; we also know that there have been for a long time frequent meetings between the Governors and deputies of the Provinces of Boston, New-York,

<sup>1</sup>M. KERLEREC was a Captain in the Royal Navy. He had been twenty-five years in active service; had been in four general engagements, and had received several wounds. He succeeded M. de Vaudreuil as Governor of Louisiana, 9th February, 1753, and administered its affairs until June, 1763 — that is ten years and five months, when he returned to France, where, on his arrival, he was thrown into the Bastille on a charge of peculation. *Gayarré's Louisiana under the French*, I, 96. — Ed.



Merylan and Pennsylvania, both for the purpose of agreeing on the projected operations on the frontiers, and of urging the Court of London on this subject, and perhaps to demand of it reinforcements and orders generally in regard to the navigation and to the provisions exporting from New England to our Colonies. You may have learned, Sir, something about them; these preparations on the part of our neighbors are of too much importance to the service and to the measures you have to adopt, for us to neglect communicating to you everything that we learn respecting them; which also makes us conclude to dispatch, this day, *Sieur de la Saussaye*, an officer of this garrison, by sea to the River St. John, whence he will proceed to place in your hands the despatch we have the honor to write you, whereunto we annex the extract of an enigmatical letter that *M<sup>r</sup> Prévost* has received from New-York three days ago, written by a man of your acquaintance who has spent a part of the winter of seventeen hundred and fifty-three and seventeen hundred and fifty-four in Canada, and as he has since made use of the same style in the advices he has had to communicate to that Commissary, we have looked together for the meaning this last may contain, which you will find reported in the margin of that extract. In fine, Sir, there is every appearance, and we believe, that your new posts will be vigorously attacked in the spring; the English are desirous of making a diversion and harassing the posts they may be able to reach by the rivers situated on the East of their Continent, in order to oblige you to diminish the forces you may have destined for the upper part. We lose not an instant to transmit you what knowledge we possess in this regard, and we believe that *M<sup>r</sup> de Drucour* could not confide it to any person more capable than *Sieur de la Saussaye* of making an expeditious journey; it is moreover, a new occasion of improving the zeal and services of that officer, whom you, yourself, have already employed, if you are satisfied with them.

Perhaps you are ignorant, Sir, that Governor Shirley is at present at New-York, and that he has dispatched thither the regiment bearing his name.<sup>1</sup> We are, also, informed that the Governor of Halifax<sup>2</sup> has furnished six officers of the troops of his garrison to organize and drill the new militia.

As for the rest, everything appears quiet in Acadia, but 'tis true that we have had no news from there since the end of November or beginning of December. Meanwhile *Sieur de la*

<sup>1</sup> This was the old 50th Regiment, or "Dirty Half-Hundred," as 'twas called by the populace. It was broke in 1756, in consequence of its surrender at Oswego. The following were the names of the officers on half-pay in 1758: Major-General William Shirley, Colonel; *Lieutenant-Colonel*, John Littlehales; *Major*, James Kinneer; *Captains*, David Patton, John Vickers, Benjamin Barber, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Armstrong; *Captain-Lieutenant*, John Carden; *Lieutenants*, Thomas Irwin, George Graham, Joseph Goldthwaite, William Felton; *Ensigns*, Milbourne West, William Coker; *Chaplain*, Philip Francis; *Surgeon*, John Gee. *Army List*, 1758, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Brigadier-General CHARLES LAWRENCE was sworn in a member of the Council of Nova Scotia, July 31st, 1749, at which time he was a Major in the British army. In the spring of 1750 he was sent to reduce the French at Chignecto, but they burned their town and retired before him into the woods; in the course of the summer he returned to the attack, and erected a fort at the head of the Bay of Fundy, which was called Fort Lawrence. On the retirement of Governor Hopson, in 1753, Major Lawrence administered the government; he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1754 and Governor of Nova Scotia in 1756, being third in succession who filled that office. In September, 1757, he was appointed one of the Colonels commandant of the 60th Royal American Regiment, and Brigadier in America on the 31st December following. In Loudon's fruitless campaign, of 1757, he commanded the Reserve, and at the siege of Louisbourg, in 1758, the second Brigade. After the reduction of that place he returned to the seat of his government, where he died of inflammation of the lungs, on the 19th October, 1760, deeply regretted by every individual in the Province. The House of Assembly caused a monument to be erected to his memory in the Parish Church of St. Paul, Halifax. It was during the administration of Governor Lawrence that the cruel policy of expatriating the Acadians was had recourse to and executed. *Knox Journal*, I., 21, 170, 204; *Haliburton's Nova Scotia*, I., 150, 169, 170, 175, 183, 196, 199, 204, 210, 229, 317, 319. — Ed.

Saussaye will call on Father Germain and Sieur de Boishébert, in order to render you a faithful account of events, and of the situation of our posts in regard to our neighbors.

If your operations require any assistance in provisions on our part, 'tis essential, Sir, that you inform us of it very early, for you will perceive yourself how much difficulties will increase to providing them from New England, and one Prévost will have precautions to take, in that case, in order to obtain and furnish what you may demand.

A snow, belonging to Quebec, coming from Martinico has wintered here; it will probably furnish us the first opportunity of writing to you, and then we shall have received news from Europe and America, which we'll communicate to you.

We have the honor to be respectfully, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servants.

(Signed), Chevalier DE DRAUCOUR and PRÉVOST.

P. S. We observe to you, Sir, that what we mention concerning the movements of the English, do not amount to certainties, and we believe even that the number of nine thousand men is excessive in the conjuncture, and in view of the expenses such an armament entails; but if you are in possession of other advice, this will serve to compare with it, and you will be able, always, to draw conclusions therefrom relative to the reports which will be made to you, so as to keep you always on your guard, and to have an eye on the movements making in New England.

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Extract of the letter written from New-York on the eighth of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to M<sup>r</sup> Prévost, Commissary at Isle Royale.

Interpretation which we give to the letter on the other side.

Sir,

I arrived here in safety after a passage of seventeen days, which appeared to me the longer in consequence of the continual bad weather we experienced during the entire voyage, nothing less than the recollection of your kindnesses, &c., was needed to bring any respite to my misfortunes, which have only changed their nature on my arriving here, being obliged to submit to the general lot of the Frenchmen in the country, who, two days before I came, were ordered not to leave their houses; therein it is very different from what it is with you, since not only have they permission to come thither, and to work there, but even to reside there. I must esteem myself lucky, nevertheless, in my misfortune, by the pleasure *procure for me* every day at their house, etc.

This order has been issued in fact until a definite arrangement in regard to the acts of hostility occurring in the Upper country, and we have learned that the English, in order to justify, no doubt, their manœuvres or to excite the populace, are circulating the report that the Marquis Duquesne has sent six thousand men to the Ohio.



I expect to leave here in the beginning of May at farthest; nothing will remain but my business of the twelve thousand *livres* security, which has strong indications, and even a certainty, of being interrupted. Meyracq and my brother must perceive it already, they must not expect any more; proper order has been applied thereto; therefore I advise them, etc<sup>a</sup>.

I don't know whether you have had any news from your Marseilles friend, and whether he will have sent back the nine thousand *livres* that you had sent him for me, namely, one thousand *livres* for Sieur Ignan, six thousand *livres* for Péan and Mercier, and two thousand *livres* for Sieurs Chaudière and Company; this does not fail to disquiet me, as I have had no news by the ships that have arrived from London. Perhaps I shall receive some by the first that will arrive, and which are expected daily, being fully persuaded that Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vismes and Son of London will send my letters to me here, if any be transmitted to them for me. As I doubt not but you will have an opportunity to write to that gentleman, I request you to write expressly to him about this matter in order that, by early spring, at latest, I may find myself provided with goods which I am to have for these funds, and you will do me a favor to mention it to his partner, M<sup>r</sup> Brest, having particular reasons which prevent me writing to him on that subject.

M<sup>r</sup> Prevost is here given to understand that it will not be practicable for the writer to supply the slaughter-house of Louisbourg with English cattle, for the performance of which engagement the contractor had given 12000<sup>u</sup> security, and, apparently, that not only the exportation of cattle had been prohibited, but that the English had, moreover, been forbidden to come to Louisbourg, and this is observed in pointing out that the Judge and the King's Attorney of the Admiralty must perceive that hardly any vessels of that Nation have come during the winter.

The Marseilles friend must be the Marquis Duquesne, whose new posts will be attacked by 9000 men, and we believe that these will be distributed, by sending 1000 men to Fort St. Frederic, where, M<sup>r</sup> Prévost thinks, M<sup>r</sup> de Lusignan commands, or to the River St. John, but he insists on the former interpretation; 6000 men will go to the *but*, which is on the Beautiful river, or the Ohio; and lastly, 2000 men will find their way by all the routes that are in the vicinity of the Chaudière falls, Beckancour; the uneasiness of the writer may, besides, arise, from the fact of his receiving no intelligence of what is passing in Canada, and from his desire that you may be informed there of the projects of our neighbors and of the course they will pursue; if he would desire to give it to be understood that they are waiting for intelligence from London in order to operate, but it is more likely that he means that he has had no news from Canada, and that he is under the impression that they are safe there. This is the reason why he proposes sending an express to the Marquis Duquesne to let him know, in order that he may oppose these irruptions early in the spring, by offering resistance everywhere; and in the fear that a letter written to a military man would excite too much curiosity in existing circumstances, our man dares not risk a notice to M<sup>r</sup> de Drucour, who is designated as M<sup>r</sup> Brest, and to whom M<sup>r</sup> Prévost is requested to communicate this letter.

*Draft of a Commission for the Baron de Dieskau.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

LOUIS, by the Grace of God, &c. To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting. Having resolved to detach six battalions of our troops of the line for the purpose of sending them to Canada, where they are to be employed, conjointly with the Independent companies (*compagnies franches*), at present maintained there for the service of our Colonies under the direction of our Governor-General of the said Country, We have concluded to confer the command of said battalions on a general officer on whom we may rely for care, to attend to their support and preservation, to maintain street police and discipline therein, and to command them on occasions when our Governor-General shall think proper to employ them for the good of our service in said country, and We, particularly confiding in the valor, experience, capacity, fidelity and affection to our service, of our dear and well beloved Baron de Dieskau, Major-General (*Maréchal de Camp*) in our armies, &c., considering the proofs he has given us thereof in the various commissions he has held. For these causes and other considerations us moving, We, the said Baron de Dieskau have made, constituted, ordained and established, do make, constitute, ordain and establish by these presents, signed with our hand, Commander, under the authority of our Governor-General in said country, over the said troops which are to go to Canada, and to him have given and do give power to order them all whatsoever they shall have to do, and to employ them everywhere need shall be, to give effect to our intentions; to cause them to live in good order, police and discipline, according to our military regulations and ordinances; to cause the same to be kept, maintained, and observed inviolably in all places where said troops shall be employed; to cause those to be punished and chastised who will dare to contravene them; to pay attention that all the furniture which will have been ordered, be made for them exactly, by those who shall be appointed for that purpose, and generally to do and order in regard to said troops, all that he shall think necessary to command; the whole by and under the authority of our Governor-General in Canada. We hereby command Sieur de Rostaing, Colonel of Infantry employed with said battalions, the Lieutenant-Colonels, Captain, Lieutenants and Ensigns thereof; the Commissaries, Engineers and all other officers who will accompany said troops to acknowledge Baron de Dieskau in said quality of Commander, and to obey and hear him in all things concerning said power. For such is our pleasure. In witness whereof, we have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Versailles, on the first day of the month of March, in the year of Grace 1755, and of our Reign the XI<sup>th</sup>.



*Instructions to Baron de Dieskau.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

The King's Instructions for the Baron de Dieskau, *Maréchal de Camp* of his Majesty's armies, chosen to command the corps of troops which is to embark at Brest.

That corps of troops being destined to sustain the Colonies of Canada in conjunction with the troops of the marine who are employed there, the orders and instructions of said Baron de Dieskau are to be directed to these two points: one relating to the command of said corps of troops of the line, its maintenance, police, discipline and daily service; the other to the said Baron de Dieskau's authority over the marine troops, and the operations they will have to carry out both on land and water for the preservation of said Colonies. As this latter part depends on the Minister of Marine, Baron de Dieskau will ascertain from him the King's intentions in this regard, and the present instruction will be confined to what relates to the former.

Baron de Dieskau will find annexed hereunto, a commission which his Majesty has caused to be issued for the command of said corps under the authority of the Governor-General of Canada, the letter of service of *Sieur de Rostaing*, who will be employed under him in his quality of Colonel of Infantry, that of *Chev. de Montreuil*, Adjutant-General, and those of *Sieurs* partisan captains.

He will receive, also, the return of the battalions which are to compose the said military corps, and will embark at Brest in the beginning of the month of April next, according as they shall have been inspected by *Sieur de Cremille*, Inspector-General of Infantry; on board the same ships will be embarked, also, two Commissaries, three Engineers, one Surgeon-Major and six other Surgeons.

Said troops will have to be victualed by the Navy during the voyage, each on board the vessel in which it will sail, where they are not to have any duty to perform, being, as well as the officers in command of them, regarded only as passengers.

They, as well as the Colonial troops, shall be, also, victualed at the King's expense out of the Navy fund, during their stay in Canada, both whilst in garrison and when detached, except the officers who will live in garrison on their pay, and they shall receive independent of that ration the pay in silver, as it is explained more in detail in the annexed table.

Exclusive of pay and rations, the Navy will, also, cause these troops to be supplied with clothing and utensils, and the sick and wounded officers and soldiers to be received and treated in the hospitals of the country, agreeably to the decision of Minister of the Marine in the memoir, copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

All payments and distribution of provisions, clothing and utensils, as well as the maintenance of the hospitals, will be made by orders of the Intendant of the Marine, on the abstracts of the reviews of the Commissaries intrusted with the Military Police, who are to address themselves to him on all occasions when there will be question of providing necessaries for said troops, and will be subordinate to him in every matter which will relate to accountability.

Baron de Dieskau will, nevertheless, pay attention that all these supplies be made in proper order, and whenever he shall direct the oldest of the Commissaries to make representations thereupon to the Intendant of the Marine; which is not to prevent himself speaking to him



about the matter when judged necessary. The same will be the case, whenever there is question distributing munitions of war, and of asking said Intendant to replace arms, or of proposing to him any extraordinary expenditure.

He will take care that the subsistence money be regularly paid to the soldiers every five or ten days, according as he shall think proper to order.

His Majesty leaves him, also, at liberty to order such stoppage as he will please on the soldiers' pay, as far as one *sous* at the utmost, including therein the half *sous* (*six deniers*) the King allowed in France for linen and shoes, which stoppage will be expended in purchasing for the soldier the articles he may want, independent of what will be furnished him by the Navy, observing in this case that the soldier be always informed of the object of the stoppage, and of the time when the balance of it will be paid him, in order to prevent, as much as possible, even the suspicion that there is a design to do him the slightest wrong.

[As the rule which is observed in the Infantry in France, that the officers rank among themselves according to the seniority of their corps, cannot be put in execution in Canada, in the mixed service which the troops going there will be daily employed on, with those of the Colony, His Majesty has issued the annexed ordinance, both for the purpose of regulating the officers' rank there according to their seniority, and of establishing the parity of grades between the officers of the Line and those of the Colony, but his Majesty's intention is, that the Baron de Dieskaw do not publish it until the arrival of the troops in Canada. This same ordinance regulates the manner in which the Courts Martial are to be held for the purpose of trying military crimes, either in garrison or in the field, and in the detachments, with the distinction that is to be drawn in the cases where crime will have been committed between officers and soldiers of the Line, and those wherein the troops of the Line and those of the Colony will be equally interested.]

As regards the misdemeanors in which Colonists will be interested, inasmuch as they are plainly within the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges, Baron de Dieskaw and those who, in his absence, will be in command of the land forces, are to refer them to the said judges whensoever required by them so to do.

As there are misdemeanors naturally requiring but a momentary punishment which it is within the attributes of the Commanders of the corps to determine, Baron de Dieskaw will take care, when complaints are made to him in such cases, either by Colonial officers or by the Colonists, that they receive full satisfaction on the spot, after the facts are substantiated.

We recommend, in like manner, to the Commandants of the troops of the line, to apply, in such conjuncture, to the Commanders of the Colonial forces and to the local Magistrates, and in case of denial on their part, said Commandants will report thereon to Baron Dieskaw, who will apply to the Governor-General and the Intendant for redress.

Although, strictly speaking, no officer ought be court-martialed without express permission from his Majesty, nevertheless, as the Governor-General of Canada has the power of having the officers of the Colonial troops tried there, his Majesty has been pleased to grant Baron Dieskaw the same authority over the officers of the troops of the line, under his command, on condition, however, that he will previously communicate thereupon with the said Governor-General in order to obtain his consent, as this course is not to be resorted to except in very serious cases which require an example for the maintenance of subordination, but he will be in no case, at liberty to pardon the officers or soldiers who shall be found guilty by the Court Martial, the Governor-General himself not having that privilege.



Baron de Dieskaw will commission, under his own signature, such officers as he shall have selected, until commissions, orders, letters patent, or royal brevets of the same date, can be sent him on the report he will have made of them.

In regard to vacancies in the commands of battalions, he will submit such as he will judge suitable for such grade to his Majesty, until whose decision the vacant battalion will be commanded by the oldest Captain thereof.

He will also report the rewards which, in his opinion, the officers under his orders will have deserved for their services, by transmitting to the Secretary of State, at the head of the War Department, a memorandum of the motives which will induce him to demand them, and the detail of the actions wherein such officers will have served, in order that the same may be submitted to his Majesty, and the King's grace be communicated to him.

His Majesty expects that Baron de Dieskaw will see that the battalions under his orders be exercised on the principles adopted by his Majesty for the whole of his Infantry. If, however, he think it proper that they should learn some particular manœuvres in regard to the species of war they will have to make in Canada, and to the nature of the enemies they will have to encounter there, his Majesty allows him every liberty in that respect.]

[Should it be the case that these battalions will have suffered a considerable loss either by the fortune of war, disease, desertion or otherwise, his Majesty permits Baron de Dieskaw to equalize all the companies of the same battalion, by transferring soldiers from the strongest to the weakest companies. He also approves that in case of need, he unite two weak battalions in order that they perform the service of one battalion, without, however, this change depriving the Commandants of the battalions so united of the authority they are always to retain over their troops, as this junction is to be made only for the purpose of furnishing detachments and fighting. In case of such junction of two battalions, Baron de Dieskaw will be at liberty to reduce the number of their colors, and to retain only one of those belonging to each battalion. In regard to the grenadiers they will both be retained. Each battalion is to keep up its own on such footing as Baron de Dieskaw will judge proper to determine in regard thereto, it being his Majesty's intention that the soldiers belonging to one battalion shall not be transferred to another.]

Although it be his Majesty's intention that the soldiers who are willing to clear lands, be permitted to remain in Canada, he nevertheless desires that no absolute discharge be granted on this or any other pretext whatsoever, until the motives for which he has sent said battalions having ceased, he think proper to cause them to return to France. In order to indemnify the soldiers who, on account of their going to Canada, will find themselves obliged to serve beyond the time when they ought to be discharged, had they remained in France, his Majesty has caused the annexed ordinance to be issued, agreeably whereunto one pistole shall be paid to each of those so circumstanced.]

The manner in which Baron de Dieskaw is to conduct himself towards the Governor-General of Canada, to whom the nature of his commission renders him necessarily subordinate, remains to be disposed of. The Governor will leave to him all the details of the command, discipline, police and interior service of the land forces, but Baron de Dieskaw will be bound, nevertheless, to render him an account thereof, in order that the Governor-General be acquainted with their strength, situation, and, generally, with all that can contribute to put him in possession of the advantage he may derive therefrom, for the success of the operations he shall have to set on foot.



It is therefore indispensable that the Baron de Dieskaw maintain the best understanding with the Governor-General, acting in concert in all things, and that he avoid, as much as possible, all separation from him, unless the Governor-General put him in charge of some expedition requiring his presence.

In case Baron de Dieskaw shall find himself necessarily separated from the Governor-General, he will so arrange that *Sieur Rostaing* remain with that Governor, in order that the correspondence which ought always subsist between them, may be kept up through him.

Should the Governor-General think proper to assemble a council of war for the purpose of concerting the operations of the campaign, he will invite to it, without hesitation, Baron de Dieskaw, or *Sieur de Rostaing* in his absence, or even in company with him, if he so desire. But whether the Governor-General take the advice of a council of war or content himself with conferring in private with Baron de Dieskaw, or decide independently without any previous communication, the said Baron shall be bound to obey the orders and instructions he shall give him, either for marching detachments or heading an expedition himself, and he will not be at liberty to make any change in what shall be prescribed to him, only so far as the Governor-General will have left him free so to do, or in urgent and unforeseen circumstances, which shall be reported to him on the spot. Said Governor-General shall be at liberty to send new orders pending the expedition, and to repair, should he desire, to the spot, to assume the chief command and terminate what will have been commenced.

The local Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers having also the command not only in these places, but also of the detachments that proceed from them by their authority, in urgent cases, Baron de Dieskaw will recommend the commanders of battalions that will be garrisoned there, to act towards them and the Lieutenant-Governors and Majors of these places, according to the rule laid down for the staff of fortified places in France, which is also to be observed in regard to the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, who commands there in the absence of the Governor-General. On the other hand, said local Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and Majors will be recommended to act towards Baron de Dieskaw as is the custom in France in fortified towns, in regard to superior officers employed on the frontiers by letters of service, without, however, *Sieur de Rostaing* nor even Baron de Dieskaw having the power to order off any troop belonging to the garrisons of said places, unless by command of the Governor-General or consent of the local Governor of the place where he will happen to be.

Whenever the battalions will form one corps, with the Independent companies (*compagnies franches*) of the Colonies, the Adjutant-General will make out the detail in chief of the whole, without difficulty.

The Governor-General, in the distribution of the detachments, will so arrange that the command be divided proportionally between the officers of the line and those of the Colonies, and when both partisan officers will be detached, that no officers be sent with them who might dispute their command.

Baron de Dieskaw will recommend all detached officers to inform him of whatever will occur, whether they be in command of the detachments or not, and he shall communicate to the Governor-General any intelligence he will receive, and any matter to provide for, which will require the intervention of such Governor's authority.

He will likewise pay attention to inform the Secretary of State at the head of the War department, of the actual situation of things, at all times when a vessel will be sent to France, and of everything of interest that occurs.



*M. Duquesne to M. de Drucour.*

Extract of a letter written by the Marquis Duquesne to Chevalier de Drucourt, the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, 1755.

A circumstance has occurred at the Beautiful river which seems to promise me that there will be less difficulty in consolidating our new post. The Chouanons, who compose the strongest Nation in that quarter, have attacked the English, taken seventeen scalps and made ten prisoners, whom they have distributed among different tribes who have taken up the hatchet. Nothing could be so advantageous under existing circumstances, for there are no barriers equal to such defenders; but with such a fine game (for my movements are the same) the Indians must be sustained, as they would soon let go did they think that all the work was left to them. I have, in consequence, sent off a detachment on the ice, and shall, at the opening of the navigation, cause (others) to march off by brigade, as usual.

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*Private Instructions to M. de Vaudreuil.*

Private Instructions for M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil regarding the conduct he is to observe towards the English.

Versailles, 1<sup>st</sup> of April, 1755.

To enable Sieur de Vaudreuil to conform to what his Majesty has to prescribe to him, respecting the conduct he is to observe in regard to the movements with which Canada has been for some time agitated, it is necessary to explain to him everything that relates to the pretensions the English have formed to the principal frontiers of that Colony, and which have given rise to all these movements.

By article 10, of the treaty of Utrecht, it had been agreed that Commissioners should be named on both sides to settle the boundaries between the French and British American Colonies.

On occasion of an expedition that the English fitted out, in 1718, against the fishing posts which the French had in the Islands of Canso, the two Courts did, in fact, nominate Commissioners to decide the property of these islands. The Commissioners met at Paris. At the very first conference, those of the King of England, who claimed that the Islands of Canso were dependent on Acadia, which was ceded to the English by the Treaty of Utrecht, were convinced, on inspecting the Map, which they presented themselves, that those islands were, on the contrary, included in the reserves expressed in the article of the Treaty of Utrecht containing the cession of Acadia, and that, consequently, France had retained the property thereof. They withdrew, saying they required new instructions from their Court, and did not again make their appearance. Although there had been question on different occasions that since presented themselves, of naming other Commissioners in execution of the treaty, the English had always eluded it, until the last war; and Sieur de Vaudreuil is better informed than any person how they abused the moderation which had always governed his Majesty's



proceedings and views, since he has been a witness of their unceasing usurpations, on the territory of Canada, during the long peace which followed the Treaty of Utrecht.

His Majesty did flatter himself that he should eventually succeed in placing bounds to their enterprises, and securing tranquillity to his Colonies by a definite fixation of the respective limits. In consequence of the last Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, whereby that of Utrecht has been renewed, Commissioners have been named on both sides, and did meet at Paris to regulate all the disputes concerning the French and British possessions. But whatever earnestness and facilities his Majesty had lent to the this settlement, the success of the labor of these Commissaries is far from responding, up to the present time, to the hopes he had entertained thereof, from the dispositions his Britannic Majesty had caused to be evinced in that regard.

As yet, the Commissioners have not entered upon the limits of Canada further than what regards Acadia. The demands the British Commissioners have made on that subject, have laid bare the ambition and unjust views of their nation. Under pretext of the cession which has been made to England of Acadia, by Article 12 of the Treaty of Utrecht, they have claimed not only all the Peninsula in which Acadia happens to be situated, but moreover that the cession included on the one side, all the territory extending up to the South shore of the River St. Lawrence, and embraced on the other side the territory which touches the frontiers of New England. But it has not been difficult for his Majesty's Commissioners to destroy ideas so chimerical, and they have shown that the cession of Acadia ought to include only a part of the Peninsula.

The English have been meanwhile desirous to sustain, by acts of violence, the pretension put forth by their Commissioners; for, on the Acadia side, they have already erected a pretty considerable fort at Beaubassin, which is, in fact, in the Peninsula, but without the limits of Acadia. It is even probable that they would have extended their posts to the Continent itself beyond the Isthmus which separates the Peninsula from it, without waiting for the decision of the Commissioners, had not his Majesty adopted the resolution of stopping them by causing a fort to be erected at Beauséjour, and establishing other posts on that frontier; and they have undertaken last year to build on the New England side, by force of arms, a fort at Naurant Souak<sup>1</sup>, which is only 35 leagues distance from Quebec. But the Marquis Duquesne is to take measures to destroy this fort; and perhaps that expedition will have been terminated when Sieur de Vaudreuil will arrive in Canada.

He is informed of what has occurred in the direction of the Beautiful river, which the English will now include within the dependencies of Virginia. But he is not aware that, not content with endeavoring to penetrate in that direction, into the interior of the country, and there cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, they pretend, further, to have the right to resort to the lakes of Canada, and that the lands which are to the south of Lake Erié and of Lake Ontario belong to them.

They have not yet explained themselves respecting the extent they propose giving their Hudson bay boundaries. But it is to be expected that they will wish to stretch them to the centre of the Colony of Canada, in order to inclose it in all sides.

However that be, his Majesty is firmly resolved to maintain his rights and his possessions against pretensions so excessive and so unjust; and whatever be his love for peace, will not

<sup>1</sup> Fort Halifax, at the junction of the Sebasticook and Kennebeck rivers, in the present town of Winslow, Me. *Williamson's Maine*, II, 298, 300, 392. — Ed.



make for its preservation any sacrifices but those which will accord with the dignity of his Crown and the protection he owes his subjects.

Such is the principle on which his Ambassador at the Court of England has orders to labor in a negotiation that has been entered into with that court for the termination of all those differences by a provisional or definitive treaty; and it is also on that principle that his Majesty wills that *Sieur de Vaudreuil* do regulate his conduct in relation to these objects, until the issue of that negociation, whereof his Majesty will have him informed.

He is, in consequence, to be on his guard against all attempts the English might make against his Majesty's possessions; carefully to avoid affording them any just cause of complaint; to act on occasions wherein there will possibly be acts of violence, in such a manner that he might not appear the aggressor, and to confine himself to the adoption of all possible measures to enable him to repel force by force.

His Majesty's intention is, in fact, that he confine himself to a strict defensive, so long as the English will not make any attack, which is to be regarded as a rupture on their part.

If, to insure this defensive, he considers it necessary to make the Indians act offensively against the English, he will be at liberty to have recourse to that expedient. But his Majesty desires that he do not determine on that course, except so far as the conduct of the English will render it indispensable for the safety and tranquillity of his government.

Supposing, in the mean time, that, notwithstanding what ought to be naturally expected from the equitable and pacific dispositions, whereof the King of Great Britain does not cease to give assurances, hostilities on the part of the English should reach the point that they must be regarded as a rupture, he should not, in that case, confine himself to a simple defensive; and his Majesty wills that, in such contingency, he make use of all the powers that have been confided to him for the operations which will be best adapted to the good of his service and the glory of his arms.

[As these operations must depend on circumstances, his Majesty relies on *Sieur de Vaudreuil's* zeal, prudence and experience for undertaking those that will appear to him the most advantageous and the most honorable. He recommends to him only to observe, in the selection of those that he will think he can undertake, to give the preference to such as will have for object the English posts that can be wholly destroyed, such as that of *Choueguen* and even *Fort Beaubassin*, or will deserve to be preserved after he shall have become master of them, either for the purpose of increasing the Colony of Canada, as would be the case with *Acadia*, or of being used for exchange, according to the circumstances which will possibly occur or happen, whenever there will be question of a peace, and such would be the capture of *Hudson's bay*.

But before coming thus to operations of an open war, his Majesty desires that *Sieur de Vaudreuil* do assure himself that the English will have in fact committed absolute hostilities either against the French settlements or forts of Canada, or against some other Colonies, or at sea.

In this category may be regarded the usurpations they will possibly attempt on the unsettled lands of Canada, and on which they have undertaken to set up unfounded pretensions. His Majesty's intention meanwhile is, that so long as they will confine themselves to operations of that sort, *Sieur de Vaudreuil* do content himself with opposing them, and even employ force for that purpose only after he has protested and made the summons which time and circumstances will have possibly permitted. And in this regard his Majesty is very glad to



enter into a fuller explanation of the pretensions of the English, in order to enable *Sieur de Vaudreuil* to act more understandingly on occasions relative thereto.

Independent of the Hudson bay boundary, of which there has, as yet, been no question with the English, their pretensions, as has been already observed, have for object to extend the limits of Acadia on one side as far as the South shore of the River St. Lawrence, and on the other, as far as the frontiers of New England; to include in those of Virginia the lands that reach to Lake Erie, and those of the Beautiful river; and to penetrate into the Lakes of Canada; so that in this system they would wrest from the French all the posts the latter possess south of the River St. Lawrence, and the Colony of Canada would find itself reduced to those they have on the north of that river, and wherein it would be soon crippled in consequence of the extension the English will not fail to desire to give the Hudson bay boundary.

It is true that the Court of England has declared that it would consent to modification, in the demand its Commissioners have made in regard to Acadia, but the modifications that Court has enounced, still leave too great an extent to the cession of that Province made by the Treaty of Utrecht, to admit of being adopted; and his Majesty has maintained up to the present time, that that cession includes only a part of the Peninsula. *Sieur de Vaudreuil* will find that question fully discussed in the Memoirs that his Majesty's Commissioners have communicated to the English Commissioners, and whereof he will cause a copy to be furnished to him. He will see therein that the pretension of the English is destroyed by their title itself, which is the Treaty of Utrecht; so that, independent of the portion of the territory of the Peninsula, that is not included in the cession made by that treaty, *Sieur de Vaudreuil* is to regard as dependencies of Canada, all the lands extending into the Continent from the River St. Lawrence to the frontiers of New England, and to maintain possession thereof against the attempts of the English.

3 observations are to be made respecting the frontiers of New England.

First, that in strictness and agreeably to the titles even of the English, his Majesty might claim that they are bounded by the River Sagadahock, but he consents that they extend as far as the River St. George, and possibly he will consent to extending them even as far as the River Pentagouet, according as the English will lend themselves to a conciliatory arrangement.

Secondly, that in regard to the boundary of New England inland, his Majesty is disposed to agree that it be fixed at what is called the Water shed (*Eaux pendantes*), that is to say, the heads of the rivers emptying into the sea.

And thirdly, that *Sieur de Vaudreuil* must keep secret his Majesty's dispositions, both on this latter article and on that of the River Pentagouet, his Majesty communicating it to him only that he do not undertake anything contrary thereunto until new orders from him.

In respect to the limits of Virginia, they have been acknowledged from all time to be the mountains which bound that Colony on the west. It is only since the last war that the English have set up claims to the territory on the Beautiful river, the possession whereof had never been disputed to the French, who have always resorted that river since it was discovered by *Sieur de Lassale*. The English have not yet alleged either title or reasons in support of their pretension. They have only given to understand that they founded it on the rights of the Iroquois; rights which they were in a position to establish, either by title of acquisition or of sovereignty over these Indians. But, 1<sup>a</sup>, the Iroquois have themselves no rights to these lands; for, besides the Iroquois having set foot on a territory being insufficient



to give that Nation a title to it, 'tis certain that we were in possession of the Beautiful river before these Indians had resorted thither.

2<sup>d</sup> Title by acquisition would conflict with that by sovereignty, inasmuch as the pretended sovereignty would render the acquisition useless.

3<sup>d</sup> That sovereignty is a chimera. The English desire to establish it on the 15<sup>th</sup> Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, which states that *the inhabitants of Canada will not molest the Five Nations or cantons of Indians subjects of Great Britain.*

But such an enunciation, inserted in a treaty foreign to the Iroquois, can so much the less decide their condition, inasmuch as, besides their not being named in it, the same Article adds, that the respective Commissioners will explain, distinctly, which are the Indians who are or ought to be reputed subjects or friends of the one or the other Nation.

And besides, Sieur de Vaudreuil knows well that the Iroquois are very far from acknowledging any Sovereign.

It is, nevertheless, from this chimerical sovereignty that the English desire still to derive their pretended right to the territory extending from the mountains which shut in their Colonies to Lake Erié, as having belonged to the Iroquois. But this pretension destroys itself by the same reasons as that which regards the territory of the Beautiful river.

Finally, the English have not been more fortunate in their explanation of the right of resorting the lakes of Canada. They will pretend, perhaps, to support it on the same Article 15 of the Treaty of Utrecht, which states, speaking of the subjects of France, of the subjects of Great Britain and of the American subjects or friends of the two Crowns, that *the one and the other will enjoy full liberty of going and coming for the good of trade.*

But this disposition has never been understood to mean liberty of trade between the French and English. The general law that is established in all the European Colonies of America against all foreign trade, is enforced in Canada and the adjoining English Colonies. That trade is carried on there only fraudulently; and the liberty stipulated in the Article of the Treaty of Utrecht has never regarded any but the Indians; that is to say, that the Indian allies of France may go to the English to trade, as those who are allies of England may come to the French; but this is the extent of that liberty; for the Indians, allies of France and located on its territory, cannot receive the English in their villages (*chez eux*) in the same manner as those who are allies of England and settled on English soil, cannot admit the French among them.

Such are the principles according to which Sieur de Vaudreuil is to be guided in whatever he will have to do in relation to the pretensions of the English, and the various movements to which they will, possibly, give rise. His Majesty expects from him that he will conform himself thereto with all the exactness and wisdom that these important objects may demand. But he recommends him, in every case, not to undertake any movement except with all the precautions necessary to insure its success, and to reconcile, as much as possible, those which he will have occasion to make for the defence of his government and the preservation of the rights and possessions dependent thereupon, with the views of the greatest economy, which he must make his principal study in every sort of expense.

Done at Versailles, 1<sup>st</sup> of April, 1755.



*Instructions to M. de Vaudreuil.*

Extract from the Instruction of Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnac, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, 1755.

Of all departments of the administration confided to Sieur de Vaudreuil, that which demands the closest attention is the government of the Indians. He is informed that Canada is inhabited by numerous nations, and so much the more difficult to be restrained, as levity and inconstancy constitute their most ordinary characteristic.

The experience acquired by Sieur de Vaudreuil in this important department, and the reputation he has long enjoyed among all these nations, induce his Majesty to hope that he will profit by these advantages with all the success to be desired in the most interesting circumstances. But whatever confidence the King may feel in him, he cannot avoid entering here into some particular explanations on the principles to be adhered to in this regard.

His Majesty desires that he will apply all the attention in his power to avoid, as much as possible, Indian wars. There are people in Canada much opposed to this principle. But it is no less true that these descriptions of wars serve most frequently only to occasion a great deal of expense and to disturb the tranquillity of the Colony, without being productive of any real advantage; and 'tis equally certain that they have been for the most part caused only by private interests. Therefore, Sieur de Vaudreuil cannot be too much on his guard against all the insinuations which may be offered him in this matter.

Yet, 'tis not that his Majesty agrees to submit to certain insults on the part of the Indians; and he is far from doing so. He means, on the contrary, that firmness is, in fact, necessary in certain cases, in order to restrain them. The evil is, and his Majesty has had occasion to perceive it more than once, that 'tis very customary in Canada to make great noise and even to commence wars for private commercial transactions of very little interest to the nation, whilst insults, that cause it to be despised, are tolerated, whereby the greatest disorders are produced.

Sieur de Vaudreuil will have to labor to effect another change in the system of the government of the Indians of Canada. In view of occupying and weakening them, the opinion has been to embrace every occasion to foment and excite wars among them. This policy, which is very foreign to the sentiments of justice and humanity that animate his Majesty, might be of advantage, and perhaps even necessary in the infancy of the Colony. But in the condition to which these nations are now reduced, and in their actual dispositions generally, it is more proper, in all respects, that the French act towards them the part of protectors and pacificators. The Indians will feel more respect and attachment for them in consequence. The Colony will thereby enjoy more quiet, and his Majesty will be saved more expense, not counting the number of French that always perish on these occasions. Cases, however, may present themselves, in which it is fit to excite war against nations who are ill disposed to, and might declare themselves openly against, the French. But in these cases, even, 2 things are to be observed: one, to endeavor first to gain over these same nations by reconciling them with those who are faithful; and the other, to be as certain as possible that the latter will not suffer too much by these wars.

There is another principle long established in Canada, and which his Majesty remarks is followed on all occasions. This is to draw the Indian Nations from the places they have



selected as their abode, and to bring them near some French posts. The spirit of trade has contributed more than anything else to inspire this course of thinking and acting. It is, in general, a very bad use of his Majesty's money and the Commandant's authority or credit, to employ it for these sorts of migrations. The Indian allies ought to be considered well everywhere, provided it be not on English territory nor in the neighborhood of any nation openly hostile to the French; and without paying too much attention to the profit of traders nor to the prejudices entertained by many persons on this point, Sieur de Vaudreuil is to allow certain nations the liberty of wandering and roaming throughout the territory of the Colony, provided they do not receive any strangers; for the latter is the most essential point.

His Majesty has had occasion, likewise, to remark in the different accounts which have been laid before him of what has occurred in relation to the Indians, that of late years they make a speculation of receiving English belts and flags, and of, then, carrying them to the French to receive presents in return. All that is very expensive to his Majesty, and moreover indecent. 'Tis not proper to be the dupe of these sort of manœuvres. Sieur de Vaudreuil must put an end thereto; this will be so much the less difficult, inasmuch as they are but too often encouraged by the French themselves.

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*M. Prévost to M. de Machault.*

We are no longer uneasy on account of the ships *Le Bizarre* and *Le Défenseur*. The former entered this port yesterday and the latter has cast anchor an hour ago; thus all M<sup>r</sup> de Salvart's division is fortunately safe.

There are very few sick in this fleet; the officers and troops of the line have borne the voyage excellently.

I am waiting most impatiently for news from the Gulf, to learn whether M<sup>r</sup> Dubois de La Motte has collected any ships there, and entered the river; as soon as I shall have any news of them I will profit by the first opportunity to acquaint you thereof.

Whilst I have the honor of writing to you, I receive letters from Virginia and Newfoundland, which have been secretly transmitted to me, and with a great deal of caution. The one confirm me that our posts at the Beautiful river, at Crown Point, at the River St. John and at Beausejour are to be attacked by 13,000 regulars, in three divisions; and the latter assure me that they are expecting at Chibouctou 9 ships of war, which are probably those that gave fight to *L'Alcide*. I am assured, also, that there are six frigates in the Bay of Fundy. The English do not desire, according to these letters, to attack any of our old settlements unless there be a rupture in Europe, but they are resolved to make every attempt to put themselves in possession of the territory they regard as theirs, as far as the banks of the River St. Lawrence. They do not say a word to our little coasting vessels, and have told some that they would not attack merchantmen as long as those of their nation would not be meddled with.

I am led to expect some flour and refreshments, on condition of going for them to sea or to some uninhabited ports of Newfoundland, because no Englishman dare venture on our coasts. Whoever will be convicted of doing so risks his neck; in order to execute your

commands I shall be obliged to run the hazard of that transport. I shall consult with Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Salvert and de Drucour, and do all in my power, whatever it may cost, to procure provisions for the Colony.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Louisbourg, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1755.

(Signed), PRÉVOST.

*Journal of M. de Vaudreuil's Voyage to Canada.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Extract of a letter, dated Quebec, 4<sup>th</sup> July last, received the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755, containing an abstract of a Journal of what occurred up to the arrival of M. Dubois de la Mothe.

1755, 3<sup>d</sup> May. The two fleets sailed from Brest at noon and steered south as far as Cape *finesterre*. One of them was composed of fourteen ships, three of which were armed, and two frigates commanded by Count *Dubois de La Mothe*, destined to transport the six battalions of Regular troops to Canada; the other consisted of six ships and three frigates armed, commanded of M. de *Macnemara*, who had the chief command, which was destined to convoy that of M. Dubois de la Mothe as far as a certain latitude.

4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> We were followed by an English frigate, which made signals to a snow farther off. When about to double Cape *Finisterre*, on the 5<sup>th</sup>, we had a calm of 24 hours, duration, which gave the English frigate time to beat around and examine us. Our Generals did not appear to think much of it.

7<sup>th</sup> M. de *Macnemara* had chase given her and she disappeared.

8<sup>th</sup> At noon the two fleets separated. We were then in the 42<sup>d</sup> degree of Latitude, and in the meridian of *Ferro*.

9<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> We were delayed by the calm, and by the ship *L'esperance*, which allowed herself to be carried to leeward, and after having joined had one of her cross-trees broken, though the wind was quite light. We got along wonderfully up to the , and perceived by the birds, fogs and icebergs that we were near the Grand Bank; on that day M. Dubois de la Mothe opened the orders from the Court, which directed the separation of six vessels, to wit: *Le Bizarre*, *L'Esperance*, *Le Dauphin Royal*, *Le Défenseur*, *L'Acquillon* and *La Commette*, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Salvert, with the battalions of Artois and Burgundy, in order to proceed to Louisbourg.

The boat of each ship consequently proceeded on board the Commodore to receive instructions. The fog and wind, which suddenly rose, exposed the boats to great danger of being wrecked on their return. During the night the wind was very violent.

27<sup>th</sup> Made the Great Bank; we experienced cold, fogs, calm, the pleasure of codfishing and the ceremony of the baptism.



30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> The fog was so dense that the entire fleet was dispersed to such an extent that it did not come together any more. The Commodore remained with three ships, *Le Bizarre*, *Le Deffenseur* and *L'Actif*.

4<sup>th</sup> June. The Commodore perceived at day break, in the channel, between the Great and Green Bank (*banc a vert*) ten ships, which he took to be his fleet, and bore down on them, showing them the signal for closing up; but by the signals these ten ships were making to one another he perceived they were English, who on their side were closing on him, without, however, any press of sail. The fog, which supervened apropos, saved him, but made him lose the three ships he had; meanwhile everything was ready for battle in case of attack. During the night several discharges of cannon were heard.

Two fishing vessels, from Acadia, that he afterwards met and hailed to come on board, declared that the English had collected in Bay Verte, which lies between the Island of St. John and Acadia, forty little vessels for the embarkation of troops.

All the vessels destined for Quebec had orders, in case of being separated, to reconnoitre Gaspé where the frigates (*Le Diane*, 22, and *La Fidele*, 24 guns), which had left Rochefort in the month of March last, were to wait for them, to furnish each with a pilot acquainted with the river; but these frigates instead of being there, as the Court had directed, were at the Island of Bic, that is to say, 80 leagues farther up the river.

17<sup>th</sup> June. The Commodore (*L'Entreprenant*) arrived at the Island of Bic with two of his ships that joined him in the river; he learned there that two which were carrying troops had passed on the previous evening.

Two royal gabares, which sailed from Brest before the fleet, and had been separated by heavy weather at the mouth of the Channel, arrived at Bic on the 5<sup>th</sup> of June; they reported to the Commodore that they had both met, on the first of May, the one in latitude 48 degrees, 18 English men of war, and on the following day five more; the other, in latitude 20 minutes more northerly, met 10 other vessels of war belonging to the same Nation.

18<sup>th</sup> Two ships, *Le Leopard* and *L'Illustre*, of those that were transporting the troops, joined the Commodore at Bic. At this rate, there are missing no more than three of those for Qubec, one of which is an armed vessel, and the other two, troop ships.

26<sup>th</sup> One vessel, *L'Actif*, with troops, anchored before Quebec; two are missing, *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys*, whereof there are no tidings.<sup>1</sup>

Names of the vessels composing M<sup>r</sup> Dubois de la Mothe's fleet.

	Guns.
<i>L'Entreprenant</i> ,..... Admiral,.....	74
<i>Le Bizarre</i> ,..... Vice-Admiral, .....	64
<i>L'Alcide</i> , .....	64
<i>Le Dauphin Royal</i> ,.....	70
<i>L'Angonquin</i> ,.....	70
<i>Le deffenseur</i> ,.....	74
<i>L'Actif</i> , .....	64
<i>L'Illustre</i> ,.....	64
<i>L'Opiniatre</i> ,.....	64
<i>Le Lys</i> ,.....	64

<sup>1</sup> On the 8th of June, 1755, *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys* were captured off Newfoundland by Admiral Boscawen's fleet. An account of the engagement will be found in *Pichon's Lettres et Memoires sur Cap Breton*, 248. — Ed.

	Guns.
<i>L'Esperance</i> ,.....	70
<i>Le Leopard</i> ,.....	64
<i>L'Appollon</i> ,.....	56
<i>L'Aquillon</i> ,.....	46
<i>La Sirene</i> ,.....	30
<i>La Comette</i> ,.....	30
<i>La Diane</i> ,.....	22
<i>La Fidelle</i> ,.....	24

## Names of the Passengers,

[On board *L'Entreprenant*, M. and Mde. de Vaudreuil, Baron de Dieskaw, Chevalier de Montreuil, M. Doreil, Ordinary Commissary of War.

On board *L'Alcide*, Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Chevalier de Rostaing, three Engineers and some other officers.

On board <i>Le Dauphin Royal</i> ,.....	9 companies of Bourgogne.
" <i>L'Algonquin</i> ,.....	9 companies of la Reine.
" <i>Le défenseur</i> ,.....	9 companies <i>Partout</i> .
" <i>L'Actif</i> ,.....	9 companies of Languedoc.
" <i>L'Illustre</i> ,.....	9 companies of Guienne.
" <i>L'Opiniatre</i> ,.....	9 companies of Bearn.
" <i>Le Lys</i> ,.....	4 companies of la Reine, and 4 " of Languedoc.
" <i>L'Esperance</i> ,.....	4 companies of Artois, and 4 " of Bourgogne.
" <i>Le Leopard</i> ,.....	4 companies of Bearn, and 4 " of Guienne.
" <i>L'Appollon</i> and <i>L'Aquillon</i> ,.....	hospitals, several passengers, &c.

Two frigates, *La Sirene* and *La Comète*, sailed in company with, or a little before, the fleet. *La Diane* and *La fidelle* sailed from Rochefort in the month of March, 1775.]

## ACADIA.

The news received from Canada on the 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1775,<sup>1</sup> state that the English had abandoned Fort St. John, on the river of that name; that M. de Boishebert, commanding in that part of New France, having been desirous of proceeding towards Fort Beausejour, encountered an English party of 300 men whom he had defeated; that M. de Villejouis, Commandant of the Island of St. John, had received, on his island, all the most wealthy Acadian farmers who came thither for protection after the invasion of the English, to whom they would not swear allegiance and in whose favor they would not take up arms against France.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*. 1755. — Ed.



*M. Duquesne to M. de Vaudreuil.*

Memoir respecting the Ohio and its dependencies, Fort Niagara, Fort St. Frederic, the suppression of certificates, the regulation of the Posts, the new Mission of Lake St. Francis, the Militia of the Colony and the horrible abuse of ardent spirits. Addressed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

By Sieur de Contrecoeur's letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> of May last, the works of Fort Duquesne are completed. It is at present mounted with six pieces of cannon of six, and nine of two @ three pound ball; it was in want of neither arms nor ammunition, and since Sieur de Beaujeu's arrival, it must be well supplied, as he had carried with his brigade succors of every description.

*Note by M. de Vaudreuil.*  
There was then going 2,405 sacks of flour, pork in proportion, and 150 minots of Indian corn.

I must explain to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that much difficulty is experienced in conveying all sorts of effects as far as Fort Duquesne; for, independent of the Niagara carrying place, there is still that of Presqu'isle,<sup>1</sup> six leagues in length. The latter fort, which is on Lake Erie, serves as a depôt for all the others on the Ohio; the effects are next rode to the fort on the River au Bœuf, where they are put on board pirogues to run down to Fort Machault, one-half of which is on the River Ohio, and the other half in the River au Bœuf<sup>2</sup>, and serves as a depôt for Fort Duquesne. This new post has been in existence only since this year, because it has been remarked that too much time was consumed in going in one trip from the fort on River au Bœuf to Fort Duquesne, to the loss of a great quantity of provisions which have been spoiled by bad weather. 'Tis to be hoped that, by dispatching the convoys opportunely from Fort Machaults, everything will arrive safe and sound in twice twenty-four hours; besides, it will be much more convenient at Fort Duquesne to send only to Fort Machaults for supplies.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil must be informed that, during the first campaigns on the Ohio, a horrible waste and disorder prevailed at the Presqu'isle and Niagara carrying places, which cost the King immense sums. We have remedied all the abuses that have come to our knowledge, by submitting these portages to competition. The first is at forty *sous* the piece, and the other, which is six leagues in extent, at fifty. But we do not think the contractors can realize anything in consequence of the mortality among the horses and other expenses to which they are subject.

Had we been favored with any tranquillity, nothing would have been easier than to supply Fort Duquesne, by having the stores of Fort Presqu'isle filled during the summer, the horses could have rode the supplies during the winter to that of the River au Bœuf, whence they might be sent down the Ohio on the first melting of the ice; but continual and urgent movements up to the present time have not afforded leisure to ride the effects in winter, and the horses are dying, which has determined us to give orders to draw from the Ohio as many of them as possible.

Fort Duquesne could in less than two years support itself, since, in the very first year, 700 *minots* of Indian corn have been gathered there, and, from the clearings that have been made there since, it is calculated that if the harvest were good, at least 2000 *minots* could be saved. Peas are now planted, and they have two cows, one bull, some horses and twenty-three sows with young.

<sup>1</sup> It is forty leagues by water from Fort Niagara to Presqu'isle. *Note in the original.*

<sup>2</sup> It is thirty-six leagues from the one to the other. *Note in original.*



At Fort Machault where the land is very fertile, it will be easy to have the same resource.

At River au Bœuf the land is not so good, but it is expected that peas, Indian corn and oats will easily grow there. Hogs can be easily raised there; they have already nine; the prairies in that quarter, which are extensive, furnish only bad hay, but it is easy to get rid of it.

At Presqu'isle there is the same uniformity of land, but the hay is very abundant and good on it.

'Tis to be observed that the quantity of pirogues constructed at the River au Bœuf has exhausted all the large trees in the neighborhood of that post; it is very important to send carpenters there soon, to build some plank bateaux like those of the English. Two advantages will result therefrom; a much greater load can be carried, and the inconvenience of readily upsetting, so common to pirogues, will be avoided.

The site of Fort Niagara is to be changed, as it is undermined by the lake and crumbling in every direction.

Fort St. Frederic is threatening to fall on all sides, in consequence of the walls being too weak to support the terraces. It could be located with more advantage near Carillon. The Court is informed of the sad state of all these forts which constitute the keys of the Colony, and I have transmitted a project thither for the settlement of Gaspé that is not less important.

On arriving in this Colony I found that the officers of the posts in the Upper Countries had the right to issue certificates, under color of stopping the Indians who wished to change their abode, and on equally specious pretexs. I have wholly reformed them, unless the General issue orders to put the Indians in motion, which is at the expense of the King.

M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil will find the explanation of the arrangements of the posts; it is the same that I have sent to the Court. He will also find the regulation of the posts which fixes the limits of each.

Although we informed the Marquis de Vaudreuil of the motives which have induced us to allow the missionaries of the Sault a new mission on Lake St. Francis, in order to attract the Mohawks thither, who had evinced some repugnance to come to the Sault, either because the land there was not fertile, or rather because they had remarked that Brandy was as abundant among their praying brethren as among the English, I repeat to him that it had never been my intention to settle the people of the Sault there, but on the contrary to attract those Mohawks and the Indians belonging to the Five Nations who would like to come thither, having already taken some steps. I have reported to the Court the necessity that existed of attracting the Mohawks to a place they asked of me, the rather as Father Billiard<sup>1</sup> in M<sup>r</sup> Varin's presence, demanded no greater advance than one hundred pistoles, at most, for a saw-mill, and that he would undertake all the rest.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will find the militia of the country in perfect order, and submissive. It is now armed and provided with twenty rounds of powder and ball, but this cannot be preserved, except by paying attention to the reviews which I have ordered to be held every month for the inspection of arms and ammunition. When I commanded it for the Ohio, I established a rotation (*tour de rôle*), which has been so closely followed, that all my levies have been made without any murmur.

<sup>1</sup> ROBERT JEAN BTE. BILLIARD, S. J., is represented as having come to Canada in 1715. *Liste Chronologique*, No. 423. He was Missionary to the Indians at the Sault St. Louis, otherwise called Caghnawaga, from 1754 to 1756. *Mr. Shea's Manuscript List*. He is said to have died on the 8th October, 1760. — ED.



To be prepared for all events, I have established throughout the Colony a reserve in all the Militia Companies, which amounts to thirteen hundred men. This reserve is not only named by the captains, but is ready to march at the first warning. This establishment appears to me of so much importance, that I should advise the renewal of this reserve every six months, as well in peace as in war, by which means the General would always have wherewith to offer immediate opposition to unexpected movements, even were it necessary to double the reserve in case of a *coup de main*. The Indians, who would meditate an attack or a robbery of a settler in his house, will certainly be very careful when they will be aware that the man is able to defend himself.

M. de Vaudreuil has read in the letter of Sieur Benoist, the Commandant at Presqu'isle, the dangers the people are exposed to by this cursed traffic in brandy, which is maintained and protected, and whose source he will soon ascertain.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will have the means of knowing the orders I have issued to, and the punishment I have inflicted on, those who were selling brandy to the Indians at Montreal, and that I have reduced the Voyageurs to three barrels per canoe.

Done at Quebec, the 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1755.

DUQUESNE.

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*M. de Salvert to M. de Machault.*

My Lord,

I have had the honor to report to you in my letters of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of June, my arrival at Louisbourg on the 12<sup>th</sup>. The division of the fleet under my command had entirely come together again on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and the battalions of Artois and Burgundy arrived there in as good condition as if they had changed from one garrison to another in France. I have rendered you an account, my Lord, in the same despatches, of the latitude I have left M. Dubois de la Motte in on the 9<sup>th</sup>, and of the principal events which occurred during our voyage up to that time. I expect that he entered the gulf on the 12<sup>th</sup> with the ship *L'Actif*, and that he will have found the remainder of his fleet at the first anchorage ground in the river, with the exception of the ships *L'Alcide* and *Le Lis*, which have been captured by the English fleet and sent into Olifax.

This fleet, my Lord, presented itself at the mouth of the Louisbourg harbor on the 21<sup>st</sup>, in order of battle, so as to create the impression that it intended to take the place at a dash; 'tis very probable that the sight of the King's ships prevented such a proceeding; they then numbered 15. Two seen by the schooners at the same time off Cape Canso, and two which took *L'Alcide* and *Le Lis* into Olifax, make 19 ships or frigates the English have in those seas, independent of the small craft armed at Boston, to cut off the communication with Louisbourg, and to keep an eye on us. I have considered it my duty to inform you, my Lord, of everything that has come to my knowledge on this point, in order that you may be preadvised of the difficulties I should have to surmount, in order to seize the favorable moment to escape from these troublesome cruisers.

The English fleet made its appearance on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June off these coasts, and has not left since that time. Its cruise extends from Canso to the Island of Seatory. This manœuvre of theirs, my Lord, has given me reason to observe to you in my letter of the 21<sup>st</sup>, that M. Dubois de La Motte must have entered the gulf unmolested. I have taken care to inform him, by different opportunities, of all that has come to my knowledge since my arrival here, in order that he adopt precautions on his return. I do the like again to-day, by two vessels which are conveying to Quebec a portion of the garrisons belonging to Forts Beausejour and Gasparo, that has been made prisoners by the English, as Chevalier de Drucourt must have advised you.

The English fleet again made its appearance on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July; it anchored beyond the range of cannon shot, between Green Island and Black Cape, its boats and canoes to seaward; passed the night, which was very calm, there. Every preparation was made for their reception, had the desire seized them to attempt anything; but these gentlemen are so prudent as not to act, except on a certainty and when they have an easy game.

I am unable to tell you precisely, my Lord, when I shall have it in my power to execute the King's order thoroughly; I have, up to this time, done all in my power. The principal matter will now depend on a lucky chance, which I shall seize if it presents, and you can rely that I shall not neglect anything to entirely accomplish my mission.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

On board the *Bizarre*, in the }  
Louisbourg roads, 6<sup>th</sup> July. }

Most obedient servant,

(Signed) PERIER DE SALVERT.

There is every appearance, my Lord, that I shall be constrained to separate the King's ships. I have not yet adopted any conclusion on this point nor on the quantity of provisions I shall leave in store at Louisbourg. Time and circumstances will decide the course to be taken. I shall consult Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Davucour<sup>1</sup> and Prevost respecting it. It is very necessary to keep all these movements quite secret here, in consequence of the acquaintances the neighbors have preserved at this place.

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*An Account of the Battle of the Monongahela, 9th July, 1755.*

[ No. 189 in the Carton marked "1755, Marine;" Dépôt Général de la Guerre, Paris. ]

M. de Contrecoeur, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, having been informed that the English were taking up arms in Virginia for the purpose of coming to attack him, was advised, shortly afterwards, that they were on the march. He dispatched scouts, who reported to him faithfully their progress. On the 17<sup>th</sup> instant he was advised that their army, consisting of 3000 regulars from Old England, were within six leagues of this fort. That officer employed the next day in making his arrangements; and on the ninth detached M. de Beaujeu, seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Dumas and de Lignery, all three Captains,

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — Ed.



together with four Lieutenants, 6 Ensigns, 20 Cadets, 100 Soldiers, 100 Canadians and 600 Indians, with orders to lie in ambush at a favorable spot, which he had reconnoitred the previous evening. The detachment, before it could reach its place of destination, found itself in presence of the enemy within three leagues of that fort. M' de Beaujeu, finding his ambush had failed, decided on an attack. This he made with so much vigor as to astonish the enemy, who were waiting for us in the best possible order; but their artillery, loaded with grape (*à cartouche*), having opened its fire, our men gave way in turn. The Indians, also, frightened by the report of the cannon rather than by any damage it could inflict, began to yield, when M. de Beaujeu was killed. M. Dumas began to encourage his detachment. He ordered the officers in command of the Indians to spread themselves along the wings so as to take the enemy in flank, whilst he, M. de Lignery and the other officers who led the French, were attacking them in front. This order was executed so promptly that the enemy, who were already shouting their "Long live the King," thought now only of defending themselves. The fight was obstinate on both sides and success long doubtful; but the enemy at last gave way. Efforts were made, in vain, to introduce some sort of order in their retreat. The whoop of the Indians, which echoed through the forest, struck terror into the hearts of the entire enemy. The rout was complete. We remained in possession of the field with six brass twelves and sixes, four howitz-carriages of 50, 11 small royal grenade mortars, all their ammunition, and, generally, their entire baggage. Some deserters, who have come in since, have told us that we had been engaged with only 2000 men, the remainder of the army being four leagues further off. These same deserters have informed us that the enemy were retreating to Virginia, and some scouts, sent as far as the height of land, have confirmed this by reporting that the thousand men who were not engaged, had been equally panic-stricken and abandoned both provisions and ammunition on the way. On this intelligence, a detachment was dispatched after them, which destroyed and burnt everything that could be found. The enemy have left more than 1000 men on the field of battle. They have lost a great portion of the artillery and ammunition, provisions, as also their General, whose name was M' Braddock,<sup>1</sup> and almost all their officers. We have had 3 officers killed; 2 officers and 2 cadets wounded. Such a victory, so entirely unexpected, seeing the inequality of the forces, is the fruit of M' Dumas' experience, and of the activity and valor of the officers under his command.

<sup>1</sup> Major-General EDWARD BRADDOCK, only son of Major-General B., was born towards the close of the 17th century. He entered the Army as Ensign in the Grenadier company of the Coldstream Guards, 11th October, 1710; on 1st August, 1716, was appointed Lieutenant, and fought a duel, with sword and pistol, with Colonel Waller, 26th May, 1718; on the 30th October, 1734, he became Captain-Lieutenant, and on the 10th February, 1736, Captain, with the Army-rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He served in Flanders; became second Major of his regiment in 1743; was present at the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745, and was appointed 1st Major of the Coldstreams, and Lieutenant-Colonel 21st November, 1745, Brigadier-General, April 23d, 1746, and in 1747 and 1748, served again in Flanders. In 1753 he was appointed Colonel of the 14th Foot; in March, of the following year, Major-General; and on 24th September, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's troops in America. He sailed from England 21st December, 1754; arrived at Hampton Roads, Virginia, 20th February, 1755, and was killed on the banks of the Monongahela, in Western Pennsylvania, on the 9th July of the same year. *Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition*. In private character he seems to have been a heartless, broken down gambler and spendthrift. — ED.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Quebec, 10<sup>th</sup> of July, 1755.

My Lord,

I had the honor to inform you, in my letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> instant, that the English were sending a number of people towards Chouaguen, where they had built sloops carrying 10 guns, and two sorts of little galleys; that a force of 3000 men were assembling also at Fort Necessity, within about 40 leagues of Fort Duquesne, where the van-guard, consisting of 700 men, had already arrived.

We had confirmation of this intelligence from some reliable Indians belonging to different villages, who had given us pretty strong assurances of it, not admitting of a doubt. They have also added, as a very sure thing, that 4000 men were going to Choueguine; that the 5 Nations would form the wings of this army; that the English were desirous of seeing Niagara and Fort Frontenac, and that 600 bateaux had, moreover, been built at Orange, where they were busy constructing a great many others; that 5000 men were encamped outside Orange, covering two leagues of country; that this army was to march against Fort St. Frederic, and afterwards advance on our settlements on this Continent. I am about sending, my Lord, some reinforcements to the latter fort, but this diversion will not cause me to make any change in my Lake Ontario project, which I had the honor to communicate to you. The preservation of Niagara is what interests us the most. Were our enemies masters of it, and to retain Choueguine, the Upper countries would be lost to us, and we should have no further communication with the river Oyo.

I had the honor to inform you that I should order 400 men whom I would take from Presqu'isle, to fall back on Niagara, but the danger to which Fort Duquesne is exposed has caused me to change my mind, and they will proceed to the latter post.

I will confess to you, my Lord, that I find myself much embarrassed, and that I think any other person in my place would be equally so. I arrive in a country where, I am assured, everything is peaceable; I find, in consequence, no store of provisions laid in, no carriages built, and I must oppose the enemy's attacks on all sides in less than six weeks. The necessary preparations are hastening forward, and notwithstanding Mr Bigot's activity, I doubt if he will be able to put me in a condition to carry out my plans completely.

You will learn this autumn, my Lord, the success of my projected operations, and the event alone will enable me to decide as to the demands I shall have to make on you.

I start to-morrow for Montreal, where my presence is necessary both for the dispatch of the troops and the levy of militia.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.



*M. Duquesne to M. de Machault.*

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform you that M. de Vaudreuil went up to Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup> instant, for the purpose of accelerating the movements he is to make towards Choueguen. These become always the more imperative in consequence of the forces the English are sending in that direction, and of the sloops they are constructing in all haste to cruize on Lake Ontario; I have no doubt of the success of Baron Dieskaw, who is intrusted with that operation.

No one in the Colony is ignorant that I have offered my services to M. de Vaudreuil for so important an operation, and that I caused it to be observed to him, that Canadian though he was, he could not have the same facilities, either for promptly assembling his militia, or yet for accelerating their departure. I received no other answer from him than that he was going up to Montreal; on this refusal, I communicated to him, my Lord, the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 1<sup>st</sup> of April. He again answered me, that he was going up to Montreal. I have, nevertheless, prepared for him the plan of this expedition in Baron Dieskaw's presence, and have persuaded him to employ Sieurs Dean<sup>1</sup> and Le Mercier for the arrangement and prompt execution of this enterprise, these two officers having, in my movements against the enemy, afforded me strong proofs of capacity. I have placed in the hands of this new Governor some memoirs of what I have done in this Colony, and on all matters of most interest, and which require considerable attention for the maintenance of that order, regularity and economy I have introduced everywhere under my resort. I have, moreover, furnished him with a memoir of what I should have done, had the Colony devolved on me at the present conjuncture.

I cannot forbear expressing to you, my Lord, my sensibility at your not having been pleased to leave the operations in Canada to me until the fall. I nevertheless expected this favor in consideration of my labor, and the knowledge I have acquired. I have been so painfully affected thereby, that, after having performed all my duty to my successor and seeing how useless I am, I have requested of Count Dubois de la Motte the frigate *La Diane*, to go to Rochefort, to which place I prefer to proceed.

I am with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DUQUESNE.

Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> of July, 1755.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1755.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to report to you in my letters of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, the sad condition of the Colony; that it was so much the more surprising to, as it was quite

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Qué Pén. — En.



unexpected by, me, relying on the assurance which the Marquis Duquesne had given me that the government was quiet, that he had provided against everything, and that there was not a semblance of any movement on the part of the English.

Since my arrival at Montreal, I do not cease to learn the confirmation of the bad news which have increased so excessively that I cannot, consistently with my duty, forbear having the honor of laying them before you.

The English are increasing from day to day, and do not hesitate to tell the Indians especially, that they will take Fort St. Frederic, Fort Du Quesne, Niagara, Fort Frontenac and La Présentation. Their views on all these points are by no means doubtful, according to the reports which have been unanimously made to the Commandants of these posts, by their scouts, and by a number of prisoners in succession, the one after the other. I have interrogated all these prisoners, and none have contradicted the information I have received.

The English appear always to have a design on Fort St. Frederic, and to make arrangements with that view at Orange. These movements have even so frightened the settlers, whose lands are without the fort, that they have abandoned them. The detachment I have sent off to establish a camp of observation there, must have arrived at its destination. I have given orders to the Commandant to send scouts out continually, and to transmit their report to me forthwith.

Fort Duquesne is really threatened. On the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month the English were within 6 or 8 leagues of it; I am informed by letter that they number 3000, being provided with artillery and other munitions for a siege.

I would not be uneasy about this fort, if the officer in command there had all these forces; they consist of about 1600 men, including regulars, militia and Indians.

With which he would be in a condition to form parties sufficiently considerable to annoy the march of the English from the first moment he had any knowledge thereof; these parties would have harassed, and assuredly repulsed them. Everything was in our favor in this regard, and affording us a very considerable advantage.

But unfortunately no foresight had been employed to supply that fort with provisions and munitions of war, so that the Commandant, being in want of the one and the other, is obliged to employ the major portion of his men in making journeys to and fro for the purpose of transporting those provisions and munitions, which cannot even reach him in abundance, in consequence of the delay at the Presq'isle portage and the lowness of the water in the River au Bœuf.

I must also observe that Fort Duquesne has never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many capital defects, as is proved by the annexed plan.

'Tis true that the Commandant, urged by the officers of the garrison, who perceived all these defects, took upon himself early in the spring, to demand sub-engineer de Lery of the Commandant at Detroit, which officer had put the fort in the best condition he was able, without, however, daring to make any alteration in it.

I dread with reason, my Lord, the first intelligence from that fort, and shall be agreeably surprised if the English have been forced to abandon their expedition.

In regard to Niagara, 'tis certain that, should the English once attack it, 'tis theirs.

I am informed that fort is so dilapidated, that 'tis impossible to put a peg in it without causing it to crumble; stanchions have been obliged to be set up against it to support it. Its garrison consists of thirty men without any muskets. Sieur de Villiers has been detached with about 200 men, to form a camp of observation there.



Such, my Lord, is a true abstract of the condition in which M. Duquesne surrendered the government to me, in respect to the parts I have treated of.

I do not think that I ought to conceal from you that the preparations of the English were not unknown to the Colony; they have been generally known, even from the moment of their inception. 'Twould have been easy in the beginning to extinguish them without compromising ourselves. I add that the two English captains who are here as hostages,<sup>1</sup> have had as much liberty as if they had been invited to learn thoroughly our situation. They have had the run of the villages of our domiciliated Indians, with whom they have had conferences, and have even advised their Governors of our forces and plans. I have had them confined.

The evil is done; 'tis so visible that I can say, without partiality, that it would have been desirable that I had been in possession of this government three years ago. The Colony and the finances would not be so excessively exhausted.

How serious soever the evil, I must apply a remedy to it; and, in order to carry out my views and my zeal in this regard, I should not lose sight of my project against Chouaguen, inasmuch as on the success of that project depends the peace of the Colony.

The expedition against Chouaguen, which at all times would have been easy, is now unfortunately very difficult, and that (I cannot but repeat) because the English have experienced no impediment to their labors and ambition.

The security of the Colony has even rendered them so proud, that having at length attained the degree of perfection to which they aspired, they have boldly raised the mask, and in the very beginning of June have been sufficiently daring to fire three balls at the King's flag which was floating from the boat of an officer that was conducting a detachment to the Beautiful river.

They have actually two and perhaps three flat-bottomed sloops with sweeps, armed for war, cruizing on Lake Ontario; from one day to another they are to launch other vessels for the like purpose.

I am informed, by letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> of this month, that these two sloops have been, with several bateaux, beyond Quinté, where the English have landed, and that it is certain they are to go to Niagara.

Chouaguen is no longer a trading house; 'tis regularly fortified and suitably provided with cannon.

There is a second fort equally provided with artillery.

The woods that surrounded Chouaguen, and militated against its defence, no longer exist; the approaches to it have been rendered difficult.

The number there is large, and is becoming still more so every moment, by the troops which are coming from Orange.

Nevertheless, my Lord, I act with confidence, and dare flatter myself that I shall pull down Chouaguen.

The army will consist of about 4300 men, 2300 of whom will be regulars, 1800 Canadians and 500 domiciliated Indians. I am rejoiced to see that the one and the other evince great zeal in fulfilling my desires.

This army will be supplied with some pieces of portative artillery and generally with munitions of war and utensils necessary for a siege.

<sup>1</sup> Captains Robert Stobo and Jan Van Braam. They were surrendered by Major Washington at Fort Necessity, July 8, 1754. — Ed.

Since the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, the troop have been filing off by brigade on their way to Fort Frontenac. I hope the remainder of the army will have left Montreal by the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, and that, unless there be unfavorable weather, the whole of my forces will be reunited at Fort Frontenac by the 25<sup>th</sup> of the same month.

I should have had extreme satisfaction, my Lord, in marching at the head of the army persuaded of the effect my zeal for the King's service and for my country would have infused among the Canadian soldiers, and especially among the Indians. But Fort St. Frederic being equally menaced, my presence becomes necessary at Montreal.

Baron de Dieskaw will command this army. I confer daily with him, and see, with pleasure, that he desires, ardently, to accomplish my views.

As for the Five Nations, I do not expect their aid, but do not despair of their neutrality.

Chouaguen, ever since it was founded, is the rendezvous of the various Indian Nations. 'Tis from Chouaguen all the Belts and Messages go, that the English scatter among the Nations of the Upper country. It has been always at Chouaguen that the English have held Council with the Nations, and by means of presents, principally intoxicating liquors, have made them resolve to murder the French.

In fine, 'tis, consequently, Chouaguen which is the direct cause of all the troubles that have overtaken the Colony, and of the vast expense they have occasioned the King.

From the destruction of Chouaguen will follow :

On the one hand, the perfect attachment of all the Upper country Indians ; on the other, a considerable diminution of the expense the King annually incurs for the Colony.

Should the Five Nations have sided with the English, they will abandon them the moment Chouaguen no longer exists.

The Indian Nations, having the English no longer as a resource for obtaining intoxicating liquors, I shall insensibly cut off, at certain posts, the sale of brandy, which is injurious to the good of the service and of commerce.

These same Indians not recognizing, and being unable to have dealings with any but the French, the prodigious quantity of Beaver and Peltry that used to pass to the English, will, from that moment, reënter into the trade of France.

I beg of you, my Lord, to be persuaded of my exactness in performing all that my instructions prescribe to me, and that I shall do everything in my power to signalize my zeal for the King's service.

I am, with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Bréard to M. de Machault.*

Quebec, 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755.

My Lord,

Mr Bigot's absence at Montreal since the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, and my own uncertainty as to whether the despatches he has sent me for the Court, and which I have handed to the Captain of the



King's Express boat *La Macreuse*, on the point of sailing for Brest, will arrive safe, induce me to take the liberty of sending to your address, my Lord, by the ship *Les deux frères de St. Vallery*, Captain Elie, for Rochelle, copies of the pieces that the Intendant has sent me from Montreal on the subject of the Action which took place on the 9<sup>th</sup> of last month, within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, between a party of 900 men, whereof 250 were Canadians and 650 Indians, under the command of M. de Beaujeu, and 2000 English, being part of a force of 3000 men who were on their way to attack that fort.

M<sup>r</sup> Bigot directs me, my Lord, in his letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> instant, to send up to Montreal, with all possible diligence, 300 farmers required by M. de Vaudreuil from the Government of Quebec, and 50 from that of Three Rivers, to save the grain harvest, all the men belonging to the district of Montreal, fit to march, having been commanded to defend the approaches to Fort St. Frederic against the English, who are going thither with a force of 3000 men and a train of artillery. As the safety of the Colony depends on the safety of this harvest, which is expected to be good, I have not neglected anything to second the zeal of M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, and his requisition has been supplied. The capture of the fort is to be apprehended, should the enemy approach near enough to lay siege to it, these works being of no account and its garrison weak.

The movements of the English at Choüaguen, my Lord, are very considerable. The last advices received from that post state, that there are nearly 6000 men to guard it, and to oppose the designs of the French in that quarter. They do not want for artillery; they have some cannon even on board their sloops that navigate Lake Ontario, on which they have likewise a number of bateaux. The French army, which is formed at Montreal, is over 5000 men, the greater part of whom have proceeded to Niagara. 'Tis sufficiently provided with necessaries. I dare not enter into the detail of these movements, not being sufficiently conversant with them.

If the Colony be fortunate enough, my Lord, to escape the capture of Fort St. Frederic, and to make some progress against Chouaguen, it will be protected, for this campaign, against the incursions of the enemy, and the Indians of the Five Nations will assuredly decide, this winter, in favor of the French, and other Nations will follow their example.

Count du Bois de la Motte's fleet being at present between Isle aux Coudres and the Pilgrims, there remains in this harbor of Quebec only the ship *L'Illuminate* and the frigate *La Sirenne*. The first is to sail immediately to join the fleet, and *La Sirenne* is to remain in port until the month of October. A schooner, which sailed a month ago from Louisbourg, reports, by one of its officers who arrived at Quebec two days since, that the English fleet continued to keep the same cruise; he believed it to number fifteen sail.

The indifferent health I enjoy in Canada, my Lord, and the dangerous attack of illness I have experienced since I am here not permitting me to continue my sojourn without running the risk of my life, I took the liberty of requesting of you, last year, permission to proceed this season to France, in order to seek, from my native air and the aid of remedies that I cannot find here, the reëstablishment of my constitution, which is impaired, I dare say, by the application I was obliged to give to the arrangement of the finances of the Colony. As the season is advancing, and the ship which is bringing the Canada orders does not arrive, I beg you, most respectfully, my Lord, to approve of my going under M<sup>r</sup> Bigot's leave. I shall be always at your orders to return and assume my employment in Canada, should my services here be agreeable to you.

I have the honor, &c.,

(Signed), BRÉARD.

Return of the artillery, munitions of war and other effects belonging to the English, found on the field of battle after the action which took place on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, 1755, within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, on the River Oyo, between a detachment of 250 Canadians and 650 Indians, commanded by Captain de Beaujeu, and a body of 2000 Englishmen under the command of General Braddock, exclusive of the considerable plunder that the Indians took.

[Annexed to Mr. Bréard's letter of the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755.]

- 4 brass pieces with the arms of England, of the calibre of 11<sup>lb</sup>
- 4 ditto, of 5½<sup>lb</sup>
- 4 brass mortars or howitzers, of 7½ inch diameter.
- 3 other grenade mortars, of 4½ inch.
- 175 balls of 11<sup>lb</sup>
- 67 howitzers of 6½ inch.
- 17 barrels of powder, of 100<sup>lb</sup>
- 19,740 musket cartridges.
- The artifices for the artillery.
- The other articles necessary for a siege.
- A great quantity of muskets, fit and unfit for service.
- A quantity of broken carriages.
- 4 or 500 horses, some of them killed.
- About 100 head of horned cattle.
- A greater number of barrels of powder and flour, broken.
- About 600 dead, of whom a great number are officers, and wounded in proportion.
- 20 men or women taken prisoners by the Indians.
- Very considerable booty in furniture, clothing and utensils.
- A lot of papers which have not been translated for want of time; among others, the plan of Fort Duquesne with its exact proportions.

NOTE.—The Indians have plundered a great deal of gold and silver coin.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Commissary Doreil.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 16<sup>th</sup> August, 1755.

Sir,

I start in a moment for Fort St. Frederic to place myself at the head of a body of about 3000 men, to meet an English force of 4500 men, whose design is to seize Forts St. Frederic, St. John,

<sup>1</sup> Captain Robert Stobo drew this plan whilst a prisoner or hostage at Fort Du Quesne. See *Memoir in answer to the observations of the English Ministry, by the Duke de Choiseul*: New-York, 1757, p. 15. The plan is republished in a *Memoir of Stobo*, Pittsburg, 1854; also, in *Sargent's History of Braddock's Campaign*. — Ed.



Chambly, and afterwards to advance as far as Montreal. I shall try, however, to mar their plan. The troops are in the best disposition possible, and panting only for the attack. All I fear is, that the enemy, who imagine all our troops to have gone on the expedition against Chouaguen, will beat a retreat on learning that we are on the march.

The battalions of la Reine and Languedoc are of the party ; but Guienne and Bearn had, as you are aware, already arrived at Fort Frontenac when we were apprised of the enemy's movements against the Colony. We are as well acquainted as themselves with all their treacheries, from General Bradock's papers, which have been found on the field of battle near Fort Duquesne. There are some from this General to the British Minister, M<sup>r</sup> Robinson;<sup>1</sup> copy of the latter's answer; also one from the Duke of Newcastle and the Secretary<sup>2</sup> of the Duke of Cumberland. It appears that this last is the prime mover of the whole. Their plan was concluded two years ago, since which time they have not ceased their preparations for its execution this year. To wit, that General Bradok, with a force of 3000 men, should attack Fort Duquesne, and proceed thence to Niagara, which was to be attacked at the same time by the Governor of Baston, at the head of a force of 3000 men; and, in order to cap their treachery, General Johnson was to come with 4500 men and enter the heart of the Colony. It is with this last that I shall have to do. In regard to the expedition against Niagara, I believe that they will not dare attempt it, inasmuch as there are 1200 men at Fort Frontenac, all ready to march against Chouaguen, in the supposition that the enemy will strip that place in order to attack Niagara, into which we have thrown 300 men.

The English have, in an intrenched camp at Chouaguen, 2500 men, exclusive of the garrison and a vast number of bateaux, for it is from this fort that they were to proceed against Niagara.

The defeat of the English on the Ohio, and especially the death of General Bradok, who has been killed, must have furiously deranged their plans, and I calculate on deranging them still a trifle more, provided they hold on.

M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil is getting a translation made of all the letters taken on the defeat of the English General on the Ohio. They have had their General and 1500 killed, and all their artillery captured. These letters will be sent to the Court on the return of my expedition.

If you find occasion, Sir, to write to France, inform Mess<sup>rs</sup> the Ministers hereof, and send them this letter. I shall not be able to render them a very positive account until I return from my campaign.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed),      BARON DE DIESKAU.

<sup>1</sup>See VI., 844, note.

<sup>2</sup> Major-General ROBERT NAPIER, who was, at this time, Aid-de-Camp to the Duke of Cumberland and Colonel of the 51st regiment. He became Major-General 4th February, 1756, and Colonel of the 12th foot 22d April, 1757; Lieutenant-General 4th April, 1759. He died Adjutant-General of the British Army in November, 1766. His letter to General Bradock is printed in Sargent, *ut supra*, 398. — Ed.

*Chevalier de Montreuil to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755.

My Lord,

I have the honor to renew to you my respectful attachment, and to inform you that *three thousand English are coming from Orange to besiege Fort St. Frederic. The Marquis de Vaudreuil sends thither, in consequence, eighteen hundred men and four hundred Indians. Baron de Dieskau puts himself at their head, whose intention it is to attack the enemy, who are near Lake St. Sacrement, and to postpone the siege of Fort Chouaguen to next year.* I have had the honor to inform you that, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, six hundred of our Indians and three hundred Canadians had attacked, within four leagues of Fort Duquesne, two thousand Englishmen who were coming to lay siege to it; that the enemy had lost six hundred men, exclusive of wounded; that they lost seven mortars, six brass pieces and considerable booty; if credit is to be attached to several deserters, General bradoc has been killed in this action. The King of England had confided all the operations to him. His instructions have been taken and sent to M de Vaudreuil. The battalions of Guienne and Bearn are encamped under Fort *Cataracouï*; the nine companies of La Reine and Languedoc are going to Fort *St. Frederic*. *Baron de Dieskau* has formed a company of grenadiers in each of these two corps, commanded by the First Lieutenant. *He is at Fort St. Frederic since some days; I am going to join him; he had left me here until the departure of La reine and Languedoc, which were on the road for Fort Cataracoui, and which he recalled.* I hope, on this occasion, to let Baron de Dieskaw see that, with a will as determined as mine, it is impossible to do wrong. I am much attached to him; he appears to me to be a very good General and a very excellent soldier. I aspire, my Lord, only to the pleasure of learning that you are in good health, and of telling you that we have beat the enemy.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

your most humble and

most obedient servant,

CH<sup>er</sup> DE MONTREÜIL.*M. de Machault to M. de Vaudreuil.*

Sir,

Carried to the King  
6th 7ber, 1755.

I have received from you, since your arrival at Quebec, only the two individual letters of the 2<sup>d</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> of July, and that which you have written to me conjointly with M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne on the 5<sup>th</sup> of the same month. But I think that there were others in the packets that had been delivered to the Captain of the ship *Le Pierre-Alexandre*, arrived at Bourdeaux, who has declared that he had thrown them overboard to the number of 22, which were tied in a bag, on meeting an English frigate who overhauled him on the 17<sup>th</sup> of August in the latitude of L'Ile Dieu. And I expect to receive other news by the return of M<sup>r</sup> Dubois de la Motte's ships, which I am, from day to day, expecting with the greatest impatience.



We had already learned, by the way of England, of the capture, by the English, of the posts of Beausejour and Gaspereaux, and the march of different bodies of troops of that Nation against the forts of River St. John, St. Frederic, Niagara, and that of the Beautiful river. The King has approved the resolution you have adopted, on learning all these expeditions, to dispatch M<sup>r</sup> Dieskaw, to prevent or repair their execution, pursuant to the plan of operations you have concerted as well with that officer as with M<sup>r</sup> Duquesne. And you will easily judge that it will not be without impatience that his Majesty will await the news of these operations.

Neither is it without pain that his Majesty sees himself forced, by the hostilities of the English, to adopt measures so opposed to his love of peace, and to the efforts he has made to maintain it with that Nation. There is not, however, as yet, any declaration of war on either side. On the first intelligence of the capture of the ships *L'Alcide* and *Le Lys*, his Majesty has recalled his Ambassador from London, and his Minister from Hanover, without taking leave. The English men of war visit all our merchantmen that they meet, but we have not yet learned that they have retained any. We have, nevertheless, reason to believe that they will not spare those they fall in with having supplies for Canada and Ile Royale. And they make no secret of their plans on that head. However it be, I can, for the present, only direct you to conform yourself to your Instructions relative to the conduct of the English. They afford you, already, more occupation than we had anticipated. But his Majesty is persuaded that, with the aid you have, you will succeed in thwarting their unjust enterprises, and in maintaining the glory of his arms.

The news we have received from England, increases the King's confidence. They announce to us, in a positive manner, the entire defeat of the body of troops that marched from Virginia against the fort on the Beautiful river under the command of General Braddok, who has been killed there. I expect that the first ships from Canada will bring me the detail of the affair, with all the circumstances. And I notify you, beforehand, that the King is determined to reward, in a marked manner, those who have distinguished themselves on that occasion.

I confide to you, at the same time, that his Majesty entertains very different dispositions, but founded, nevertheless, on the same principle, in regard to the officers who were at Forts Beausejour and Gaspereaux. According to private accounts that have come here, and to what the English have, themselves, published about it, these forts have been very badly defended, and that of Gaspereaux was even surrendered before the English had arrived there. The King wishes to know what has taken place; and it is in fact, important, for many reasons, that the conduct of these officers be cleared up. His Majesty desires that you enable me to report to him what you will be able to learn hereof, and I request of you to do this without favor to any person.

5<sup>th</sup> September, 1755.

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*M. de Machault to Chevalier de Drucourt and M. Prévost.*

Versailles, 5<sup>th</sup> September, 1755.

Carried to the King,  
6th Decr, 1755.

In my despatch of the 29<sup>th</sup> of July last, I acknowledged, Gentlemen, the receipt of the letters you had written me by the schooner *L'Esperance*, arrived at Bayonne,



the duplicates whereof reached me by the boat *Le Jason*, arrived at Rochelle. I have since received those you intrusted to the Captain of the boat *L'Apollon*, and to him of the ship *L'Etienne Pierre*, but he of the schooner *La Genevieve* has declared, at Nantes, that having fallen in, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July, 10 leagues east of Louisbourg, with five English men of war, they overhauled him, and broke the seals of several letters; that they retained three of them, but that the packets which M<sup>r</sup> Prévot delivered to him have been thrown overboard, agreeably to the orders he had given.

Although I have nothing to add to what I have explained to you respecting the King's intentions in regard to the defence of the Colony, in my despatch of the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, whereof I annex hereunto the triplicate, I have proposed to his Majesty to send the frigate *La Valeur*, commanded by Sieur Maccarthy, which I expect will sail immediately from the harbor of the Island of Aix.

Two principal reasons have determined his Majesty to give him that destination.

First. To acquaint you that affairs with England are still in the same state they were on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July. There has been no declaration of war on either side. The English do not even stop our merchantmen up to the present time; but these uncertainties ought only render each of you, in his sphere, more attentive in adopting all possible measures for the safety of the Colony, for we must be prepared for all events on the part of the English.

Secondly. His Majesty has thought that it might be useful to have a frigate at Louisbourg to be used next spring, at the opening of the navigation, either for the purpose of learning the movements of the English, or even for the defence of Louisbourg, in case that place be attacked, for then the crew of the frigate could be usefully employed in serving the artillery. The King does not, however, order Chevalier de Drucourt to retain this frigate. His Majesty refers to his prudence to adopt what he will consider the properest course in that regard, relation being had to the circumstances. If he send it back this year, it will be an occasion the more to inform me of the news and of the situation of the Colony, and to transmit any details you will have to communicate to me.

I continue waiting for M. de Salvert with the greatest impatience. And I am even the more uneasy at his delay, as I am ignorant what arrangements he was proposing to make for his return; and, on the other hand, whether he had other motives than the fear of the English fleet, to prolong his sojourn at Louisbourg.

Since the news of the capture of the forts at Beausejour and Bay Verte, the rumor has prevailed in England that those on the River St. John and at Pointe à la Chevelure, on Lake Champlain, had also surrendered to the English, but this is not yet confirmed.

We have just learned from another quarter, by way of England, the total defeat of the body of troops that were marching against Fort Duquesne under the command of General Braddock, who was killed there. And you will, doubtless, have learned from Quebec, the particulars of that action, which has been most advantageous for us.

But whatever occurs in Canada, Louisbourg requires the greatest attention, and his Majesty is disposed to bestow such on it; if the supply of provisions that has been sent thither from France arrive safely, the place will be well provided. It is with much pleasure that I have learned the arrival of those sent thither by M. Bigot, under the convoy of M. de Jonquière. I hope that M. Prévôt will have been able to procure some elsewhere, and I shall have some forwarded thither early next spring.



In regard to funds, in addition to those carried by the frigates *La Diane* and *La Fidele*, 200,000<sup>li</sup> have been put on board the fly-boat *L'Outarde*, and the fly-boat *La Valeur* will carry out 100,000<sup>li</sup>.

I am, gentlemen, perfectly yours.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp of the English army at Lake St. Sacrement, 14<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to report to you everything of interest to the service, up to my departure for Fort St. Frederic.

On the very vague intelligence of the designs of the English in that quarter, I proceeded thither with 3000 men, whereof 700 were Regulars, 1600 Canadians and 700 Indians. I arrived at Fort St. Frederic on the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> of August; a portion of the troops had preceded me; the remainder joined me there without delay.

Before quitting Montreal, I had already various reasons for suspecting the fidelity of the domiciliated Iroquois, both of the Sault St. Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, whose number exceeded 300, composing half of the Indians that had been given to me. I represented it repeatedly to M. de Vaudreuil, who would never admit it, but scarcely had I arrived at Fort St. Frederic, than I had occasion to furnish him still stronger proofs thereof.

For more than 15 days that I was encamped under that fort, I encountered nothing but difficulties from the Indians; those who were good, were spoiled by the Iroquois. Never was I able to obtain from them a faithful scout; at one time they refused to make any; at another time, seeming to obey me, they set forth, but when a few leagues from the camp, they sent back the Frenchmen I had associated with them, and used to return within a few days without bringing me any intelligence. Such has been the conduct of the Indians, caused by the Iroquois. My letters from Fort St. Frederic to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot, sufficiently develop the particulars of their mischievous intrigues.

At length, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of August, a Canadian named Boileau, returned from a scout and informed me that about 3000 English were encamped at Lidius' house,<sup>1</sup> where they were constructing a fort that was already pretty well advanced. I immediately resolved to go forward and to post myself in an advantageous place, either to wait for the enemy, should he advance, or to anticipate him myself, by going in quest of him.

On arriving at this post, some Abenakis who had been on the scout, unknown to the Iroquois, brought me in an English prisoner, who told me that the body of the English army had moved from Lidius', and that only 500 remained there to finish the fort, but that they were expecting 2400 men, who were to march to the head of Lake St. Sacrement for the purpose of building a fort there also.

<sup>1</sup> Now Fort Edward, Washington county, New-York. — Ed.

On this intelligence I determined to leave the main body of the army where I was, and to take with me a picked force (*corps d'élite*) march rapidly and surprise Fort Lidius, and capture the 500 men encamped without its walls. My detachment was composed of 600 Indians, 600 Canadians and 200 Regulars belonging to La Reine and Languedoc regiments. It was four days' journey by water and across the woods to Lidius'. All exhibited an ardor which guaranteed success, but the fourth day, which ought to be favorable to the King's arms, was the commencement of our misfortune.

The Iroquois refused point blank to march to attack the fort, or rather the camp of the 500 English; but, perceiving that I was resolved to dispense with them, and that the other Indians were disposed to follow me, they sent excuses and immediately set forth to lead the van, as if to make a parade of their zeal.

Mine was a combined movement. I was to arrive at nightfall at that fort and rush to the attack; but the Iroquois, who took the lead on the march, under the pretence of zeal, caused a wrong direction to be taken; and when I was informed of the circumstance, it was no longer time to apply a remedy, so that at nightfall I was yet a league from that fort on the road leading from it to Lake St. Sacrament.

A courier that was killed, and whose despatch was brought to me, and some prisoners that were brought in, gave me the intelligence that about 3000 English were encamped near there, and that they had but a confused knowledge of the strength of my forces. I immediately gave the Indians the choice of proceeding next day to attack either the fort or this army. The vote of the Iroquois which prevailed, caused the latter course to be adopted.

On the following day, the 8<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>, I commenced my march. About 10 of the clock, after having proceeded 5 leagues, the scouts reported to me that they had seen a large body of troops on their way to the fort, which news was confirmed by a prisoner, taken at the time. They consisted of one thousand men or more, that had left the camp to reinforce the fort. I immediately made my arrangements, ordered the Indians to throw themselves into the woods, to allow the enemy to pass, so as to attack them in the rear, whilst the Canadians took them on the flank, and I should wait for them in front with the regular troops.

This was the moment of treachery. The Iroquois, who were on the left, showed themselves before the time and did not fire. The Abenakis, who occupied the right, seeing themselves discovered, alone with a few Canadians attacked the enemy in front and put them to flight. I immediately prepared to join them, in order to accompany the fugitives into their camp, though still more than a league off.

Meanwhile, the Iroquois collected on a hill, unwilling to advance. Some of them even wanted to force the Abenakis to release three Mohawks whom they had captured at the first encounter. I am ignorant of the result of that quarrel; but the Abenakis, seeing the Iroquois immovable, halted also, and the Canadians, seeing the retreat of the one and the other, were thereby intimidated.

As I was near the enemy's camp, and in front of the cannon, I marched forward with 200 Regulars to capture it, [expecting] that the Canadians would not abandon me, and that the Indians would perhaps return; but in vain. The Regulars received the whole of the enemy's fire and perished there almost to a man. I was knocked down by three shots, none of which were mortal, but I received a 4<sup>th</sup> that passed from one hip to the other, perforating the bladder.



I know not at present what will be my fate ; from M<sup>r</sup> de Johnson, the General of the English army, I am receiving all the attention possible to be expected from a brave man, full of honor and feeling. Sieur de Bernier, my Aid de Camp, is a prisoner with me ; he has been fortunate enough to receive only a slight bruise from a splinter. I know not of any other officer taken.

Should the nature of my wounds destroy the hope of returning to Europe, and should Sieur Bernier go there, he will be able to give you, my Lord, the fullest details of this affair, and of everything that my situation prevents me explaining to you.

I beg of you, my Lord, to have regard for his zeal for the service, and for his attachment to me.

I have the honor to be respectfully, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

BARON DE DIESKAU.

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*Baron de Dieskau to M. de Vaudreuil.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp of the English army at Lake St. Sacrament, 15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

Sir,

I am defeated ; my detachment is routed ; a number of men are killed and thirty or forty are prisoners, as I am told. I and M. Bernier, my Aid de Camp, are among the latter. I have received for my share, four gunshot wounds, one of which is mortal. I owe this misfortune to the treachery of the Iroquois. Our affair was well begun, but as soon as the Iroquois perceived some Mohawks, they came to a dead halt ; the Abenakis and other Indians continued some time, but disappeared also by degrees ; this disheartened the Canadians, so that I found myself with the French troops engaged almost alone. I bore the attack, believing that I might rally the Canadians and perhaps the Indians, in which I did not succeed. The Regulars received the whole of the enemy's fire, and were almost cut to pieces. I prophesied to you, Sir, that the Iroquois would play some scurvy trick ; it is unfortunate for me that I am such a good prophet. I cannot too much acknowledge M<sup>r</sup> de Johnson's kindness and attention to me. He is to send me to Orange to-morrow. I know not my fate, either as regards my health or the disposition of my person.

I have the honor to be

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 25<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

Having had the honor to report to you in my letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> August, the departure of Baron de Dieskau to meet the English, who were preparing to seize on Fort St. Frederic, I

doubt not but you will have been impatient to learn the result of that campaign. It has been so contrary to the hope that I was justified in entertaining of it, that this Colony is extremely deranged thereby. The interest you feel therein, requires that I have the honor to render you an exact and detailed account of Baron de Dieskau's manœuvre.

I commence by having the honor to transmit to you, hereunto annexed, copy of the Instruction I furnished him; of the order of march of his army in three columns, and the explanation of that order of march and attack which I agreed upon with him.

M. de Dieskau found at Fort St. Frederic a force of 3,573 men, to wit :

	Men.
The garrison of the fort,.....	150
At the camp of observation,.....	400
The battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, and detachments of marine,.....	1011
Canadians,.....	1412
Indians, .....	600
	<hr/>
	3573

M. de Dieskau had, before his arrival, information on the first of September from scouting parties, that they had seen the English encamped in three divisions in front of Ledyus'; that the fort which was erecting there, was in an advanced state; that the English were busy cutting a road at Lake St. Sacrament carrying place, and another to that which leads to the *Grand Marais*,<sup>1</sup> and that the enemy was about 7 @ 8 thousand strong.

He marched on the next morning with his army to the Lake St. Sacrament fall,<sup>2</sup> whence he sent off a small scouting party. Up to that moment M. de Dieskau had adhered to our arrangements. He had distributed to the Commanders of each troop the same order of march and of attack that I had given him. But he had designed Chevalier Le Mercier to be his Quarter-Master General, though I had, for reasons I had communicated to him, arranged for that officer remaining at the fort.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> his scouts brought him a prisoner who was interrogated, and having answered according to the copy hereunto annexed, M. de Dieskau persuaded himself that the main body had retired; that Fort Lydius was not finished; that the camp between the fort and ditch was inconsiderable.

The officer whom M. Dieskau detached to bring that prisoner to Montreal, arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup> and informed me that M. Dieskau, in the hope of surprising Fort Lydius, had decided on marching the same day against that post, at the head of 1500 men; namely, 600 Indians, 600 Canadians and 300 Regulars, including the two companies of Grenadiers belonging to the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, the artillery and bombardiers, and the 12 soldiers belonging to the detachment from the Marine; that he had left the remainder of his army, consisting of upwards of 1800 men, at Carillon, despite all the entreaties of the Commandant, the Regulars and Canadians to accompany him.

I cannot well express to you, my Lord, how great were my surprise and pain on learning M. Dieskau's arrangement so opposite to what I ought to expect from his prudence, and to the course I had expressly prescribed to him in Art. 3 of his Instructions.

<sup>1</sup>The Drowned Lands or "The Twelve Mile Marsh," as it is at present called; the *Grand Marais* of the French extends from Whitehall, half way to Ticonderoga. It is a vast mud flat, overgrown with rushes, flags, lily-pads, sedge grass and wild rice, with a narrow channel winding through it. *Fitch's Topography of Washington County, New-York.* — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Ticonderoga.



I had this prisoner interrogated several times. To all the questions I put to him relative to what he had told M. Dieskau, he answered, that that General did not, seemingly, clearly understand him; that he had given him the same answer he had given me. He corrected all the Articles of his first answer and gave me every reason to apprehend that M. de Dieskau would make an unfortunate campaign.

Annexed, my Lord, are copies of this prisoner's answers.

I proceed to follow M. Dieskau's operations. On the same day, the 4<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, he sent off M. de St. Pierre with the Canadians and Indians. They were to sleep on this side of the Grand Marais.<sup>1</sup> The Indians, who were ignorant of M. Dieskau's plan, remarked to M. de St. Pierre that the General was imprudently leaving more than half his army at Carillon and at the Two Rocks;<sup>2</sup> that they knew nobody was to remain to guard the canoes, which however was essential, because the enemy, on discovering that they were not well guarded, would seize or burn them, which would be an insuperable impediment to the return of the army.

M. de St. Pierre, went to report the representations of the Indians to M. Dieskau, who answered: that he was taking with him sufficient people to beat the enemy, but that the Indians were making him think of guarding the canoes; he sent back 200 men from Carillon, for that purpose. He forgot to send off scouts in various directions.

The Indians were nowise satisfied with M. Dieskau's answer. He was so informed, and ordered the officers to pretend to them that the remainder of the army was going to join them.

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the army reached the head of the Great Bay,<sup>3</sup> and prepared to march by land.

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, it continued its march, and about noon encamped beyond the mountains. It was then that M<sup>r</sup> Dieskau could be persuaded of the necessity of sending out scouts. He sent some to the fort at Lydius', and toward Lake St. Sacrament; each scouting party consisted of only two Indians, though pursuant to the first article of his instructions, he ought to have put an officer and some cadets at their head.

On the evening of the same day, one of the two scouts who had been towards Lake St. Sacrament, returned and told M. Dieskau that his comrade having seen some thick smokes, had gone to reconnoitre the English camp; that he would return on the morrow; that he could not follow him on account of several little marshes that were to be crossed.

7<sup>th</sup>. The army set out, preceded by scouts. About two o'clock, in the afternoon, it met those who had been sent the day before to Lydius', who reported to M. Dieskau that there were about 50 tents without the fort; he decided on attacking it.

He started, and after sunset, reached the banks of the Hudson river, where he encamped. He was only about one league from the fort he had designed to attack. At day break, next morning, he sent word to the Indians that the only need he had of them was to act as flankers, and to raise their warwhoop whilst he would be employed with his Regulars and the Canadians in the reduction of the fort.

At the instant, the Indians perceived a man on horseback, galloping rapidly towards the fort. They fired and killed him, and brought a letter to M. Dieskau which had been found on that courier, whereby he discovered that M<sup>r</sup> Johnson was writing to the Commandant of the fort to be on his guard; that he knew beyond a doubt, that a considerable party of troops,

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 319, note.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Pulpit rock and the Narrows; situated at the junction of the towns of Dresden and Putnam, Washington county. *Fitch's Map of Washington County, New-York*, in *Transactions of N. Y. State Agricultural Society*, IX., 1833. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Now, South Bay.



Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians, were going to attack him in the course of that night or on the next day; to be careful to secure his provisions and ammunition, &c.

Twelve wagons passed, shortly after; the scouts could take only two men, who were brought to M. Dieskau, who questioned them. They told him that there were at Lake St. Sacrament, 4000 English, whereof 3000 were Provincials and 400 Indians.

M. Dieskau ordered M. de St. Pierre to assemble all the chiefs of the different nations; to communicate to them what these prisoners had stated, and that he had concluded on proceeding to Lake St. Sacrament; that the more English there were, the more of them would he kill; and that after the expedition, he would go and summon the fort to surrender.

M. de St. Pierre obeyed M. de Dieskau's orders, and reported to him that the Indians had answered, that they would submit to his pleasure; and should he succeed at Lake St. Sacrament, they would accompany him to the fort.

8<sup>th</sup> M. de Dieskau set out at the break of day, with his army, to attack the enemy at the Lake St. Sacrament carrying place; who were at a distance of about 5 leagues from him. He caused his army to march in 5 columns; he marched in the centre, at the head of the troops; on his right and left, were a column of Canadians and another of Indians. Each column was about 30 paces apart, so that the Canadians and Indians were obliged to advance through the woods and on the mountains to preserve that order of march, which seriously fatigued them.

About 8 o'clock in the morning, the Indian, who had left on the 6<sup>th</sup>, arrived from his scout to the carrying place of Lake St. Sacrament. He reported to M. Dieskau that he had seen the enemy's camp; that it must consist of a considerable force; and that the English had intrenched themselves there. M. Dieskau continued his march.

When he was about a league from the enemy's camp, his scouts brought him in two Englishmen, who told him that a large body of English and Indians were following them, on their way to reinforce Fort Lidius. They confirmed the statements of the two prisoners of the day before and added, that the English were intrenched; that they had twelve cannon, from 30 pounders down; that, however, their intrenchment was exposed on one side, which they indicated to him.

The report of these two prisoners induced M. de Dieskau to call a halt; he changed his order of march; the Canadians and Indians laid down their kit so as to be lighter; he made them all pass to the left of the road, where they ambuscaded, in order not to be seen by the enemy, and to admit of the latter being engaged all at once. M. de Dieskau occupied the road with his troops. He had given orders that the Regulars should fire first, whereupon all the Canadians and Indians were to rush on the enemy. This arrangement gave dissatisfaction to the Indians, because they had requested of M. de Dieskau the favor to allow them to attack the enemy in the woods, and he had always promised to grant them that privilege.

The enemy appeared about ten o'clock in the forenoon, but before falling into the ambush, had been informed by some Indian scouts that some Regulars were on the road. Two of our Indians, who happened to be near the English, judged by their looks that they were warned, and fearing they would escape, both of them fired, and all our Indians and Canadians immediately rushed in without orders. The English stood their ground, their Indians being in front. The fight was very brisk; we put the English to flight, but lost M. de St. Pierre, who commanded the Indians and the Canadians. The loss affected the Indians so deeply that they became furious, and resolved to die rather than not to conquer. They seized the



Englishman, who had slain this captain, and dispatched him with their hatchets. In fine, they acted so bravely that they pursued the enemy to within sight of their camp. Many of the English and of their Indians perished; we had many of our Indians and Canadians killed and wounded.

M. Dieskau advanced with his men directly against the enemy's intrenchment, without having made any reconnoissance of it, which, nevertheless, had been strictly enjoined on him by Article 8 of his instructions; nor did he give any notice to the Indians nor to the Canadians. The Indians begged him to allow them a moment to provide for their wounded, and to recover breath. He heeded them not, and continued to advance rapidly, so that the chiefs, who remained on the field of battle, cried out to the warriors not to accompany M. de Dieskau. Many did, in fact, return, but the greatest number followed him up to the intrenchment, in imitation of the Colonial officers and of the Rev. Father Andran, the Jesuit Missionary of the Abenakis.

Had M. Dieskau complied with the entreaties of the Indians, they would all have perished with him. It was natural that they should not abandon their wounded, the rather as they saw, within hail of them, several small bands of Indians mingled with the English, who were going to Fort Lydius. They killed several of them, took 8 Mohawks or Oneidas and as many Englishmen.

The Iroquois of the Sault were never willing to give them quarter, and knocked out their brains with their hatchets, although the greater portion of them were their brethren and cousins. It was only from these prisoners that we ascertained the precise number of the English whom we had repulsed. They were 800 and their Indians 200. The latter belonged to five different Nations; all the Mohawks were there, some Oneidas, some Tharhkarorin, some Mohegans and one Onondaga.

All the Canadians could not follow M. Dieskau. The major part of them were so fatigued, that they were *hors de combat*, and when M. de Dieskau reached the enemy's intrenchment, and within cannon shot, he had not the third of his army. These intrenchments were not considerable. They had been hastily constructed of wagons and bateaux. Had M. Dieskau had his forces with him, and attacked the enemy on the side where they were exposed, he might have hoped to have defeated them, because they were panic stricken by the first assault, and had not any Indians within the intrenchment nor without.

The Regulars, the Canadians and the Indians performed wonders. The Regulars always occupied the road, and fought in good order; the Canadians and Indians flanked them on some hills whence they saw the enemy, on whom they fired in the intrenchments. They silenced the fire of the artillery and of all who were working the guns, not a single man of whom escaped. The fire of the enemy's musketry was very brisk, but without any aim, whilst the Canadians and the Indians took aim and killed.

Whilst the battle was thus raging, M. de Dieskau retired on one side, about 50 paces from his troops. Scarcely had he approached a tree when he received a shot in his leg. Chevalier de Montreuil stanchd the wound, but, at the same instant, M<sup>r</sup> de Dieskau received a ball in the knee, which stretched him at the foot of the tree. M. de Montreuil proposed to remove him; he called two Canadians to his aid, one of whom was killed outright on M<sup>r</sup> de Dieskau. M. de Montreuil says that the General then ordered him, absolutely, to make his men charge, and that he was obliged to quit him, finding himself invested with the command of the army. One of M. Dieskau's servants has reported that he proposed to remove his master, but that the latter would never consent to it.



M. de Montreuil had no sooner joined his men than he retreated, without notifying a party of Canadians and Indians who were excited and continuing to fire on the enemy in the intrenchments. The retreat then was made without any order, and the army retired by small platoons. Fortunately, the enemy did not follow; for had they been able to take advantage of the superiority of their forces and of the rout, not a single man of our army could have escaped.

The most of our Canadians and Indians, having followed the high road, fell into an ambush laid by the English who had come from Fort Lydius. The Indians, who happened to be on the left of the road, received the fire from that ambuscade. Many of them were wounded. Baron de Longueuil, who led the Indians, wished to force the enemy. He received a wound in the arm, and having continued to advance the Indians saw him no more. 'Tis thought that he fell in that ambuscade. The Indians and Canadians were forced to retreat, having had a number of their men wounded. This little party joined 150 Canadians.

Towards evening several of these Canadians and Indians reached the place where they had left their knapsacks. An English detachment had taken them and lay also in ambush there; on the first fire of the enemy, the Indians and Canadians fled without the officers being able to stop them. This ambuscade continued, and all the French who went to the place in good faith, to take their baggage, were killed.

After sundown, the Canadians and Indians joined the Regulars in the mountains, and they set out all together and encamped half a league further on.

9<sup>th</sup> They marched at the first dawn of day, and at 10 o'clock overtook a party of the army which was conveying the wounded, among whom were Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Repentigny, de Montreasson and du Sable. They reached the canoes at six o'clock in the evening.

10<sup>th</sup> Whatever remained of the army started and arrived, without any order, at the Grand Marais, where they passed the night.

11<sup>th</sup> They arrived at Carillon.

14<sup>th</sup> Arrived, a Canadian, who, not having been able to march had slept and passed the night on the field of battle; he returned across the forest by way of Lake St. Sacrament. He says he had not seen anything; that he had merely heard that they were very busily engaged cutting down trees at the enemy's camp. This confirmed us in the opinion that they were fortifying themselves at the Lake St. Sacrament carrying place.

My grief at the result of this campaign is inexpressible; also, my impatience to learn M. Dieskau's fate. I have sent out some parties, in vain, towards Lake St. Sacrament to take a prisoner. They have not succeeded. The English are more on their guard than ever. I had, in like manner, sent a party of Mississagués and Indians of La Présentation towards Chouaguen. They killed three Englishmen, and took two about a quarter of a league from the fort. These prisoners have reported that the English had admitted their loss at the battle of Lake St. Sacrament to have been about 500 English and 120 Indians; more than the half of these were Mohawks. I know, besides, that not a single one of their chiefs escaped, and that White Head, a great Mohawk chief,<sup>1</sup> who had made an attack on our settlements last war, had, also, fallen. The Indians rifled him and found on his person a commission from the King of England appointing him General Sachem, and giving him the command of a thousand men. These prisoners have, likewise, stated that a number of their officers had been killed. I have proof thereof in about twenty of their commissions that the Indians have brought me; and

<sup>1</sup> King Hendrick. — Ed.



that there were many wounded, and that Colonel Johnson had a thigh broken. The English, they added, had circulated at Chouaguen that our loss was more considerable than theirs. We have had 100 men killed and 130 wounded, all included. The return thereof is hereunto annexed.

Such, my Lord, is the most exact account of Baron Dieskau's Campaign. I have not been able to get at the truth until after considerable inquiry. Chevalier de Montreuil could not give me any positive information. I cannot forgive his having abandoned M. Dieskau. He ought to have employed every means to remove the Baron by force, if he would not voluntarily consent. I feel intense interest in his fate. If, as several of our Indians assert, he has been killed, he will not have been recognized. He had no mark of distinction nor papers on his person; but if taken prisoner, the enemy will cite the abandonment of this General as a proof of their triumph, though in truth, they have lost three times more men than we.

I do not care, my Lord, to censure M. Dieskau's conduct. None can feel, more than I, for his misfortune; but I cannot help having the honor to represent to you that had he followed and conformed to his instructions, and marched with his entire army, he might have been able not only to force the enemy's intrenchment at Lake St. Sacrament, but even to reduce Fort Lydius. In fact, his centre column should have consisted of 1000 regulars; he could have been seconded by the Commanders of the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc; he could have stationed 2000 Canadians and Indians on the heights, whence they might have fired with advantage on the enemy, and diminished the latter's fire on our regulars, who, during that time, might have charged with the bayonet and forced the intrenchments, over which the Canadians and Indians would have leapt with equal intrepidity, and massacred the English. This would have rendered the reduction of Fort Lydius certain, and obliged the enemy to abandon their design against Fort St. Frederic.

After that victory, M. Dieskau's army might have been able to return to Montreal and join that of Fort Frontenac. I could have relieved the Regulars, Canadians and Indians, who might have been fatigued. In a word, 'twould have been easy for me to furnish M. Dieskau with an army of 4000 men for the reduction of Chouaguen, which would, probably, have been greatly frightened on learning the success of the King's arms at Lake St. Sacrament and Fort Lydius.

I would have greatly desired, my Lord, that it had been in my power to undertake the reduction of that place, but various reasons oppose my good disposition.

1<sup>st</sup>. The Canadian troops and the Indians have worn themselves out in M. Dieskau's campaign; though it lasted only 7 days from the time they marched by land, they had not a moment's repose; and from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup> they had not a morsel to eat; they suffered hunger and thirst, and endured all the severities of the weather; their only clothing, a shirt and breech-cloth. The Regulars, too, were very lightly clad, having, in like manner, lost their kit, so that the return of the army to Fort St. Frederic supplied me with more sick, than fighting, men.

2<sup>nd</sup> The relief I had provided for the Chouaguen campaign I require for Fort St. Frederic.

3<sup>rd</sup> All the Indians returned and complained to me, that M. Dieskau had sacrificed them; that his rashness alone was the cause of the loss of their men and of their ill success.

4<sup>th</sup> The Indians, the Canadians and even the Regulars, were equally panic-stricken, and made similar remarks.

5<sup>th</sup> Small-pox prevails in the cities and in the rural districts; few houses are exempt from it. It exists, also, in the Indian villages, but that disease would not have been an obstacle to



the execution of my design against Chouaguen, had M. de Dieskau returned victorious. The joy would have been universal, and his army would have marched with a right good will.

I must, therefore, my Lord, turn my attention to the security of the Colony, and postpone the Chouaguen expedition. I have been obliged, at the same time, to anticipate the enemy's progress in the direction of Fort St. Frederick and Niagara.

I have dispatched M. de Lotbinière, the Engineer, to Fort St. Frederic, and, agreeably to my orders, he has been to the outlet of Lake St. Sacrament. He has reported to me that the situation of Carillon is one of the best adapted for the construction of works capable of checking the enemy; that the suitable place for a fortification is a rock which crowns all the environs, whence guns could command both the river which runs from Lake St. Sacrament, and that leading to the *Grand Marais*<sup>1</sup> and Wood creek.

I see no work more pressing and more useful than this fortification, because it will enable me to maintain a garrison to stop the enemy in their march from Lake St. Sacrament, the immediate outlet of which is no more than a league and a quarter from that post; and I will be able to harass and fire on them pretty often, within pistol range, for more than  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league in a river, both on this, and on the other, side of the Carrying Place. I add, that 'tis of infinite consequence to hasten this work, as 'tis to be feared that the enemy will seize upon Carillon, of which 'tis certain that he would employ every means to keep possession. I have given orders that men should set to work there without a moment's delay. It would be highly necessary that this fortification should be finished this fall, and that it were possible to place a good battery there.

I have, likewise, issued my orders that there be sent to Fort St. Frederic 8 twelve-pounders, 4 sixes, with the necessary powder and ball, so that nothing may retard the construction of that battery.

According to my orders, M. de Roquemaur has stationed a camp of observation on a point, half a league beyond the Little Rapid, whence the enemy can be easily seen 3 leagues up the Lake.

I have sent off a number of our domiciliated Indians to constantly harass the enemy and to make prisoners. These Indians will be relieved from time to time, and by this arrangement I shall always have parties in the field, and be informed, by prisoners they will take, of the enemy's situation and views.

I shall leave a detachment of Canadians and some Indians the whole winter at Carillon, in order to avoid all surprisals, and to be better able to inconvenience the enemy, and shall not neglect anything to oblige the latter to abandon their works at the Lake St. Sacrament Carrying Place, but I do not flatter myself that I shall succeed.

In regard to Niagara, I had provided for its security, and for that purpose had given orders to the Commandants of Detroit and Missilimakinak to send down some Indians there, but they were so fatigued after their campaign at Fort Duquesne, that they were unable to go and join M. de Villiers; as soon as I had been informed of that circumstance, I hastened to order M. de Foubonne, Commander of the battalion of Guienne, to repair with his men to that post and take the chief command of it. I have transmitted him instructions for all eventualities. I have issued orders to M. de l'Hôpital, Commander of the Bearn battalion, to detach Captain Pouchau to accompany M. de Foubonne to Niagara. As M. Pouchau is in possession of engineering talents, M. de Foubonne will direct him to have such intrenchments as Niagara

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 319, note. — Ed.



admits of, constructed in great haste, so as to put that place in a condition to resist the enemy, who, according to the report of several of the prisoners, are making arrangements at Chouaguen to attack it. I had ordered M. de Villiers to retain M. de Lery, junior, on his return from Fort Duquesne, for the purpose of constructing some intrenchments, which he has done proportionate to his force. M. Pouchau will turn all his works to the best advantage possible.

I have, likewise, ordered M. de Foubonne to direct M. Poucheau to draw the plan and sketch of the other works necessary to place Niagara in the best posture of defence; to have the timber cut down, and the other material prepared whilst waiting until I shall have transmitted to him all that he will require to complete his works, according to the Memoir he is to send me.

My orders have reached M. de Foubonne, who has taken his departure. At Niagara he will find M. de Villiers with about 500 men, including detached marines, Canadians and Indians, and will be able to offer the greatest resistance to the enemy. The artillery taken from the English at Fort Duquesne will remain at Niagara. It will arrive there without any delay, as M. de Contrecoeur is bringing it along with him. I instruct M. de Foubonne to arrange it to the greatest advantage possible.

As the English may imagine, after the departure of the battalion of Guyenne, that there are no more troops remaining at Fort Frontenac, and decide on attacking that place in preference to Niagara, I have given orders to M. de l'Hôpital to remain there with his battalion, and have also sent him Instructions on all the cases that will possibly arise. Fort Frontenac is the nearest to Montreal; it is the first dépôt of all the Upper Country posts, and consequently deserves much attention. I had therefore issued my orders for the troops to construct intrenchments, which has been done.

When I shall have nothing more to fear for these two forts, I will recall the two battalions. I shall, nevertheless, winter some pickets of them at Niagara and Fort Frontenac, and also leave some Canadians in these places, at each of which I shall station an old captain of marines as commandant. I cannot avoid this arrangement in regard to the Indians of the Five Nations, who will not fail to show some activity at the present conjuncture. It is indispensable that the commandants be conversant with, and experienced in, the government of Indians.

I applied myself particularly to acquire a knowledge of the sentiments of the Indians of the Five Nations. I sent my orders to M. Joncaire, the elder, to remain constantly with them. He has run from village to village, and met Colonel Johnson's and M. Shirley's emissaries in each. He has sent me a collection of rumors that the English have spread among the Indians. These reports are in part true; but the English have superadded a number of events in their favor, capable of destroying the confidence the Indian Nations have always reposed in the French, and they have even wished to persuade them that I had been taken by their fleet. But Mr. Joncaire has announced my arrival to them, which has induced three villages up the Cascon-Chagon<sup>1</sup> to reject the hatchet of the English, notwithstanding all their efforts. The Cayugas have warned him not to pass by the River Casconchagon, as the English had set a watch for him there. He is to go across the woods to Niagara, and thence to La présentation, where the Cayugas have told him to wait for them, as they wished to assure me of their fidelity. M. Joncaire writes me that he has no doubt but the rest of the Five Nations have gone over to the English, and are at Chouaguen with them. His spies have reported to

<sup>1</sup> Genesee river, New-York. For the derivation of the word, see IX., 1092, note. — Ed.

him that the last sloop was finished, and that the English were waiting only for the warriors of Casconchagon to lay siege to Niagara; that the English were to construct a fort on the hill that commanded Chouaguen; that their fort on the opposite side of the river is nearly completed.

Had M. Dieskau carried out my views, the English would be much humbled, and the Five Nations would have abandoned them; for, this happy event succeeding that of Fort Duquesne, would have facilitated M. Joncaire's execution of my orders to the same degree that our ill success now enables the English to complete the seduction of these Indians.

There remains no doubt, my Lord, of my being obliged in the spring to provide for the defence of Forts St. Frederic and Duquesne.

I shall send to the former a party of our domiciliated Indians, with a detachment of the troops of the marine and some Canadians.

I shall cause to be sent to Fort Duquesne, at the very opening of the spring, half the militia of Detroit, with a number of Indians, according to the advices I shall receive of the enemy's movements.

I shall give myself less trouble about the defence of Niagara than about Chouaguen; I will do my best to cut off the communication of the forces that might be sent thither from Orange, and on the intelligence I shall receive of the enemy's situation, will dispatch an army of Regulars, Canadians and Upper country Indians to reduce it. I shall then arm one or even two large sloops to chase those of the English that will make their appearance on Lake Ontario.

If no obstacles should interpose to my project, the Chouaguen campaign will be concluded before the end of May, and I will be able to increase the force of Fort St. Frederic and Fort Duquesne, if necessary.

I shall always have parties of Indians throughout the winter at Chouaguen, to harass the enemy, and will even try to burn their sloops and bateaux.

Be persuaded, my Lord, that I shall employ every means to defend this Colony, and to oblige the English to renounce their project; yet, will I act with all the prudence possible, in order not to compromise the King's arms.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Memoir, to serve as an Instruction to Baron de Dieskau, Major-General of the King's Army.

[ Annexed to M. de Vaudreuil's Letter of 25 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1755. ]

Baron de Dieskau is as perfectly informed, as we are, through the memoirs and instructions taken from the English, which we have communicated to him, that the latter have made their arrangements to invade this Colony on all sides; that the attack deserving our greatest attention, is the one they are ready to make against Fort Saint Frederic; inasmuch as we are assured, by the most authentic document, that their army consists of 4,400 Provincial levies, under the command of General Johnson, well supplied with artillery, and, generally, with whatever is proper to besiege a place.



We, consequently, must employ every means to repel the English, and to make them abandon this enterprise, as the security of Fort Saint Frederic partly decides that of this Colony.

To accomplish so essential a mission, we have intrusted to Baron de Dieskau an army of 3,000 men, or thereabouts, composed of the battalions of La Reine and of Languedoc, detachments of the troops of the Marine, artillerymen, bombardiers, Colonial militia and Indians of different nations.

M. le Gardeur de Saint Pierre will act as interpreter to the Nepissings, Algonquins and the few Upper country Indians; Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Montesson and de Niverville to the Abenakis; Sieur de Cavalier to the Iroquois, and Sieur La Rose to the English.

We have also handed to M. de Dieskau a plan which we have drawn up, arranging his order of battle in three columns; and have explained this by the general order, also prepared by us, for the march and attack. We have concerted with M. de Dieskau respecting the one and the other of these orders, therefore, we doubt not but he will be pleased to conform thereunto; he will be at liberty, however, to make such changes as he shall consider convenient and necessary, and we cannot but rely on his judgment.

As this army is to attack the English, it is for the good of the service that we explain our intentions to M. de Dieskau.

*Article First.*

As soon as Baron de Dieskau shall arrive at Fort Saint Frederic, and have taken information respecting the march of the English, he will send scouts in such numbers and by such routes as he will judge necessary. He shall employ good Canadians and Indians on such parties, and place an officer and some cadets at their head. He will refer to M. de Saint Pierre for the selection of these scouts.

*Article Second.*

He will be at liberty to increase the garrison of Fort Saint Frederic.

*Article Third.*

Baron de Dieskau will not lose an instant in making his arrangements and taking his precautions, so as to be always ready to proceed against the enemy, with his army (without excepting any part of it, whatever report may be made of the situation and weakness of the English), and attacking them at the greatest advantage possible. With this view, he will be able to confer with Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Saint Pierre, Repentigny and all others he shall judge necessary, and be guided by what they will tell him in this regard, on the intelligence they possess of the route the English are obliged to take. Should the scouts have reported to him that the English are marching by two roads, he will have that reconnoitered which they keep with their artillery and field train, and, after being assured thereof, will march against them with the entire of his army, without ever dividing his forces; because, it is manifest that on effecting the capture of their artillery, Baron de Dieskau will no longer have anything to fear, and will be able to turn it against the enemy by falling back on the other division of their army. He knows how well adapted Militia and Indians are to attack the enemy, regard being had, especially, to the advantage they will derive from the situation of the road the latter will be obliged to follow. Therefore, M. de Dieskau will give his orders to M. de Saint Pierre to cause (*faire donner*) the Militia and Indians to coöperate in part or in whole with the troops, or to attack, separately, according to circumstances, for the most prompt defeat of the English.

The Militia is composed of the best Canadians, and the Indians are of the bravest. The one and the other deserve to be treated with much kindness, and we are sure they will improve when Baron de Dieskau will take them on the point of honor, and appeal to their feelings. But he will observe that 'twould not be too dangerous to leave them to their lively zeal, and that they can always rally to the regulars in case of need.

*Article Fourth.*

Supposing that some deputies from the Five Nations should present a Belt to Baron de Dieskau to engage him not to proceed, he will answer them by a Belt, which we have given him, that their Father Onontio has not sought a quarrel with the English, that, on the contrary, it is they who have attacked the Colony on all sides, and that the army is marching to repel them.

*Article Fifth.*

If the English should repulse the Militia and the Indians, Baron de Dieskau will, the very first moment he perceives it, employ his entire force to decide the victory and render himself master of the field of battle. But he will pay attention to provide for all events so as not to compromise the King's arms.

*Article Sixth.*

It is of the greatest consequence to put an immediate termination to this expedition, so that the English may not protract it in order to afford time for reinforcements to join them.

*Article Seventh.*

Should Baron de Dieskau become master, as we dare hope he will, of the field of battle, he will issue his orders that all the English papers be given up to him.

He will, also, give direction for the preservation and prompt transportation to Fort Saint Frederic, of the artillery, arms, ammunition and provisions. He will put the artillery, &c., under the charge of Chevalier Le Mercier, and the provisions under the care of the storekeeper.

He will be careful to leave said Sieur Le Mercier at Fort Saint Frederic.

*Article Eighth.*

Should the English be intrenched, M. de Dieskau will have their intrenchments reconnoitered; should he be certain of the possibility of attacking them at any exposed point, and without artillery, he will undertake that expedition with his usual prudence, and if he succeed in carrying those intrenchments he will not leave any of the entrepôts or other English preparations, standing.

Supposing that they should ask to capitulate, he will consent thereto, according to circumstances, and on conditions the most honorable to us.

*Article Ninth.*

If, by any event that we must not apprehend, the English should absolutely force M. de Dieskau's army, and oblige him to retreat, he will retire to Carillon, where he will be in a sufficiently favorable position to stop the enemy's progress, and he shall detach, at the very same instant, a messenger to us, in order that we may provide all the assistance that he will require.



*Article Tenth.*

We shall repeat to Baron de Dieskau that it is of the utmost consequence that he accelerate his mission, inasmuch as on his return from his campaign we shall dispatch his army to Choueguen to execute our original project, on the success of which depends the safety of Niagara, and of all our Upper Country posts.

*Article Eleventh.*

When Baron de Dieskau shall have returned from his campaign, to Fort Saint Frederic, he will leave a garrison there suitable to circumstances; he will, also, leave a flying camp at Carillon of 400 men, whereof one hundred are to be Indians.

*Article Twelfth.*

Baron de Dieskau will not send us a messenger, until after the battle, so as not to diminish his forces. Should the case, however, require it, he will dispatch one whenever he will think it necessary.

*Article Thirteenth.*

In all other cases, that we cannot foresee, we rely entirely on the Baron de Dieskau's knowledge, prudence and experience.

Done at Montreal, the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755.

VAUDREUIL.

General order for the March and Attack.

[ Annexed to M. de Vaudreuil's letter of 25th September, 1755. ]

M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Pierre having all the Indians and M<sup>r</sup> de Repentigny's corps under his orders, will march at the head of the army in such disposition as he will judge necessary, and will throw out scouts in front, on the rear and on the flanks, in such number as he will please.

When the army will march in three columns, the order of battle that has been laid down will be followed, and one column will be kept at least one hundred paces distant from the other, in order that the French battalions have room to form themselves into line of battle, when so directed.

When the army will march in two columns, the battalions of La Reine and the Languedoc will receive orders directing whether they shall march in the rear, on the right, or on the left of the column.

When the army will march in one column, that of the right, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de Raymond, will lead the van; the left column, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de Vassant, will follow that of the right, and the centre column, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> de Roquemaure, will follow the last, and be succeeded by the company of artillery, which will bring up the rear.

Should the army march in three columns, and it be necessary to fight the enemy in that order, in the forest, then M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Pierre will make a most vigorous attack with the Indians and M<sup>r</sup> de Repentigny's corps. The gaining the battle will depend, without doubt, on this assault; he will be sustained by the three columns; that of the right, marching Canadian fashion (*à la Canadienne*), will go beyond the enemy, in order to attack his flank.

The left column will do the same on its side, and the column consisting of the battalions of France, will march directly against the enemy and attack in column, unless it be ordered to form a line (*en bataille*), which will not fail to happen, if the ground allow it; these battalions will make their attack, as regular troops ought to do, without breaking and scattering.

Should the army be obliged to fight while marching in two columns, it will make the same manœuvre as above described, and the battalions of France will march directly against the enemy, to attack him either in column or in line, according as they will receive orders.

Should the army be obliged to fight marching in one column, M<sup>r</sup> de Raymond's two brigades will make the same manœuvre as above explained; also M<sup>r</sup> Le Vassant's two brigades, which will approach the enemy slowly, and the battalions of France, followed by the company of artillery, will march directly to attack the enemy according to the orders they will receive.

On the march, the right and left columns will advance 10, 11 or 12 front, leaving a small distance between each company, in order that they do not get mixed up, whereunto the officers commanding the companies are to pay great attention.

The gentlemen commanding the right and left columns will pay strict attention that their columns be always in order whilst on the march; but as soon as there will be question of attacking the enemy, the approach is to be slow, and the attack made Canadian fashion.

The column composed of the battalions of France, will march eight platoons per battalion, which will make sixteen for the whole column, and nearly twelve front per platoon.<sup>1</sup> These battalions will remain always in order, without ever scattering, both during the march and in the attack; and should the ground permit, they will form in line (*en bataille*) as soon as the Canadians and Indians will make their attack, in order that the assaillants may rally behind them, in case of being repulsed.

All the troops in general, Indians and others, are warned not to amuse themselves pillaging during the battle, and to follow the enemy as far as possible, and the camp will be pillaged as soon as the fight will be entirely concluded. M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Pierre will have the goodness to make the Indians understand reason on that point, especially not to amuse themselves scalping until the enemy be entirely defeated, inasmuch as ten men can be killed whilst one is being scalped. I expect this obedience from my children.

At Fort Saint Frederic, this 24<sup>th</sup> of August, 1755.

(Signed), Le Baron DE DIESKAU.

Copy.

VAUDREUIL.

Answers given by a Prisoner on his examination before M. de Vaudreuil.

[ Annexed to M. de Vaudreuil's letter of 25th of 7ber, 1755. ]

The army left on Friday last; it was to consist of six hundred men; it went by land.

There are about 400 bateaux along the river near the fort.

M<sup>r</sup> Johnson is Commander-in-Chief; he was still at the fort; M<sup>r</sup> Leman, his Lieutenant, is to command in his absence.

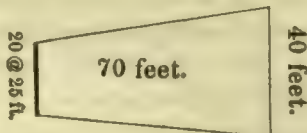
<sup>1</sup> A battalion was formerly divided into sixteen platoons, exclusive of the grenadiers. At present 'tis divided into wings, grand divisions, divisions or companies, &c.; and the word platoon is seldom used, except to denote a number of ten to twenty recruits, assembled for instruction. *James' Military Dictionary, verbo "Platoon."*—ED.



They have four hundred Indians of the six Nations under the command of Mr Johnson, who also has a Lieutenant to command them, whose name he (the prisoner) does not know.

The gun has been fired for three hundred and forty Indians who had arrived from Orange ; there had been sixty already at the fort.

What they are building at Lydius' are called storehouses; an entrepôt, and not a fort. This dépôt is in this form :



This house has an inclosure formed by a ditch fourteen feet wide and eight deep. The earth from the ditch is thrown up towards the fort, and on this embankment pickets 12 feet high are set up, inclining outwards, that is to say, fraised.

The ditch does not continue on the river ; there are only pickets on that side ; and men were working at it when he was taken.

There are two gates on the river side, and one small one at the north. These gates were not yet made, or at least hung, but the gate-posts were set up.

The house is at the extremity of the inclosure in the angle formed by the river and another small stream ;<sup>1</sup> it is constructed of square timber, one piece on the other.

The English had no news of the French ; he does not know whether they had sent out scouts, but he does know that they were to the Wood creek, to reconnoitre whether they could pass that way ; having found it too difficult, they took the Lake Saint Sacrament route.

It was doubtful whether the troops were, before their return, to come to the Point this year or the next.

All the troops that were to camp at the fort consisted of six thousand men.

The troops sent back were militia. They have been discharged ; but he does not know whether 2400 men, who are yet to come, would have been countermanded or discharged.

Eight cannon are in the field, at the fort, within seven or eight paces of the inclosure ; but one is mounted within the inclosure, at the little gate leading towards the north, in which vicinity they are excavating a passage which will open in the rear.

They were shortly expecting twenty-five additional cannon or swivels.

Within the inclosure are 24 or 25 mortars, placed in regular order (*rangés*). They have been brought from Orange, mounted on their carriages.

The shot and shell are between the house and the pickets on the river side. The powder is on the opposite side in a store (*hangard*).

The 500 men who remained at the fort, are all around outside the inclosure, in tents. Within, there is only one sentinel, in a sentry box, opposite the little gate.

There is plenty of biscuit, pork, rum ; but only a few beeves for the officers alone.

A day or two after he was taken, 2400 men were expected, whom Mr Johnson was to command and take to Lake St. Sacrament, to commence a fort there immediately.

The troops in camp have been sent back, because they had been a long time there ; because sickness was prevailing among them ; provisions failing for so many men, and because they

<sup>1</sup> Fort Edward creek. — Ed.

were fatigued by the roads they had to cut from Orange to the Lydius' house, and thence to Lake Saint Sacrament.

They were drilling the men to fight since two months.

There are no Dutch among the troops; there are about 20 wagoners and 200 two horse teams and some of ten, for the transportation of the artillery, which was brought by land.

He has added, that he thinks the fort cannot be taken without cannon, because the men would throw themselves within the inclosure unless prevented by surprise.

Their mode of fighting is to place themselves three deep; after the first rank fires it falls in the rear, and so with the others.

The five hundred men remaining at the fort are mostly workmen, half of whom are to join Mr Johnson for the purpose of building the fort at Lake Saint Sacrament. The Indians had promised to accompany Mr Johnson thither.

Copy.

VAUDREUIL.

Answers of the English prisoner taken by some Abenakis between the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of August, a short league from Fort Lydius, to the Interrogatories put to him.

[ Annexed to Mr. de Vaudreuil's letter of 25th September, 1755. ]

Answers, that he had told Mr de Dieskau that 600 men had left for different parts of New England some days before he had been taken; in a word, that they were absolutely sent home and were to be replaced by a greater number from a reserved corps both in Connecticut and other of the New England Provinces.

That there were about four hundred bateaux along the river at Lydius', some fit to carry four or five men; others, fifteen to twenty; that Colonel Johnson, who had marched with two thousand five hundred English and four hundred Indians, for Lake Saint Sacrament only a few days before the prisoner was taken, had been accompanied by only two bateaux, one for himself and the other for one of his Captains.

Thinks that the English will build a fort at Lake St. Sacrament, at the head of the carrying place between Lydius' house and that lake, but he is not certain.

Says, he did not answer at Mr de Dieskau's camp that Mr Johnson was still at the fort; that he had really said, that this Colonel had left for Lake Saint Sacrament with whatever of his army had arrived and four hundred Indians; that he contented himself with leaving 5 @ six hundred men at the fort for the purpose of both finishing and guarding and defending it, in case of need; that Mr Laiman<sup>1</sup> was to follow him to Lake Saint Sacrament with the 2400 men,

<sup>1</sup> Major General PHINEAS LYMAN was born at Durham, Connecticut, about 1716; was graduated in 1738 at Yale College, in which he was afterwards a tutor three years; and settled as a lawyer in Suffield. He sustained various public offices. In 1755, he was appointed Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Connecticut forces, and built Fort Lyman, now called Fort Edward, New-York. In 1758, he served under Abercrombie, and was with Lord Howe when he was killed. He was at the capture of Crown Point by Amherst, and at the surrender of Montreal. In 1762, he commanded the Provincial troops in the expedition against Havana. In 1763, he went to England, as the Agent of his brother officers, to receive their prize money; also, as Agent of a company called the "Military Adventurers," to solicit a grant of land on the Mississippi, and wasted eleven years of his life. Being deluded for years by idle promises, his mind sunk down to imbecility. At last his wife, who was a sister of Dr. Dwight's father, sent his second son to England to solicit his return in 1774. About this time a tract was granted to the petitioners. After his return he embarked, with his eldest son, for the Mississippi, and both died, soon after their arrival at West Florida, in 1775. *Dwight's Travels*, I, 305; III, 361. — Ed.



which were wanting to make up the six thousand men that the army was to consist of when complete; that the 2400 men were expected at the fort the day after that on which he was taken; that that force was not to be accompanied by any Indians; that none of these remained at the Fort when he was made prisoner; that Colonel Johnson had carried them all with him to Lake Saint Sacrament; that there were some scouts at Fort Lydius, but few in number; that M<sup>r</sup> Laiman, who was to conduct to Lake Saint Sacrament the 2400 men that were expected, was also to pick up the 250 workmen at Fort Lydius, whom he was to replace by an equal number of soldiers; that he does not think M<sup>r</sup> de Dieskau's detachment of fifteen hundred men could take the fort, it being too considerable. From the plan he draws of it, 'tis an intrenchment flanked *à redent*,<sup>1</sup> about six hundred feet long by three hundred in width, having ten to twelve redents in its contour, all of different dimensions, some only 80 to 90 feet from one point to the other, others a hundred, a hundred and twenty and a hundred and fifty feet. The rampart may be seventeen feet high on the ditch side, it follows the natural slope of the ground and may be 10 @ 12 feet thick at the top. The foot of this rampart is fraised by pickets of about ten feet above the ground, and so inclined as to form an angle of about sixty degrees with the bottom of the ditch. (This I have ascertained because he drew it for me.) The ditch may be ten to twelve feet wide at bottom, the counterscarp eight feet high, the earthen rampart with the ditch only on the land and creek side; on that of the river there are only large pickets about fifteen feet in height; these are not yet completed, though the army worked at them more than a month.

That the five or six hundred men destined as its garrison were still encamped outside; they were not to enter until the place would be finished; at present they had finished only a store-house, guard-house, powder magazine, hospital and wash-house; that several huts (*baragues*) were to be put up there; that as yet none of the cannon were in battery except one gun to defend the gate; that the others were outside on their carriages, and were not to be taken into the fort until it should be finished; that the eight guns they had at present were brass pieces and eight and ten-pounders; that the twenty-five they were expecting were iron thirty-two's or forty-two's, he does not remember which; that he thought he saw about twenty mortars and a great many shells, some of which were of twelve inch diameter, the smallest of six. He says that the English have orders to summon Fort Saint Frederic to surrender, and should it not comply, they would build one quite close; that they had heard that the 2400 men they were expecting had arrived at Sarastau, which is only 15 @ 18 miles from Fort Lydius; there is neither fort nor intrenchment at Sarastau. He thinks that the army collecting at Lake Saint Sacrament is about to build a fort there, and if it do not see their way clear this year to Fort Saint Frederic, will go back, except the guard of the two forts.

Provisions are pretty abundant, and some arrive daily. They rarely slaughter, but when any cattle are killed, the soldier gets a share of it as well as the officer.

He says that Colonel Johnson is accompanied by artillery, but does not know what it consists of.

Copy,

VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> This term is used to express the several projections which, in the building of a wall upon a sloping ground, are made towards the recess in order to keep it level. *James.* — Ed.

*Battle of Lake George, 8th September, 1755.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Particulars of the march of Baron de Dieskau, encamped under Fort St. Frederic with 3000 men, and of the attack by 1500 French on the camp of the English, near Lake St. Sacrament. By M. de Montreuil.

31<sup>st</sup> of August. Baron de Dieskau was informed that 4000 English were encamped under Fort Lydius, which has been built this year near the River of Orange, seven leagues from Lake St. Sacrament.

September 2<sup>nd</sup> He went to camp at the falls of Lake St. Sacrament. A prisoner was brought to him, who stated that the enemy had retired towards Orange; that about 500 men remained at Fort Lydius, and that 2400 were to return, to relieve those who had left, and to build a fort near Lake St. Sacrament.

September 4<sup>th</sup> 1500 men marched to take Fort Lidius; the remainder were left at the falls of Lake St. Sacrament, and he encamped three leagues from there—his detachment carrying ten days' provisions along. It was composed of 600 Indians, 680 Canadians and 220 soldiers belonging to the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, all amounting to 1500 men.

5<sup>th</sup> Encamped near the head of the bay,<sup>1</sup> which is at the end of the Great Marsh, where he left all his bateaux under a guard of 120 men.

6<sup>th</sup> Marched three leagues through the woods—his detachment carrying eight days' provisions on their backs.

7<sup>th</sup> Marched six leagues through the woods; a man whom he sent to reconnoitre Fort Lidius, came to tell him that he saw a camp of about 500 men near the fort. In the evening, Baron de Dieskau determined to attack the camp and fort both together; the Indians refused to coöperate, considering the undertaking too desperate. At night the Indians killed a messenger that was carrying a letter from Colonel Jonson to the Commandant of Fort Dedius,<sup>2</sup> informing him that we were about to attack him. This Colonel was in command of a camp of 3000 men near Lake St. Sacrament, according to the statement of two prisoners taken at the same time. M. de Dieskau formed the plan of going to attack their camp near Lake St. Sacrament.

8<sup>th</sup> He marched the 8<sup>th</sup> and reached it at noon; at this side of the camp, met 400 English and several Indians, who were driven back to their camp, and mostly defeated. This detachment was going to reinforce Fort Dedius,<sup>2</sup> which the English supposed attacked. M. de Dieskau, seeing the camp quite close, ordered 220 men belonging to La Reine and Languedoc regiments, to charge with fixed bayonets. All the Canadians passed to the left, scattered and made their attack after their own fashion, which is not a good mode of forcing a camp intrenched with wagons, like that of the English. A very active fire was kept up on both sides for the space of two hours. The enemy's musketry produced considerable effect, which threw the detachment into confusion. Baron de Dieskau and I posted ourselves at the commencement of the affair between the Canadians and the Regulars. We were within 70 paces of the camp. On arriving, I received a ball in the arm. M. de Dieskau received one in the leg. He insisted on staying on the same spot, though the place was not tenable. I had no sooner washed his wound with brandy, than he received another ball in the right knee and left hip. He sat

<sup>1</sup> South Bay.<sup>2</sup> Sic. — Ed.



down at the foot of a tree and showed me where the musket ball passed; that wound appeared to me very serious; I lost no time in calling two Canadians who were each behind a tree, to have him conveyed away; one of the two was killed on arriving and fell upon us. M. de Dieskau would not permit the remaining Canadian and me to remove him. He was greatly displeased with the Canadians and Indians. Speaking of them, he said: "These, then, are the troops that have been so much crowed up to me." He told me to go and find the detachment of La Reine and Languedoc, and to persuade them to make an assault on the camp. On my representing to him that I did not wish to leave him, and that it was time to decide on having him removed, he repeated the order to go to the detachment. Some English and Indians came out of their camp and fired quite close at us. I received a ball in my cartouch box, which flattened two of my bullets; otherwise, I would have been cut in two. Finally, I quitted M. de Dieskau, in order to go and find the detachment. I sent him his servants, whom I met within fifty paces of the place where he was lying. He caused his overcoat and his laced vest to be laid beside him, and sent his servants back without being himself willing to be removed out of the way of the firing. I did not know that until long afterwards.

As I was approaching the troop, it had just wheeled right about, in order to retire. Seeing neither Indians nor Canadians, a great many of whom had already left, I was obliged to take the command, and to stop the disorder as well as I was able. All the troops fell back for half a quarter of an hour, in spite of all I could do. I then saw M. Dieskau's servants, who told me that he had sent them away, and had his overcoat and vest laid beside him. This precaution, and his persistence in sending back all who would remove him, prove manifestly that he did not wish to show his face after having failed in such an expedition, or possibly that, with two such serious wounds, he dreaded a retreat of ten or twelve leagues in the woods, devoid of all assistance. Had I been aware of his thoughts, I would have had him removed by force. There was no longer time to do it when I learned the fact; the enemy were masters of the field of battle. I am, in truth, inconsolable for this loss. I am exhausted by the fatigue I have undergone with this detachment; it had scarcely any officers. M. de Dieskau did not employ any of the Captains belonging to the troops from France, except one Second Captain (*Captain en Second*). M. de Dieskau's Aid de Camp had been killed at the outset of the affair.

I have brought back three hundred wounded; 132 have been killed. The enemy lost nearly 400 men.

I made my retreat in good order, without any interruption. I have just reported myself to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who appears satisfied with my conduct. He, as well as I, would have much desired to have brought the General back, dead or alive, had it been possible. My glory was concerned in it, and I was greatly attached to him. I have nothing to reproach myself with, having sacrificed my life and that of many Canadians, one of whom has been killed on his account. This is nearly the history of the late butchery, which the enemy cannot be prevented appropriating. We are waiting impatiently for the Indians to make a prisoner, so as to learn whether M. de Dieskau be living or not.

We are going to work the whole of the month of October at a fort near the falls of Lake St. Sacrament, for the purpose of stopping the enemy, who is preparing to come to Fort St. Frederic next spring.

M. de Vaudreuil is ordering the Béarn battalion down from Fort Frontenac to work, and to reinforce our army at Fort St. Frederic, which is diminished one-half by the Canadians who are sent home.

Please have these particulars copied, to be transmitted to my Father. I hope everybody is in good health.

M. de Roquemaure, commanding La Reine, is the superior officer.



*Journal of the Operations of the Army from 22d July to 30th September, 1755.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

July 16<sup>th</sup> We received our orders to march from Quebec to Montreal. The scarcity of bateaux has been the cause of our having proceeded by land. We kept along the bank of the river, which is pretty thickly inhabited; arrived on the 22<sup>nd</sup> at Three Rivers, a small town with an état-major, and on the 27<sup>th</sup> at Montreal.

The regiments, told off by divisions of four or five companies, had marched and partially gone to Fort Frontenac, where we were to form a camp, and to proceed thence to lay siege to Choyen. That project could not be put into execution, having been obliged to make them march to prevent the enemy besieging Fort St. Frederic, and it became necessary to recall the regiment of La Reine and our first division, which was already far advanced. The enemy had three armies; one destined for the Beautiful river, where they were defeated. The corps was three thousand strong, under the command of General Brandolk, whose intention was to besiege Fort Duquesne; they had considerable artillery, much more than was necessary to besiege forts in this country, most of which are good for nothing, though they have cost the King considerable. M. de Beaujeu, who was in command of that fort, notified of their march, and much embarrassed to prevent the siege with his handful of men, determined to go and meet the enemy. He proposed it to the Indians who were with him, who at first rejected his advice and said to him: No, Father, you want to die and to sacrifice yourself; the English are more than four thousand, and we—we are only eight hundred, and you want to go and attack them. You see clearly that you have no sense. We ask until to-morrow to make up our minds. They consulted together; they never march without doing so. Next morning M. de Beaujeu left his fort with the few troops he had, and asked the Indians the result of their deliberations. They answered him: They could not march. M. de Beaujeu, who was kind and affable, and possessed sense, said to them: I am determined to go and meet the enemy. What! will you allow us to go alone? I am sure of conquering them. The Indians, thereupon, decided to follow him. This detachment was composed of 72 Regulars, 146 Canadians and 637 Indians. The engagement took place within four leagues of the fort, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of July, at one o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until five. M. de Beaujeu was killed at the first fire. The Indians, who greatly loved him, avenged his death with all the bravery imaginable. They forced the enemy to fly with a considerable loss, which is not at all extraordinary. The Indian mode of fighting is entirely different from that of us Europeans, which is good for nothing in this country. The enemy formed themselves into battle array,



presented a front to men concealed behind trees, who at each shot brought down one or two, and thus defeated almost the whole of the English, who were for the most part veteran troops that had come over the last winter. The loss of the enemy is computed at 1500 men. M. de Brandolk, their General, and a number of officers have been killed. 13 pieces of artillery, a great quantity of balls and shells, cartridge boxes, powder and flour have been taken; 100 beeves, 400 horses, killed or captured, all their wagons taken or broken. Had not our Indians amused themselves plundering, not a man would have escaped. It is very probable that the English will not make any further attempt in that direction, inasmuch as, in retiring, they have burnt a fort they had erected for their retreat. We have lost three officers, whereof M. de Beaujeu is one, 25 soldiers, Canadians or Indians; about as many wounded. We have not been so fortunate on this side. Let us return to our own operations.

Instead of going up the River St Lawrence we have ascended the River St John, on the north bank of which stands Fort St Frederic, about 45 leagues from Montreal. All had reached there on the first of 7<sup>ber</sup>. Our army was composed of the Regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, amounting to about 720 men, 1500 Canadians and 760 Indians, Iroquois, Hurons, Abenakis and Nipissings. Never was there seen so considerable an army in this Colony. They numbered, in all, three thousand and some odd men, all in the best dispositions to treat the English as well as they had been treated at Fort du Quesne; which would have been the case had not our General been deceived.

As it is very difficult to obtain any news of the enemy, owing to the difficulty of the country, we were ignorant of his strength; for all those who had been sent to scout did not report themselves. We were impatiently expecting a trustworthy man, who finally returned and reported that he had seen a somewhat considerable force building a fort, which, in fact, was true. It was resolved, in consequence, that we should go and occupy the carrying place and passes; that, in fine, we should remain on the defensive; we set out with that view on the 3<sup>d</sup> to go to a place called Carillon, on the shore of Lake Champlain, quite near the carrying place which is between Lake St Sacrament and that lake. Whilst proceeding thither, and within six leagues of the fort, there arrived a canoe of our Indians which had been, likewise, sent on the scout, with orders to take a prisoner; this was accordingly done, bringing, also, back the scalp of another man that had been killed. This prisoner was examined and threatened to be handed over to the Indians to be put to the most cruel death, should he conceal the truth. He may be said to have sacrificed his life for his country. He has deceived M. de Dieskau and assured him that there remained but 500 men at the fort, and that the remainder had returned to Orange. He stated that the camp was left standing to deceive us; that the fort was not finished; in fine, that all the artillery for the siege of St Frederic, as well as everything that was necessary, had arrived. On the deposition of this prisoner, our General changed the defensive into offensive. It was resolved that the camp of the enemy could be easily overwhelmed and their fort taken with a detachment of 1500 men. There was ordered out, in consequence, from the regiment of Languedoc, which had been augmented to the number of 35 men, two pickets of an equal number, and a like quantity from the regiment of La Reyne, making 216 for the two battalions, 600 Canadians and all the Indians. They left on the 5<sup>th</sup>. The Indians told M. de Diescaut that it was better to go up Lake Champlain to turn the enemy; that it would be easier to conceal our march from them thus than by going by Lake St. Sacrament by which they were to come, as they had erected their establishment at the head of the latter, and had cut roads for the passage of their artillery. That route was,



therefore, decided on, and the men landed after having proceeded about ten leagues on Lake Champlain; left one hundred men of our infantry to guard the bateaux; this was ordered after the departure of the detachment, on reflection that these bateaux might be necessary; they marched during the night to reach them.

The detachment landed on the 6<sup>th</sup> within 8 leagues of the enemy; each man, officers and others, then shouldered his knapsack. On the 7<sup>th</sup> marched nine leagues, always through woods and over mountains. On the 8<sup>th</sup> made six leagues and arrived quite near the enemy. Our Indians began by killing an officer belonging to the enemy who was going in full speed, on horseback, to notify, of his own accord, the Commandant of our arrival, and that we were to attack him. His despatches were opened and it was then discovered that the prisoner had deceived us; that, exclusive of the 500 men of the fort, the camp was well guarded and intrenched. But instead of following the original plan, which was so much the more natural, since the fort had not been alarmed, it was determined to attack the camp, with the remark, that the more there were of them the more will we kill, and the men set out.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> adventure was one of the most damaging for a detachment of 400 of the enemy, which was on its way from the camp to reinforce the fort; it was hacked and cut to pieces; scarcely one-third of the party escaped. We continued our route, and met the enemy drawn up in order of battle, outside their fort; marched within musket shot of them without their fire. A sharp volley made them reënter their camp in double quick time. The firing thus continued from noon until three o'clock. They discharged their cannon frequently, but without any effect. The report astonished our Indians, to whom it was unexpected; and, as they do not like it, they retired. A portion of the Canadians, though good soldiers behind trees, followed their example. We were thus left alone with the other portion of the Canadians. M. de Dieskau, who had always continued at the head of the Canadians, came shortly before, to us. He calculated and presumed on the good disposition of his remaining two hundred men, to enable him to force the intrenchment and the two thousand men behind it. He drew his sword and cried, "March! Let us force the place." We had marched as well as possible, and it may be said that our detachments have done wonders. M. Dieskau retired to the left to allow us full scope, and was wounded an instant after by two musket balls. Our right, it was discovered, was exposed, and the enemy were sending people past that point. M. Maron, Second Captain, commanding the grenadiers of La Reine, took upon himself to march against those who would cut him off. They fired a long time whilst retreating; our Indians came, very luckily, to their relief, and forced the enemy to retire; otherwise, they would have been all killed. The remainder of the retreat was accomplished without any interruption; some in one, others in another direction, and so they gained their bateaux. M. de Dieskau remained on the field of battle. Chevalier de Montreuil, who found himself in command, repaired to him before the retreat, with some grenadiers and his servants, for the purpose of removing him, but he would never consent, and said that he was unable to return, and therefore that the bed on which he then lay, was as good a death-bed as the one they would procure for him; that it was useless. The loss of two grenadiers, who were killed at his side, made him repeat that they may go; that he should not alter his resolution, and he forced M. de Montreuil to retire and abandon him on the field of battle.

Of our Regulars, we have lost Chevalier de la Furjonière, who was in command of a picket of the regiment of Languedoc; he has been killed on the field of battle; M. de Parfoura, who commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> picket of that regiment, has been wounded; also an officer of the regiment of La Reine; 26 grenadiers or soldiers killed; 43 wounded. We have lost 120 men,



Canadians or Indians, and at least as many wounded. M. Bernier, M. de Dieskau's Aid de Camp, and two Captains of the Colony and one Ensign killed and five wounded.

After this unfortunate adventure, our troops returned, worn out and dying of hunger. We had then got back within five leagues of Carillon. On the twelfth we started to come down to Fort St. Frederic, where we have left four hundred Canadians. We fortified ourselves strongly at both places. The two battalions of Béarn and Guienne are quiet in the camp at Frontenac.

FINIS.

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*Dialogue between Marshal Saxe and Baron de Dieskau in the Elysian Fields.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Baron de Dieskau was a Saxon, and served at first in France, under the orders of Marshal Saxe, and in Saxe's regiment of Cavalry, of which he was Lieutenant-Colonel. He was sent on the 20th of February, 1755, to Canada, to command there with the rank of Major-General (*M<sup>ai</sup> de Camp*). He was wounded, and taken prisoner in the defence of Fort Frederick Edward, and was not exchanged until the peace of 1763.

Marshal SAXE.

Whom do I see? M. de Dieskau, is that you? By what chance have you reached these sombre shores, all covered with wounds; you, whom I always considered invulnerable, notwithstanding so many engagements in which you had a share? Satisfy my curiosity by informing me of what happened to you.

Baron DE DIESKAW.

Marshal, my story will not be long. Here it is:—

The English, jealous of the increase of our Navy and Trade sought a quarrel for the purpose of declaring war against us, and having pretexted that we had encroached on the territory of their Colonies in North America, sent 3000 men thither, under the orders of General Braddock. The Court of France, being advised thereof, dispatched me, in its turn, to Canada at the head of six battalions. On arriving there, I learned that they had commenced hostilities by the capture of two of our forts in Acadia, and that General Johnson was building on our territory; whereupon, having marched against, and attacked him in his intrenchment, I was abandoned and betrayed by the Indians, which caused the affair to abort; for my own part, I received four musket balls, and here I am.

Marshal SAXE.

You relate your affair to me rather too laconically. I require from you a certain detail, in order that I may be able to judge whether you were to blame or not; I have given you examples of vigor and prudence. Let us see if you have profited by them.

Baron DIESKAW.

You shall be satisfied, and I submit to your judgment. Here is how the thing occurred.

The English having commenced hostilities, both by sea and land, it was concluded, in a council of war, holden at Quebec, that I should go and lay siege to Chouaguen. My little

army was to be 4000 men, consisting of Frenchmen, Canadians, Indians and 12 pieces of artillery. In about four weeks all was ready; 2000 men had already embarked on the River St. Lawrence and departed for Fort Frontenac, the place of rendezvous. General, I was to march two days after, with the remainder of the troops, and the thing was inevitable, when, for my misfortune, the Governor-General of Canada, under whose orders I was, received an express from Fort St. John, by one Varin, a Commissary of Marine, who falsely informed him that General Johnson was within two days' march of Fort Frederic, with 3000 men, to seize that post, whereupon this Governor having communicated the letter to me and expressed his embarrassment, I represented to him that this news, whether true or false, ought not to disquiet him, nor prevent my expedition against Chouaguen, inasmuch as Fort Frederic being more than 60 leagues from Montreal, the roads impracticable for cannon, several portages to be made in proceeding by Lake Champlain, and Forts Frederic, St. John and Chambly to be taken besides, I should have full time to complete my siege, and afterwards march against the English General to fight him before he could reach Montreal; that, moreover, I saw no certainty in this news, as the Commandant of Fort Frederic had mentioned nothing of it, whereupon he assured me, that the news was but too certain; that Varin had assured him of the thing so positively that it was impossible to doubt it; that he was a man of such prudence and intelligence that he would not have sent such news were he not sure of his fact; that the expedition against Chouagen must absolutely be postponed, and the only question remaining was to ascertain who should be commissioned to march against General Johnson. Finding, then, that his determination was fixed, and that the fear of seeing the English at Montreal had outweighed my representations, I offered to accept the commission, which was resolved upon, and marched some days after at the head of 3000 men, including Indians, Canadians and Regulars. On arriving at Fort Frederic, I learned from spies, whom the Commandant of that Fort had sent out, that Varin's news was utterly false; that General Johnson had within ten days marched from Fort Edouart with 3000 Militia; that he had not a single Regular soldier or Indian, and that he had gone to Lake St. Sacrament, where he was constructing a fort to secure his retreat, and to proceed afterwards against Fort Frederic; moreover, that he had but very few provisions in his camp, as he drew all his supplies from Fort Edouart, at a distance of six leagues from him; that the latter post was not entirely surrounded by palisades, and that it could be seized by a *coup de main*; that it had several cannon, but no carriages, which they were only preparing; besides, that 900 men were encamped outside of the fort, all militia, who, by way of parenthesis, are such miserable soldiers that a single Indian would put ten of them to flight. Having, thus, received all this information, I determined to march against Fort Edouart, attack, at break of day, the 900 men encamped outside; to make myself master, if possible, of said fort, and consequently to cut off the English General's supplies. This being combined and resolved upon, I marched from Fort Frederic, and encamped, the first day, at Carillon, whence I set out, two days afterwards, with 1500 picked men, whereof 600 were Indians, 600 Canadians and 300 Regulars, leaving a part of the other 1500 men at Carillon and the remainder at the post called the Two Rocks, in order to secure my retreat in case of need. I took eight days' provisions, having calculated that as my expedition was but a mere *coup de main*, it ought to be completed in that time.

Having arrived, then, on the fourth day within a league of Fort Edouart, I bivouacked in the woods, with the intention of marching next day so as to be able to attack the 900 men and the fort at day-break. Thereupon, I caused the chiefs of the Indians to be called together



to communicate my plan to them ; they asked me a delay of an hour to consult together. I granted the request, and, more than two hours afterwards, the chiefs of the Algonkins, Nipissingues and Abanakis came to tell me that, for their part, they did not ask anything better than to do whatever I pleased, but that the Iroquois of the Saut, to the number of 300, had absolutely refused, and as these were considered by the other Indians as the oldest and first, they would be obliged to follow their example. Hereupon, I repaired to the chiefs of those Iroquois, and assured them that I would not expose them to the fire of the fort, that I asked them only to make a false attack on the left of said fort, beyond range of musket shot, to draw the garrison towards that point, when I should attack the 900 men and the fort, with the French and Canadians. They, then, told me plainly that they were resolved not to act against the English on territory rightfully belonging to them, and that I had only to lead them (the Iroquois) against the English whenever they would invade our territory. Hereupon, I would make them comprehend that Fort Edouart being built on our territory, I was to drive them from it. But they would never listen to reason on the point.

Seeing, then, that I could make no impression on them, I inquired what they thought I ought to do, and whether it was not disgraceful to come up to the enemy's beard and to return without accomplishing anything? They answered, that as the camp of the English was on our territory I had but to attack it and they would follow me there, and that I could rely on them. I again demanded if such was their final resolution, and if they would not change their minds the moment of attack. Having then assured me that they would follow me and fight, I made up my mind to go thither, which I did the next morning at day-break, marching in three columns, Canadians on the right, Indians on the left and the French in the centre, on a fine road which the English had opened to communicate between Fort Edouart and their camp.

After a march of some hours a prisoner was brought in to me, from whom I learned that General Johnson, having been advised of my march against Fort Edouart, had detached 1000 men from his camp to reinforce that place ; that he, the prisoner, not supposing us so near, had started ahead, and that the detachment might be about half a league off.

On this information I ordered the Indians and Canadians to march about three hundred paces in advance ; then, to lie flat on the ground so as not to be discovered, and not to make the slightest noise nor discharge a single gun until the French column had first fired ; then to rise suddenly so as to take the enemy in flank. On my side, I ordered the centre column to halt, so that my programme had the appearance of a Indians. Canadians. *cul de sac* (bottom of a bag), into which I calculated on drawing the English, and there is not a doubt, had my orders been followed, that not a man of them would have escaped. But, unfortunately for me, some Indians, more curious than others, rose up, and, perceiving that the English had a party of Mohawks with them, notified the rest of the circumstance, whereupon all the Iroquois rose and fired in the air as a warning that there was an ambushade. Seeing that my net was discovered, I ordered the French and Canadians to attack the enemy ; the Indians did likewise, except the Iroquois, who did not French. budge.

The English were doubled up like a pack of cards and fled, pell-mell, to their intrenchment, which then was only a short league, or thereabouts, off. I pursued them closely with the French and Canadians, not supposing that the Indians would desert me there. I deceived myself, however. They followed only at a distance, and when they heard the roar of the



cannon of the intrenchment, stopped short, whereupon I sent to tell them that I should order the French to attack the only battery there was, and consequently draw all the fire on them, and that whilst so doing they had only to rush into the intrenchment, which was nothing but a sort of barricade of very trifling height.

Continuing, then, my march against the battery, in the confidence that the Indians would not dare abandon me, seeing me so far advanced, I perceived that the Canadians, instead of marching on their side against the intrenchment, were scattering right and left, firing Indian fashion, and that the Indians were not advancing; I thereupon inclined towards the left, in order to make signs to them to advance. I approached unconsciously so close to the intrenchment, that I received, in a moment, three balls in the legs and one across my right knee, which precipitated me near a tree, behind which I crawled, with the assistance of Chevalier de Montreuil, who had followed me. As this gentleman was the next to me in rank, and was unwilling to leave me, I ordered him in the King's name to go and assume the command, and should he see its necessity, to make the best retreat he could, but to send me some men to remove me. Shortly afterwards came two Canadians from him, one of whom was killed outright and fell on my legs, to my great embarrassment, and as the other could not remove me by himself, I told him to bring me some more men, but soon after, I heard the retreat beaten without seeing anything, being seated on ground somewhat low, with my back leaning against a tree; having remained in that situation about half an hour, I saw one of the enemy's soldiers within ten or twelve paces of me, taking aim at me behind a tree. I made signs to him with my hand not to fire, but he did not fail to do so; the shot traversed both my hips; leaping on me at the same time, he said (in very good French) "Surrender!" I said to him, "You rascal, why did you fire at me? you see a man lying on the ground bathed in his blood, and you fire, eh?" He answered: "How did I know but you had a pistol? I prefer to kill the Devil than that the Devil kill me." "You are a Frenchman, then?" I asked. "Yes," he replied. "It is more than ten years since I left Canada." Whereupon divers others fell on me and stripped me. I told them to carry me to their General, which they did. On learning who I was, he had me laid on his bed and sent for surgeons to dress my wounds, and, though wounded himself, he refused all attendance until mine were dressed.

Several Indians entered his tent soon after, who regarded me with a furious look, and spoke to him a long time, and with much vehemence. When they had departed, I observed: "Those fellows have been regarding me with a look not indicative of much compassion." "Anything else but that," he answered; "for they wished to oblige me to deliver you into their hands, in order to burn you in revenge for the death of their comrades, and of the three Chiefs who have been slain in the battle, and threaten to abandon me if I do not give you up. Feel no uneasiness. You are safe with me."

The same Indians returned some time after to the tent. The conversation appeared to me animated at first, and became more moderate at the close, when, smiling, they took my hand in token of friendship and retired. General Johnson afterwards told me that he had made my peace with them, and that they had abandoned all their pretensions. I observed, that as he was wounded himself, I was afraid I incommoded him, and requested him to have me removed elsewhere. "I dare not," he answered, "for were I to do so, the Indians would massacre you. They must have time to sleep." Towards eleven o'clock at night, I was removed under an escort of a captain and fifty men, to the tent of a Colonel, where I passed the night. The guard had orders not to suffer any Indian to approach me. Nevertheless, one of them came



next morning near the tent, and the sentinel, seeing that he was not armed, allowed him to enter, but the moment he was in, he drew a naked sword from under a sort of cloak he wore, and approached to stab me, whereupon the Colonel, in whose tent I was, threw himself between us, disarmed the Indian and put him out.

I remained nine days in the English camp, and General Johnson having caused a litter to be made, had me removed to his house at Orange, and at the end of four weeks to New-York, where I fell into the hands of very bad surgeons. This is all I can tell you about my unfortunate expedition, which has been unlucky not for me alone, the English having lost a much greater number of men than I, without gaining an inch of territory.

M<sup>r</sup> SAXE.

I have listened to you with all the attention possible, and I perceive that there has been much bad luck in your case; I have, however, two objections to offer to which you will do me the favor to reply.

1<sup>st</sup> *Objection*. Having 3000 men at your disposal, why did you not take at least 2000 for your expedition, leaving merely 1000 at the posts of Carillon and the Two Rocks,<sup>1</sup> as 500 Regulars would probably counterbalance the desertion of the Indians.

Baron DIESKAW.

*Answer to the first Objection*. I can easily answer this objection. As my expedition was a *coup de main*, it was necessary to proceed with celerity, which it is not easy to do with a large force, especially having forests to penetrate and rivers to cross on bridges constructed of a single tree that cannot be passed except by one at a time. Besides I knew that the English General had only Militia, that is to say, the worst troops on the face of the earth; moreover, I had not enough of provisions for eight days' supply to all, whilst I had plenty for 1500, which was a sufficient number for a surprise, especially having to do with men so little disciplined as the English Militia in America are, and I had, at that time, no reason to suspect the fidelity of the Indians.

M<sup>r</sup> SAXE.

2<sup>nd</sup> *Objection*. When the moment arrived for attacking Fort Edouart with your 1500, and you saw the indisposition of the Indians to proceed, why did you not, with your 600 Canadians and 300 Frenchmen, attack the 900 wretched Militia encamped at the head of the fort, especially as you were aware that the cannon of that fort had no carriages? you might possibly have carried it on entering pell-mell with the enemy.

Baron DIESKAW.

*Answer to the second Objection*. Being informed that the Canadians were showing the white feather (*battent de l'aile*) and becoming discouraged when they saw themselves abandoned by the Indians, I dared not undertake it with the 300 Regulars alone, more especially as the garrison of the fort, exclusive of the 900 men encamped outside, was pretty considerable; I had also something to apprehend from the Indians, whom I began to suspect of being unfaithful, and that they might play me some treacherous trick on perceiving that the attack would be made without them.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 320. — Ed.

M<sup>r</sup> SAXE.

I regret your misfortunes, my dear Dieskaw, but I perceive by your wounds, which still bleed, that you are not yet entirely a Shade. Return to earth, and get cured if possible. Serve your King with the same fidelity you have hitherto displayed, and when the fatal Sisters will have cut the thread of your life, come and see me that we may chat together. Adieu!

FINIS.

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*Conference between M. de Vaudreuil and the Senecas.*

On the first of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, at eight of the clock in the forenoon, before us Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the whole of New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, appeared in our Castle of Montreal, twenty Indians, assisted by M. de Joncaire, Captain of the troops of the detachment of the Marine, Interpreter of the Iroquois tongue, who told us that the Indians whom he leads are Senecas by Nation, and that they came as a deputation from their Tribe, whereupon, we having notified M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, Councillor of the King in his Councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine throughout the entire of New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, and having invited M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, Knight of the Military Order of Saint Louis, Major of the Troops and of the Town of Montreal, Messieurs Duplessis Fabert, de la Valetterie and de la Corne, likewise Knights of Saint Louis, Captains of said Troops of the detachment of Marine; Messieurs Luc de la Corne and Charles de Repentigny, Lieutenants of said Troops, and Sieur Toussaint le Cavelier, also Interpreters of the Iroquois language, who being immediately come into our said Castle after having explained to them the reason for which we had invited them, and after they had taken their seats in the Council Chamber according to their ranks; Gaichoton, chief and orator of said Nation of Senecas, spoke, according to what said Sieur Joncaire, the Interpreter, explained to us, as follows:

By three Strings of Wampum.

Father. You know that we have not had the pleasure of seeing you on your arrival. We were prevented by the small-pox. Now, that we are somewhat better, we are come to express to you our pleasure at seeing you in perfect health; we thank the Master of Life for having preserved you, and because no accident occurred to you in crossing the ocean.

The loss you daily experience of your warriors and children, causes you to shed tears; wherefore, we dry them by these Strings, so that you may regard us with a quiet aspect. We cleanse your throat, in order that your speech may come forth without difficulty when you will address us.

We likewise remove the blood spilt over your body by the loss of your warriors, and clean up your mat, so that nothing may sadden you.



By a Belt.

Father. The subject of our voyage has been a precaution we considered it our duty to take. Knowing that the English were absolutely wishing to take our son, we did [not] like to witness it; we are now pleased that we have brought him to a safe place and see him in peace on your mat.

By a Belt.

Father. This Belt is to express to you the pleasure we feel at seeing you; your predecessors did not appear to wish the same friendship for us that your late Father did. Now, that we find him again in you, we hope to recover, at the same time, that same friendship. We are highly gratified at having a Canadian for a Father. This is what we have to say to you.

If we were in better health we would go into winter quarters, the season being too far advanced to permit our return home. We have been told that our son would leave at the breaking up of the ice, for the purpose of going in our direction. We are glad of it. We shall come to see you, Father, this winter, in season; we beg of you to furnish us a canoe to take us to our winter quarters, as we are not able at present to wade across the river.

We also request you to assist us with provisions.

And said Sieur de Joncaire, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year above. Thus signed in the original.

And, on the third day of October, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, at three o'clock in the afternoon, We, the Governor aforesaid, accompanied as above set forth, and the said twenty Senecas, in company with said Captain de Joncaire, their Interpreter, being in the said Council Chamber, have caused said Sieur de Joncaire, Interpreter to the said Indians, to explain our answers to their speeches, as follows:

By three Strings of Wampum.

Children. You must be convinced that I would have felt a real pleasure in seeing you on my arrival. I am very sorry that the small-pox prevented your coming here, and am very glad that you are better. Be assured that the pleasure I feel at seeing you, equals at least that you express towards me. I did not meet with any accident in crossing the sea, but the vessel in which my brother de Rigaud was, has been captured by a most shameless piece of treachery on the part of the English. I am fully satisfied that he will not continue long in their power, and that he will come and join me early in the spring of next year.

Children. I in like manner dry your tears by these Strings, and cleanse your throat, so that you may be able to speak freely.

I also clean your mats, and wish that nothing bad may occur thereon.

By a Belt.

I am obliged to you and by this Belt thank you for your attention in accompanying your son, M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire. The English, you say, wished to carry him off; they are too timid to have attempted it.

By a Belt.

My predecessors had, doubtless, their reasons for not treating you as favorably as I do. Demean yourselves better, and you may be sure that you will, on all occasions, experience how much I love my children, who apply themselves solely to obeying my will.

I am very glad that you will winter near me, as the season is too far advanced to allow you to return to your villages. I shall dispatch you early in the spring with M. de Joncaire, [your] son.

And the said Sieur de Joncaire hath signed with us. Done the day and year as above. Thus signed in the original.

We, Pierre Rigaud, M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, do Certify that the present copy is conformable to the original remaining in our Secretary's office. In testimony whereof, We have signed these presents; have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto, and them to be countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal, the 15<sup>th</sup> of February, 1758.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.  
By my Lord:

(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

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*Adjutant Malartic to Count d'Argenson.*

Camp at Cataracoui, 6<sup>h</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I dare hope you will be pleased to allow me to have the honor of rendering you an account of the movements of the Regiment of Béarn since its arrival in this Colony, and of those I have witnessed of the other troops.

The ship *l'Opiniatre*, whereon were embarked the first nine companies of the Regiment of Béarn, after having been separated from the fleet by the wind on the Great Bank, arrived at the port of Quebec before any other of the vessels.

19<sup>th</sup> of June. The companies disembarked and at ten o'clock entered the town of Quebec, where they were well received and quartered. The soldiers and sergeants received their rations at the rate of two pounds of bread and a quarter of a pound of pork a man, a day.

*L'Algonkin*, which was bringing the first nine companies of La Reine, anchored before Quebec on the 22<sup>d</sup> at four o'clock in the afternoon. M. de Vaudreuil, who passed at Isle aux Coudres, from *l'Entreprenant*, on board of the frigate *La Sivette*, arrived and landed, incognito, at seven o'clock in the morning.

The ship *l'Illustre* (on board which M. Diescau had passed from *l'Entreprenant*), *le Leopard* and *l'Appolon*, anchored in port on the same day at noon. M. Diescau, with his staff, disembarked at four o'clock, and ordered the immediate landing of the nine companies of the Regiments of La Reine and Guyenne; the grenadier company and the three last of the Regiment of Béarn, disembarked on the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup>.

All the troops were under arms on the 25<sup>h</sup> to receive M. de Vaudreuil, to whom they paid the same honors as to a Marshal of France, the Regiments being drawn up in battalions on the right and left of the church door, where he was received.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Diescau notified the Regiment of Béarn, on the same day, to hold themselves in readiness to march for Montreal.



27<sup>th</sup> At two o'clock in the afternoon arrived in port the ship *l'Actif*, respecting which considerable anxiety was felt; she had on board the nine first companies of Languedoc, which landed at three o'clock in the afternoon, with a great many sick.

28<sup>th</sup> M. de Vaudreuil ordered the troops under arms to show respect to M. du Quenne, to whom they paid the same honors as to M. de Vaudreuil, the Regiments being drawn up in battalions on the right and left of the door of his quarters.

29<sup>th</sup> Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Diescau issued orders to the Regiment of Béarn to march in two divisions from Quebec for Montreal; the first on the 30<sup>th</sup>, to be composed of the seven first companies liable to duty (*factionnaires*); the second, consisting of the grenadiers and the five last companies, on the first of July.

Pursuant to this order, the first division, after having received provisions for five days, at the rate of a pound and a half of biscuit, half a pound of pork, eight ounces of peas, and half a pint of brandy per man a day, embarked in 28 bateaux, on board each of which were placed eleven or twelve soldiers, with an officer or sergeant, and four Canadians as a crew, and set sail at eight o'clock in the morning to ascend the river as far as Montreal, with orders to take four days' provisions at Three Rivers for the remainder of the voyage.

First of July the second division departed, in like order. The bateaux landed every night. The officers and soldiers were quartered in the settlements as far as was possible. The officers received ten *écus* in paper money in lieu of rations for the route.

The first division arrived on the 7<sup>th</sup> and the second on the 9<sup>th</sup> at Montreal, where the Regiment was received and quartered as at Quebec.

M. Diescau arrived at Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup> with M. de Montreuil, and ordered the Regiment of Béarn to prepare to march. M. de Vaudreuil arrived on the 16<sup>th</sup>. On the 17<sup>th</sup> the troops were put under arms to receive him as at Quebec.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Diescau ordered the Regiment of Béarn to march in three divisions from Montreal for Cataracoui, and to encamp, until further orders, under Fort Frontenac, which is situated there. The first, composed of the grenadiers and the four first service companies (*factionnaires*) on the 18<sup>th</sup>; the second, of the four following, on the 19<sup>th</sup>, and the third, of the four last, on the 20<sup>th</sup>.

In consequence of that order, the first division marched from Montreal on the morning of the 18<sup>th</sup> by land to Lachine, a distance of three leagues. Having received fifteen days' provisions, at the rate of one pound and a half of biscuit, half pound of pork, eight ounces of peas per day, and two quarts (*pots*) of wine per man for the entire march; the officers the same ration with a bottle of wine per day, and some comforts, it embarked in twenty-five bateaux, each having on board one officer or sergeant and seven soldiers, or four Canadians, and the said bateaux were, moreover, freighted with three thousand weight of provisions and ammunition to be landed at Fort Frontenac. This little fleet weighed anchor at noon and went to camp at Lachine point, half a league off.

19<sup>th</sup> Quitted that point and left to the North, Point Claire, Isle Perrau, Fort Rollant, which is a house surrounded by stockades; unloaded the bateaux in the cove of the Cascades, in order to ascend the Cascades *le Trou, les Rigolets des buissons*, and to arrive at *Les buissons*, where the division encamped at 6 o'clock.

20<sup>th</sup> Left Fort de Soulanges at the North, unloaded the bateaux at the portage of the Cedars, and went to encamp at the head of the Cedars, a league and a half off, where the settlements terminate.



21<sup>st</sup> Doubled two points where it became necessary to tow with a rope past *la Pointe au Diable*,<sup>1</sup> which is very rapid; unloaded the bateaux at Coteau du Lac, made the portage, crossed from North to South in order to encamp in an open wood near Bateau cove (*l'anse aux bateaux*) five leagues off, at the outlet of Lake St. Francis.

22<sup>nd</sup> Passed Bateau cove, half the lake, and encamped four leagues above, on Point *au banc*, and in a very fine prairie.

23<sup>rd</sup> Crossed the remainder of the Lake to encamp five leagues up, at the Chenaux,<sup>2</sup> in a heavy wood.

24<sup>th</sup> Left the Thousand Islands and those of the *Savattes* to the South, surmounted five rapids where it was necessary to pass the bateaux by towing and polling, and encamped at the foot of the *Long Saut*, in an open wood, having made five leagues.

25<sup>th</sup> Ascended the *Long Saut*, which is one of the most dangerous rapids, dragging the bateaux by main force, and encamped in the woods, half a league up, at the head of the *Long Saut*.

26<sup>th</sup> Surmounted divers rapids, passed several islands and went to camp at six o'clock at Point *aux chênes*,<sup>3</sup> in an open wood.

27<sup>th</sup> Passed numerous rapids, the Flat, whose current is dangerous, where several bateaux sheered; and camped on Point *aux Iroquois*,<sup>4</sup> six leagues up.

28<sup>th</sup> Ascended the two *Galos* rapids, which are dangerous; doubled Point *à l'Ivrogne*, crossed from North to South for the purpose of camping under the Fort *Présentation*,<sup>5</sup> which is the end of the rapids, and six leagues up. This fort consists of four buildings, in the form of a bastion, the curtains whereof are palisades. It is good against Indians, but would be quite untenable against Regulars that might wish to attack it, as it is commanded on all sides.

29<sup>th</sup> Doubled two points against a strong head wind, and went to camp on Point *aux Barils*,<sup>6</sup> three leagues.

30<sup>th</sup> Passed the Thousand Islands, the River Tonniata and encamped in an island? opposite the Little Detroit, very ill adapted for a camp, 7 leagues.

31<sup>st</sup> Crossed two large coves; met, in the first, two canoes coming from Detroit, the crew of which said that the English had been defeated at the Beautiful river;<sup>7</sup> left several islands on the South; halted at the Island *aux Citrons*, where seven Indians came in their canoes to communicate their exploits in routing the English, and went to camp in a little prairie on *Isle Cacheiro*, eight leagues.

August 1<sup>st</sup> Left *Deer Island*, *Hog Island* and *Cedar Island* to the South. Doubled *Montreal Point*, in order to arrive at *Cataracoui*, five leagues; went to camp at noon, the left resting on Fort *Frontenac*, which is esteemed the strongest in the country, and consists only of four small stone bastions, the faces of which are no more than six toises, the flanks two, and the curtains twelve. The walls are only two feet, untterraced. The terreplain of the rampart is built of plank and masonry; when one of the guns on it is discharged the whole fort shakes. Generally speaking, its situation is very bad, as well as its construction, and it is of no use except for stores, which it would be desirable to protect against a sudden attack.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately below Coteau du Lac.

<sup>2</sup> The channels between the islands at the head of Lake St. Francis are thus called. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Below Matilda, Dundas county, Canada West.

<sup>4</sup> At the village of Matilda, Dundas county, Canada West.

<sup>5</sup> Ogdensburgh, New-York.

<sup>7</sup> Howe Island.

<sup>6</sup> Above Brockville, Canada West.

<sup>7</sup> Ohio.



The second division arrived on the 2, the last on the 3. The regiment of Béarn, encamped altogether, the left resting on the fort, the right on the ground designed for the regiment of Guyenne, with the bay in front and the woods about three hundred paces in the rear of the camp. A strong guard was posted in the wood and a small one at the Great Cove, as a look out towards the outlet of Lake Ontario, six leagues off, by which the English may come to Cataracoui.

2<sup>nd</sup> A cadet, dispatched from the Beautiful river, arrived in the evening with news of the victory gained over the English, and the particulars of the affair.

The officers, sergeants and soldiers received the rations at the fort, at the rate of two pounds of bread, half pound of pork and four ounces of peas per ration, during the entire campaign.

9<sup>th</sup> The two first divisions of the regiment of Guyenne, which left Montreal on the twenty-fifth and 26<sup>th</sup> of July, arrived and encamped on the right of the regiment of Béarn.

10<sup>th</sup> The guards fired in the night on some bateaux coming from Niagara, which did not answer when challenged.

11<sup>th</sup> The last division of the regiment of Guyenne arrived.

12<sup>th</sup> Both regiments furnished the guards in common, which were posted in the wood; one was stationed at the Great Cove, and a sergeant and eight grenadiers at Little Cataracoui, two leagues off, to guard the bay, and to be as close as possible to the mouth of the lake.

14<sup>th</sup> At two o'clock in the morning, the regiments that were waiting for the other troops to proceed to besiege Fort Chouaguen, on the south side of the lake, 25 leagues from Cataracoui, received orders to hold themselves on the defensive and to intrench their camp, and learned that M. Diescau had countermanded the regiments that were on their march, and was going against the English, who were threatening Fort St. Frederic.

15<sup>th</sup> After having reconnoitred the face of the country for the intrenchments, traced out the new camp.

16<sup>th</sup> The regiments decamped; that of Guyenne had its right on the fort, and that of Béarn, its left on the River St. Lawrence, with the bay in its rear and the wood in front.

18<sup>th</sup> Changed posts; pushed the Captain's main guard to a quarter of a league off, whence his Lieutenant was detached to another point, two hundred paces from his post.

19<sup>th</sup> A ship builder arrived from Montreal to work at a schooner for the navigation of the lake, in addition to the two already in the bay, and for the protection of our bateaux against the English sloops that are cruising in the lake.

20<sup>th</sup> Traced out a grand redoubt at the head of the camp of the regiment of Guyenne, two at that of Béarn, joined to the one of Guyenne by a curtain and an epaulement on the bank of the river, which the two regiments commenced and completed on the eighth of September. During that time, and through the whole month of September, the regiments practiced the new exercise which had been furnished them by M. Diescau.

12<sup>th</sup> September. Abbé Picquet arrived at the camp at noon with thirty-eight Indians, whom he wished to send to Chouagen to make some prisoners. He dispatched them on the 16<sup>th</sup>, and accompanied them as far as the Island of *Tonti*.<sup>1</sup>

25<sup>th</sup> A courier, who had left Montreal on the 16<sup>th</sup>, brought, at one o'clock in the morning, news of the affair in which M. Diescau had been left on the field of battle, and orders to the regiment of Guyenne to start forthwith to reinforce the troops at Fort St. Frederic. At two o'clock, another arrived, bringing counter orders to the said regiment, because M. de Vaudreuil



had fears for Niagara, to which he wished to be convenient, so as to assist, and retake it, should the English desire to seize it.

At three o'clock in the afternoon Abbé Picquet's Indians returned with two prisoners, and said that they had killed three men who had made resistance, whose scalps they brought. The prisoners were interrogated respecting Choagens, who answered that there were two regiments of one thousand men each there, which were reduced, by sickness and loss, to fourteen hundred. They added, that the English had intrenched their camp, and possessed three sloops armed with cannon, and were giving out that they wished to come and attack Cataracoui. We have not any news of, and are still waiting for, them.

26<sup>th</sup> Abbé Picquet departed, for the purpose of carrying his Indians and prisoners to M. de Vaudreuil, at Montreal.

27<sup>th</sup> The regiment of Béarn commenced to fraize their works. A cadet, who had been sent to Niagara, returned at two o'clock in the afternoon, and reports that he had discovered some English guards at the *Coui* Island, eighteen leagues from here. At eleven o'clock, at night, detached twenty soldiers, belonging to the two regiments, 60 Canadians and 14 Indians, under the command of two partisan officers, in seven bateaux, to capture them. They came up with the supposed Englishmen, who turned out to be Canadians on their way from Niagara to *Tonty* Island, and arrived with them in camp on the morning of the 29<sup>th</sup>.

October 1<sup>st</sup> At seven o'clock in the evening a courier arrived from Montreal with orders to the regiment of Guyenne to proceed forthwith to Niagara, to prepare the materials for the construction of a good fort there next year, and to build barracks for 400 men during the winter; to that of Béarn to reduce the extent of the intrenchments and to construct barracks for 300 men.

2<sup>d</sup> Prepared the bateaux necessary to transport the provisions and ammunition that were to be carried along.

5<sup>th</sup> The Guyenne regiment embarked in forty-eight armed bateaux; one Captain, one Lieutenant and 60 men were detailed as an escort.

6<sup>th</sup> Loaded the schooners with provisions destined for the Upper country.

7<sup>th</sup> The schooners weighed anchor at twelve o'clock in the morning; they saluted the fort and cleared the bay, on their voyage.

This is the condition to which M. Dieskau has reduced us. Had he been less rash, he would have thrashed the English and forced their intrenchments; we could have carried out the original plan of the campaign, of going to lay siege to Chogens, which, from appearances, we might have captured and made a fine campaign; we might have undertaken and driven out the English, who designed to conquer all Canada; whereas we are, instead, obliged to keep on the defensive, and have, at present, considerable works to construct at a season which is not favorable for undertaking them. They might have been thought of earlier, because the regiment of Guyenne might have been sent, since the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, to Niagara, which would have already completed there what it is about to commence now, and that post, now falling in pieces and crumbling, would be at least tenable; whereas, on the other hand, it appears difficult to throw supplies into it between this and the month of December. The regiment of Béarn might have done as much to this fort instead of fortifying a camp that will be of no service except there be troops to defend it. All the faults are not chargeable to our Generals, because they are not yet aware how much this country has been neglected, for some time, by the Governors, and did suppose all the forts were in proper condition. All require repairs,



and the majority must be rebuilt. When we arrived at this post, for which much apprehension was felt, there was not a single piece of artillery in position (*en etat*); not any of the furniture necessary for moving and loading them. We are lucky that the English had not been prepared to come. Our only resource would have been our muskets and bayonets. Niagara, which is the most essential post, and the key of the entire Upper country, is wholly unable to sustain a defence. It is built of stockades (*patinades*), which had to be supported by *stancheons* in the spring.

Such is the condition in which M. de Vaudreuil and we have found this Colony. Were I to enumerate all the other abuses we have discovered, you would consider me a person who seeks only to misrepresent (*denigrer*) what he sees. I expect, nevertheless, that all the details which will be sent from this country, will be conformable to what I have the honor to state to you.

M. de Vaudreuil appears desirous of remedying these abuses, and directing all his attention thereto. He has his hands full. He requires help and assistance; he will experience aid from us, though we have been on the march or in camp since the 1<sup>st</sup> of March. The regiment of Guyenne felt a pleasure in marching, and ours no less in remaining, seeing the necessity there is of working and suffering somewhat to recruit this country. The soldier possesses the same disposition he did at Brest. There is no appearance of our breaking up camp before the month of December, though the season is already cold. We shall leave two or three hundred men here for the protection of this post during winter; therefore but few will go down to rest themselves.

The regiments of La Reine and Languedoc are at Fort St. Frederic, with the Canadians, where they are throwing up intrenchments.

I annex hereunto the detail of the affair on the Beautiful river, which I received from an officer who was an eye witness of it; also, an account of the attack at Lake St. Sacrament, such as it has been transmitted to us from Montreal.

This, my Lord, is a very long letter. I presumed that you would have been very glad to be informed of what we have done since our arrival in this Colony, and that you would be pleased to permit me to have the honor to communicate it to you. I should esteem myself too happy were it in my power to prove to you how much I desire to deserve your favor.

I have the honor to be, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MALARTIC.

*Statement of two Canadians taken on the Ohio and carried to London.*

The men named Jean Baptiste Berger and Joachim Parent, natives and inhabitants of Montreal, in Canada, were taken prisoners by the Indian allies of the English, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of the month of May, 1754, on the River Oyo, in the affair of Sieur de Jumainville, and carried to Virginia, where they were stripped of everything and imprisoned; fed on Indian corn with two pounds of meat, which were given them for 21 men of their party.

They remained thus, in Virginia, until the 31<sup>st</sup> of March, 1755, when they were put on ship-board with a single blanket; they do not recollect the name of the vessel. The voyage continued 40 days, during which time they each received one biscuit and a herring a day.

On their arrival in London they were detained on board the same vessel in which they arrived, and at the end of six weeks were removed to another ship, on board which they have remained two months.

On board these two vessels they received the same rations as the crew.

During their sojourn they were told that they must wait the return of the King of England, who would decide their fate, and in fact, a few days after the King's return, they were told that they should be sent to France. They were furnished with a sailor's jacket, vest and blue shirt, and embarked on the 27<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>bre</sup>, on board the Calais packet.

They confirmed all the circumstances of *Sieur de Jumainville's* assassination by the English.

Say, that when the news of General Braddock's defeat reached London, their rations were stopped for 4 days, but that a French Catholic brought them food at night.

They are ignorant of what has become of their comrades.

8<sup>th</sup> October, 1755.

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*Chevalier de Montreuil to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Fort St. Frederic, 10<sup>th</sup> October, 1755.

My Lord,

Permit me, if you please, to have the honor to inform you that we have had the misfortune to lose the Baron de Dieskau, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, in an attack on a fortified camp of three thousand English, near Lake St. Sacrament. He was at the head of six hundred Indians, seven hundred Canadians and two hundred Regulars belonging to the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc. He had marched with the intention of fighting five hundred men encamped under a fort constructed this year at the house *desdix*,<sup>1</sup> near the River of Orange, and of carrying that fort at once by assault.

M. de Dieskau being a league from fort *desdix*,<sup>1</sup> learned that the enemy had a camp of three thousand men near Lake St. Sacrament, six leagues off; he prepared to march thither, and half an hour before arriving there, received intelligence that four hundred English were on his road, going to fort *desdix* in quest of provisions for their army. He detached the Indians and Canadians, who briskly drove them back to their camp, which he caused to be at once attacked. Half the Indians and Canadians were satisfied with their first victory. The firing was well maintained, on both sides, from noon until two o'clock.

We were forced to abandon the field of battle. M. de Dieskau remained on the ground dangerously wounded, in consequence of having advanced too far during the fight, in spite of my representations. I was alone with him near the intrenchments, in the centre of the attack, with none of our men in front of us and scarcely any in the rear. The Regulars were on the

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Lydius. — Ed.



right; the Canadians and Indians on the left. M. de Dieskau received two shots, one in the bone of the leg and the other in both hips. I received one in the arm. He would never consent to be removed by a number of men whom I caused to be brought on the field. One Canadian was killed, who fell on him whilst I was in the act of begging M. de Dieskau to allow himself to be removed beyond range of shot. When he perceived that I persisted in wishing to have him carried away, and in not abandoning him, he ordered me twice to go to the right, to reanimate the attack, which was becoming weak. On my way thither I sent him his servants, who were not far from their master. When I reached the right, the Canadians and Indians were falling back; the Regulars wished to do likewise; I threw myself in their midst to stop them, and in a moment they lost four or five hundred paces of ground. Very few officers aided me in rallying the men, as most of those of the Colony had been killed or wounded, and M. de Dieskau did not bring any captains of the French troops with the detachment. I expected that he would have himself carried to the rear, on witnessing an unexpected movement, and knowing that 'tis impossible to stop, all at once, a troop that is falling back of its own accord. I left with him several Canadians and his servants, from whom I learned that he had sent them away, and had his overcoat, vest and telescope laid alongside him. It was a very critical moment for me to see a General to whom I was strongly attached, in the hands of the enemy who rarely gives any quarter.

I was forced to fight whilst retreating; I caused the French troops to form the rear guard; they comported themselves very well. We have had one hundred and twenty men killed; I have brought back one hundred and three wounded. The enemy, according to the report of two prisoners, have lost about six hundred men. General Johnson has had his thigh broken. M. de Bernier, Aid de Camp of M. de Dieskau, has been killed. We are going to build a fort at the Falls of Lake St. Sacrament, five leagues from Fort St' Frederic. The Guyenne battalion is at Niagara, and that of Béarn at Fort Cataracoui. Each of these battalions consists of five hundred and fifteen men, and those of La Reine and Languedoc, three hundred and thirty per battalion, exclusive of the eight companies that have been taken in the ship *le Lys*. The two battalions at Louisbourg are five hundred and twenty men, according to the last return the Adjutants have sent me. I beg of you, my Lord, to be pleased to send some muskets for these battalions; they have been furnished with very bad ones on leaving France. The Colony is also in very great want of some. Permit me, if you please, to say to you that I am very anxious about your health. I dare flatter myself that you will condescend to do me the favor to attach credit to the detail I have the honor to submit to you. I justify myself, my Lord, only to you. Please have the goodness to honor me with your orders and protection.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble

and most obedient servant,

Ch<sup>er</sup> DE MONTREÛIL.

*Baron de Dieskau to M. de Vaudreuil.*Orange, 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1755.

I have had the honor to write you on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September from the English camp, on the evening before my departure for Orange. Since my arrival here I have been very ill, and rarely free from suffering very acute pain; so that it appears that I am floating between life and death. All my wounds are healing, with the exception of those traversing both hips and passing through the bladder. The urine which constantly drips from one of these holes and sometimes from both at once, prevents their healing, and renders my condition very uncertain; it thus appears that I have survived up to this time, only by the strength of my constitution and the great attention which has been paid me. It is but rendering justice to M. de Johnson and the Governor of New-York, to say that, through the obliging care of the one and the other, I have wanted for no assistance in the power of man to procure me.

To-morrow I am to be moved to New-York. It is a favor which I requested as soon as my strength could admit of it.

I am, &c.,  
(Signed), The Baron DE DIESKAU.

*Chevalier de Montreuil to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Carillon,<sup>1</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of October, 1775.<sup>2</sup>

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform you that we have had the misfortune to lose the Baron de Dieskau on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, in the attack on a fortified camp of three thousand English near Lake St. Sacrament. He was at the head of 600 Indians, 700 Canadians and 200 Regulars of the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc. He had left the camp, with this detachment of 1500 men, with the intention of going to attack 500, who were encamped under Fort Lydius, which the English have built this year on the River of Orange, and he proposed to carry by assault. When he was within a league of it, he learned that the enemy had a camp of three thousand men near Lake St. Sacrament, six leagues off; he marched thither in preference. M. de Dieskau received intelligence, half an hour before reaching there, that 400 English were on his road going to Fort Lydius in search of provisions for their army. He detached the Indians and Canadians who drove them back to their camp, which he immediately caused to be attacked. Half the Indians and Canadians were satisfied with their first victory; the fire was well maintained, on both sides, from noon to two o'clock. We were constrained by the fire of the enemy, which was greatly superior to ours, to abandon the field of battle, whereof they soon remained masters. We fought on the retreat during two days, in the woods without provisions. The whole of the detachment was worn out by fatigue before

<sup>1</sup> Now, Ticonderoga.<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* 1755. — Ed.



the battle, having carried on their backs, during a march of three days, eight days' provisions, which they were ordered to lay aside before commencing the fight, and had not time to recover, in consequence of an English detachment we saw coming in our rear from fort *desdix*,<sup>1</sup> and which would have placed us between two fires. I caused the French troops to form the rear guard; they behaved very well.

We had a lieutenant, belonging to the regiment of Languedoc, killed; one of La Reine wounded; 62 soldiers and 160 Canadians or Indians, killed or wounded. M. de Dieskau did not bring any captains with the French troops; seven officers of the Colony were either killed or wounded. M. de Bernier, Aid-de-Camp to M. de Dieskau, has been killed. I received a ball in the arm. I brought back 103 wounded.

According to the report of several prisoners, the enemy have lost 600 men, and General Johnson, their Commander, had a thigh broken. The two battalions of the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc are here; that of Guyenne is at Fort Niagara, and that of Béarn at Fort Cataracoui. These four battalions amount to about seven hundred men, exclusive of the two companies of grenadiers and the six service companies (*suctionnaires*) who have been made prisoners of war in the ship *le Lys*. The two battalions at Louisburg have lost few soldiers. M. de Roquemaure, Commandant of the battalion of La Reine, is in command of the four battalions here. M. de St. Julien, Commander of the Artois battalion, who is his senior, is at Louisburg.

We are building a fort here to prevent the enemy coming to establish himself at this side of Lake St. Sacrament. This campaign, it appears to me, will terminate without striking a blow. The enemy are, also, building a fort near Lake St. Sacrament. We have small scouting parties out every day; trifling skirmishes frequently occur. I believe we shall not return to quarters before the end of November.

M. de Vaudreuil proposes to have us lay siege to Chouaguen next spring. I hope we shall be more fortunate in our operations. The Colony is threatened on all sides. We cannot succeed in this country in consequence of the number of English we have to contend against, except by endeavoring to fight them in detail. M. de Dieskau's loss and the check we have experienced near Lake St. Sacrament, proceed from not being satisfied with having defeated 400 men, whom we had met within half a league of their camp, and from the desire to make an immediate attack on 3000 men in an intrenchment, with 1500, worn out by fatigue, who were no longer presenting any order of battle, and who were throwing away their fire. He was in hopes that the 400 men, who had been driven back to their camp, would have thrown it into confusion; there was every reason to suppose so. M. de Dieskau was a very good General and a very brave grenadier; I shall regret him all my life. I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased to honor me with your recommendation to him who is to replace the Baron. Be pleased to permit me, to assure you that I shall have the honor to afford you proofs, on all occasions, of my zeal for the King's service, and that I shall deserve, in time, the favors that have been heaped on me when leaving France.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

Ch<sup>er</sup> DE MONTREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, Lydius. — Ed.

*M. Doreil's Report on the Staff of the Army.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Return of the General Staff Officers attached to the six battalions of French Infantry serving in America, and their situation on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1755.

Baron de Dieskau, Major-General, Commander-in-Chief,	{	Wounded by two gun shots on the 8 <sup>th</sup> of 7 <sup>ber</sup> , in the attack on the fortified camp of the English, near Lake St. Sacrament, and left on the field of battle.
Aides- de- Camp,	{	M. Godart d'helincourt, Captain of Infantry, { Taken prisoner of War on board the ship <i>l'Alcide</i> , on the 8 <sup>th</sup> of June.
	{	M. Bernier, seconded Lieutenant of Infantry, { Missing in the affair of the 8 <sup>th</sup> of 7 <sup>ber</sup> ; not known whether he has been killed or taken prisoner, but supposed to be killed.
M. Doreil, Commissary-General of War, acting Superintendent,	{	Has had the misfortune to lose more than 1200 <i>l.</i> worth of effects on board <i>l'Alcide</i> .
Chevalier de Rostaing, Colonel of Infantry, second in command,	{	Killed in the engagement of <i>l'Alcide</i> , on the 8 <sup>th</sup> of June.
Chevalier de Montreuil, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Adjutant-General, acting Major-General,	{	Has advised me that he had received a contusion in the arm in the affair of the 8 <sup>th</sup> of 7 <sup>ber</sup> .
M. Dubois de Crancé, Commissary of War,	{	
Mess <sup>rs</sup> Dumoulin, cadet Geoffroy, Aguitton,	{	Engineers in Ordinary, { Made prisoners of War on board <i>L'Alcide</i> , 8 <sup>th</sup> June.
Wolft, Lieutenant, Carpentier, id.,	{	Partisan officers, { Nothing happened them, having been at Camp Frontenac at the time of the action near Lake St. Sacrament.
M. Dolemone, Surgeon-Major,	{	Drowned on the 18 <sup>th</sup> of July, in a little river on the route from Quebec to Montreal.
Six Assistant-Surgeons,	{	One of them had not joined at the embarkation; no news has been heard of him nor of those sent to Isle Royale. <sup>1</sup>
Six Surgeons' mates ( <i>garçons</i> ),	{	They are living and will fill the places of Assistants when vacant.

Done at Montreal, 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1755.

DOREIL.

<sup>1</sup> Cape Breton was thus called in 1713. — Ed.



*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 18<sup>th</sup> S<sup>bre</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I had the honor to inform you, by my despatches of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> of July, that the English had become masters of Fort Beauséjour, and that M<sup>r</sup> de Boishebert, commanding at the River St. John, had burnt his fort, as he was not able to prevent the enemy landing; that I had given him orders to arrange with the Reverend Father Germain, the Missionary, about wintering on the River St. John or returning to Quebec, according to the good or bad dispositions of the Acadians and Indians.

M. de Boishebert and the Reverend Father Germain have rendered me a favorable report of the conduct and zeal of the Acadians and Indians. M<sup>r</sup> de Boishebert has also given me an account of his movements in opposition to the designs of the English.

The latter have not confined themselves to the capture of Beausejour; they wished to oblige all the Acadians to swear fidelity to the King of Great Britain and to take up arms against us, but not succeeding, forced them to give up their fire-arms, after which they assembled the people again at Fort Beausejour (which they have named Fort Cumberland), on pretence of communicating to them the arrangement of the Governor of Halifax for the preservation of their lands, and retain them prisoners to the number of 400 heads of families. Two of these Acadians were sent by the Commandant to tell their wives to hold themselves in readiness to embark, and that their houses will be burnt, should they refuse.

Far from obeying this order, the Acadian families fled to the woods. Their refusal led the English to burn entirely the village of the River Chipoudy, without excepting even the church. M. de Boishébert, at the head of 125 Acadians or Indians, overtook them at the River of Pelkoudiak;<sup>1</sup> attacked and fought them for three hours, and drove them vigorously back to their vessels. The English had 42 men killed and 45 wounded. M<sup>r</sup> Gorham,<sup>2</sup> a very active English officer, was among the number of the wounded. We lost one Indian and had 3 others wounded. Had the Indians been less alert, not a single Englishman would have escaped. M<sup>r</sup> de Boishebert passed the night on the field of battle. He helped the Acadians to save a portion of their grain, and to retire into the woods with their wives and children. He has sent them a large lighter (*gabarre*) to accelerate their return to the River St. John.

The Indians cannot fail to be excited against the English, who have cut into pieces 14 Indians belonging to the Mission of the River St. John, whom they surprised along some English settlements.

The English have taken, contrary to the law of nations, the man named Grandcour, a sergeant of M<sup>r</sup> Boishébert's detachment, long before they had taken Beauséjour. That sergeant had gone by M<sup>r</sup> de Boishebert's order, in a boat in search of nine soldiers who had lost themselves on Partridge Island; he had an order of his Commandant, whereby he was even to apply for the assistance of the English, should he require it.

<sup>1</sup> The River Peticodiac rises in the mountains on the east bounds of King's county, New Brunswick, under the name of the Anagance; thence runs eastwardly until it reaches the parish of Dorchester, Westmoreland county, where it makes a turn or elbow to the south, and falls into Shepody bay. 'Twas called Petit Coude ( Little elbow ) by the French, whence Peticodiac is said to be derived, and is frequently called Pettycoatjack by the inhabitants. *Gesner's New Brunswick*, 187; *Bouchette's Map*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 90, nota.

I have neglected no means to acquire a knowledge of the situation of the English at Beauséjour. They number about 900 men; had begun refitting the interior of the fort, but have ceased doing so, since they detain the settlers.

I have given orders to M<sup>r</sup> de Boishébert to continue on the River St. John. The Intendant has caused the supplies necessary for his wintering there, to be forwarded. The Reverend Father Germain is at Quebec, and I hope will not delay going to join his Indians.

Divers reasons, my Lord, oblige me to make M<sup>r</sup> de Boishebert remain at the River Saint John.

1<sup>st</sup> So long as I shall occupy that river, and a detachment will be there, I shall preserve the possession of Acadia for the King, and the English will not be able to say that they have forced the French to abandon it.

2<sup>d</sup> I shall secure the fidelity of the Acadians and Indians, who otherwise would consider themselves abandoned, and perhaps surrender to the English.

3<sup>d</sup> M. de Boishebert will draw over to him all the Acadians; those at his post, as well as those at a distance; will endeavor to reunite them with their families and to form them into one corps. The Acadians, thus reunited, will be obliged, for their own safety, to repel the enemy with vigor, should he make his appearance.

4<sup>th</sup> He will occupy himself in like manner to reunite the Indians, and will form an equally considerable corps of them; he will correspond with M. Manache, Missionary of Miramichi, and, according to the exigency of the case, will join the Indians of that Mission to his own, to oppose the progress of the enemy.

5<sup>th</sup> He will be in a position to have spies constantly at Beauséjour and Halifax, and to make some prisoners, who will inform him of the situation and strength of the English.

6<sup>th</sup> He will be able to organize parties of Acadians and Indians, to continually harass the enemy at Beauséjour, and to prevent them cutting firewood.

7<sup>th</sup> By holding the River St. John I shall be able to obtain news, at all times, from Louisbourg; and it will be necessary only to cross from the Island of St. John to Chedaik, or, after having crossed the Gut of Canso, to keep along the coast to Chedaik or Cocagne.<sup>1</sup>

I have given orders to M. de Boishebert, in consequence, and have particularly recommended him to act, on all occasions, with much prudence, and to concert matters with the Reverend Father Germain.

I hope, my Lord, to adhere to this arrangement until I shall have received your orders next year; and should you decide on the impossibility of obliging the English to withdraw from Acadia, or of maintaining ourselves there in sufficient force to keep them in check, I shall be able to withdraw the Acadians and Indians into the heart of the Colony. The Acadians, in the whole, may consist of about 2000 souls, whereof 700 are men under arms. It would be unfortunate were they to belong to the English.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> *Island of St. John* is now Prince Edward Island. *Chedaik*, or *Shediac*, is on the East shore of New Brunswick, Northeast of Westmoreland county. It is a very safe and convenient harbor. *Cocagne* is also a safe harbor, with a wide mouth, in Dundas parish, Kent county, New Brunswick, a little north of *Shediac*. *Gesner's New Brunswick*, 141, 185. — Ed.



*Commissary Doreil to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 20<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I have this instant learned from M. de Vaudreuil that he is sending a courier to-night to Quebec, to dispatch the frigate *La fidelle*, which he, at first, told me he should not send off until about the first of next month. I am working, night and day, at the accounts I have to render you, my Lord, and more than half my copies are made out. I shall not lose a moment with the rest; but I cannot profit by this opportunity, the rather as I am waiting returns and explanations from M. de Montreuil, the Adjutant-General, and from the Adjutants of La Reine and Languedoc regiments.

I am, therefore, obliged, my Lord, to confine myself to announcing to you the loss of the Baron de Dieskau, who received two gun shot wounds on the 8<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> last in the attack on an intrenched camp of about 3000 English near Lake St. Sacrament, and which was not carried. There was, at this attack, only a detachment of 222 men, drawn from the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, exclusive of 12 soldiers belonging to the Colonial troops. The remainder of the party, the total whereof amounted to 1500 men, was composed of Colonial Militia and Indians. Chevalier de Montreuil, who found himself in command, conducted the retreat. Our troops performed, on this occasion, incredible prodigies of valor; alone they attacked the front of the intrenchment, and withstood, during three hours, a very brisk fire of musketry and grape; but were finally obliged to yield to force. The enemy was so astonished at the attack that they dared not leave their camp to pursue us. The English lost at least 500 men, and we are assured that Colonel Johnson, who was in command, has received a musket ball in the thigh.

The following, my Lord, is our loss in this action :

Baron de Dieskau, Major-General,	{	Remained on the field of battle. 'Tis not yet known whether he be dead or a prisoner.
M. Bernier, his Aid-de-Camp,	{	His fate is not yet precisely known; he has not yet made his appearance, but is believed to be killed.
M. de la Gurjonniere, Lieutenant in the Languedoc, acting Adjutant, wherein he acquitted himself very well,	{	Killed.
Of La Reine, 3 Sergeants, .. 21	{	26 killed.
18 Soldiers, ....	{	
Of Languedoc, 5 Soldiers, .... 5	{	
M. de Biville, Lieutenant of La Reine,	{	Wounded.
Of La Reine, 2 Sergeants, .. 30	{	50 wounded; of whom only two have since died of their wounds.
28 Soldiers, ....	{	
Of Languedoc, 20 Soldiers, .... 20	{	

There have been killed, in addition, 7 soldiers of the Colony; 25 Canadians and 33 Indians. And, 35 Canadians and 40 Indians wounded.

Of the officers of the Colonial troops and Canadian Militia, 5 have been killed and 4 wounded, one of whom has since died of his wounds.

The enemy has not made any movement since. M. de Roquemaure, Commander of the battalion of La Reine, on whom, of right, the command of the four battalions devolved, is encamped at Fort St. Frederic, and is having, by order of M. de Vaudreuil, an intrenchment erected at Carillon at the Fall of Lake St. Sacrament, for the purpose of protecting that fort, which is 4 leagues from it.

The Guienne and Béarn battalions were encamped and intrenched, since the first of August, at Fort Frontenac, situate on Lake Ontario. They have held in check a body of about 2000 men, who are intrenched under the English fort at Chouaguén, on the same lake. Guienne left on the 5<sup>th</sup> of this month for Niagara; that battalion will also work there at intrenchments, and at repairs to the fort, which is in a miserable condition; 4 pickets will winter there, 3 of Béarn at Frontenac, and one of each of the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc at Fort St. Frederic, on Lake Champlain.

The main body will be here and in the neighborhood, within a circumference of 5 leagues, in order to be more convenient for marching next spring. These are M. de Vaudreuil's arrangements at present, who has done me the favor to consult me on the subject.

The departure of his courier prevents me entering into fuller details. I am even obliged to write this letter in very great haste.

I must not terminate, however, without taking the liberty to remind you, my Lord, of Brigadier Gantes, commanding the volunteers of Dauphiné. He is an officer whom you have honored with your protection and kindness, and on whom you could bestow a new mark thereof by honoring him with M. de Dieskau's place. It does not become me, my Lord, to speak to you of his merit and talents; he is my brother-in-law. On this account you will not take it ill that I presume to propose him to you, assuring you, my Lord, that it would be very agreeable to M. de Vaudreuil, whom I have sounded. I might, equally, guarantee the votes of our battalions, who have seen him manœuvre during the last war. They entertain for him the highest esteem, and know, by experience, that he unites to great valor the prudence and intelligence that are so necessary. I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will pardon me the liberty I take out of consideration for the motive.

I am, with most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DORÉIL.

*Answer of M. de Vaudreuil to the Five Nations.*

Answers of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the message which the Five Nations sent him by Deputies from the Mission of La Présentation, 22<sup>d</sup> October, 1755.

Children of the Five Nations.

I have listened attentively to the word you have addressed me by my children of La Présentation. You cannot have better speakers than those of that village, who, aware of my



sentiments towards you, have been so good as to take charge of conveying your Belts to me, and of letting me know all you have said to them. I answer, then, your three Words.

First Belt.

Children. You assure me, by your first Belt, not only of your neutrality but even of your having embraced prudent counsels, and that nothing can separate you therefrom. You answer for your young men, but you request me not to stain the lands you inhabit with blood.

By a Belt.

Children. It seems you know the whole extent of my goodness for you, and that you persuade yourselves that you can easily influence me. You're right. Were I to treat you as you deserve, I would reject your Belt, and, instead of having the complacency to reply, would make you experience all the resentment I ought to feel at your infidelity. But I am very willing to convince you that my goodness surpasses all that you could expect from it.

If your sentiments towards me were as sincere as mine for you, you would blush at merely having had the thought of announcing your neutrality to me. Ought children be neutral in what affects their father? In truth, you do not speak from the bottom of your heart, and I must be persuaded that you inwardly belie yourselves. No matter; you wish to be neutral. Be so.

I cannot believe that you have embraced prudent counsels; ought you ever have abandoned them? Have not the French, on the contrary, given you every reason to occupy yourselves wholly therewith? Have they ever induced you to commit the least act against any one? Have I not always assisted you in your necessities, and by my good counsels in all your affairs? Why have you not profited by them? You are intractable children, and with difficulty will I be able to restore your senses to you, so far have they gone astray; I can even say that you no longer possess any. Your most cruel enemy has stolen them from you.

You beg of me not to stain the lands you inhabit with blood. Why do you present me such a request? Have I occupied myself with any other thought than with that of preserving them to you; and if, through kindness to you, I had not removed your enemies from them, would they not have expelled you therefrom? Had you not lost your senses you would thank me for all I have done for you.

In fine, I retain your Belt, not to recall the subject which led you to send it to me, but because it comes from you and you still hold a place in my heart. I give you a Belt, which you will carry to your villages to let all my children know that I cease not to be their father, and that I rely on their not delaying to afford me proofs of their continuing to be my children.

Second Word.

Children. You admit that you have accepted the hatchet of the English, but that on considering the alliance made with the French from time immemorial, you have rejected it to attach yourselves, for the future, only to prudent counsels; you request me not to reproach you with any of the present affairs, and that nothing can cause you to conceal the Belt you have resumed.

By a Belt.

From all time have you received proofs of my goodness. I wish to give you, to-day, the greatest you can desire, by accepting your Belt, in the sole view of reminding you, on all

occasions, that you are unnatural children ; that you have accepted the hatchet against your father ; and that, out of pity to you, I do not subject you to the punishment your base treachery calls for.

Vain would it be for you to call to mind your alliance with the French, were I not still for you a father full of indulgence. You would have lost all the advantage that alliance has, on all occasions, procured for you the moment you renounced it by the most criminal treason ; and scarcely had you taken up the hatchet against me but my children would have devoured you, and gnawed with their teeth even unto the marrow of your bones, had I not held them back, without it being of any use to you to tell them that you had cast away that hatchet to occupy yourself no longer with any but prudent affairs.

Can you ask me not to impute to you any of the present matters ? Do you forget all you have done, and do you think that I am ignorant of it ? No, in truth you are well persuaded that I have watched your behavior, and followed you in all your trials. I have seen ; I have heard you ! Do you doubt my having in my hands the papers of General Brudock ? I have the identical Messages you have sent him ; I have, likewise, your solemn conference with Colonel Johnson. My children of the Upper country have always reported to me the Messages and Belts that you had constantly carried to them from your enemy and mine. Dispense with my saying any more to you on this point.

You say, that nothing can make you conceal the Belt you have resumed. How can I believe you ? How often have you not deceived me ? How often have I not pardoned you ? The Belt you have resumed is your usual expedient to excite my indulgence. It is not sufficient for you to keep that Belt ; you have too often tarnished it by your reiterated treasons. I wish to strengthen it by that which I give you. Join them together. Send them from village to village, from cabin to cabin, and daily repeat : We have been too unfortunate to betray the best of all fathers ; we deserved death ; he has granted us pardon.

#### Third Word.

You cover the death of the officers who have been killed at the Beautiful river, and at the portage of Lake St. Sacrament, particularly Mr de Longueuil, until, as you say, you are able to come down to cover it yourselves.

#### By a Belt.

How am I to receive your Belt ? Will it not be, with reason, as an avowal, on your part, that it is you, the Five Nations, who have killed these officers ? Will I not be justified in sending this Belt from Nation to Nation in order to excite the vengeance of all my children ? Can you reasonably suppose that I have not seen you against me with arms in your hands ? Have I not been a witness of all your actions, and would any of you be actually alive, had I not made use of all my authority to restrain my children, who, in their fury, would have slaughtered you and your wives and children, and laid waste all your lands ? Ought you not be confused at my exceeding great goodness ? I receive your Belt, but 'tis to let you see, on all occasions, that the French blood which you have unjustly shed, cries aloud for vengeance on you ; that on the first fault you will commit, you will suffer the fate you have so long deserved. I present you this Belt in order that my words may never be effaced from your memories. Repeat them every day to your old men and warriors, your wives and little ones ; let them never forget them, and let the one and the other mourn their fault and hasten, in like manner, to repair it.



In regard to the Baron de Longueuil, is it yet time to cover his death? Had your grief and regrets been sincere, would you have delayed, until now, coming to afford me proofs thereof? How often have you not heralded the announcement that you were setting out to come and bewail the Governor? Wherefore do you defer it? If you will acknowledge the truth, 'tis the Evil Spirit that hath prevented you doing so.

You could not come to see me too soon; you are, yourselves, ashamed of delaying so long. You dare not make your appearance because you admit your guilt. No matter. I will receive you, and if you give me convincing proofs that you repent of your crimes, and will avenge them on those who are, at bottom, the real authors of them, your brethren, both the domiciliated and the Upper Nations, will continue to be your brothers and friends.

But, as a good father, I must warn you, that if you should, unfortunately for yourselves, resume your infamous conduct, you will receive no more mercy, and the arms of all my children will weigh so heavy on you that they will crush you to earth without a single one of you escaping; M. de Callières' tree and treaty oblige them thereto; and, moreover, their inclination and attachment to me incline them but too strongly to do so. Reflect, seriously, on what I tell you, and employ every means to avoid experiencing the fatal effects thereof.

Remember your ancestors who had sense, and who, on all occasions, gave proofs of their good conduct; recollect, old men, the beautiful sky under which you lived in the time of my father, who loved you, as I do; listen to my voice as they listened to his, and you will enjoy the most perfect peace and tranquillity.

We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the entire of New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana,

Do certify that the present copy is conformable to the original in our Secretary's office. In testimony whereof we have signed this present, and thereunto have caused the seal of our Arms to be affixed, and the same to be countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal the 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

By my Lord: (Signed), VAUDREUIL.  
(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.

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*M. Bigot to M. de Machault.*

Quebec, 23<sup>d</sup> October, 1755.

My Lord,

A farmer placed in my hands, a few days ago, a stitched book or register, written in English, which he had found on the field of battle, after the action at Fort Duquesne. It contained nothing of interest except two Minutes of Instructions which General Braddock had given to Colonel Johnson and Colonel Shirley. I have had them translated by M. Perthuis, of the Superior Council, and have the honor to address you copies thereof hereunto annexed.

Colonel Shirley's instructions fully confirm the design of the English to seize Niagara and the entire district bordering on the South of Lake Ontario, on pretext of protecting the Five

Nations and putting them again into possession of their ancient territory, of which, the English pretend, that we have stripped them. You will remark therein, my Lord, that this Colonel is authorized to draw on the treasury of the King of England for the sums necessary for these operations, which proves that that Prince incurs the greatest portion of the expenses for the execution of the plans he has formed against Canada.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble, etc.,

BIGOT.

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*M. de Lotbiniere to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Carillon, 24<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I announced to you, last year, a continuation of the Memoir that I sent you, and at the moment I was preparing to perform my promise I have been detached to the place I am at present stationed at, and so occupied that I employ the night to detail to you whatever of the greatest interest has occurred in this country since the spring.

Last fall, as I had the honor to observe to you, the English began a fort at the foot of the Aliganai mountains, which they called Fort Cumberland. It is 110 miles from ours on the Beautiful river, according to their calculation. They have dispatched, from Europe, in the winter, two regiments of Regulars, of 500 men each, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> Braddock, who arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of February. The King had conferred on him the commission of General of all the forces of North America, and he was to superintend the operations prepared at the Court of London whilst it was amusing the Court of France with a thousand proposals of peace, so as to be in a condition the more securely to invade the country. General Braddock, on his arrival at Virginia, prepared to take the field early in April. He reserved unto himself the capture of the fort on the Ohio, and seemed to have adopted all his precautions to secure success. Notwithstanding, as he has not been seconded by the Provinces of New England, agreeably to his wishes, and had been obliged to wait an exceeding long time for wagons and other necessities which the Provinces were to supply, he could not leave Fort Cumberland before the first days of June. Our Indians had reported to us, in the winter, that the English were making great preparations; but Mons<sup>r</sup> Duquesne, to whom that intelligence was repeatedly brought, treated it as an empty boast, and said it was only a fire of straw. He, consequently, did not adopt any precautions necessary against so general a movement. In the month of June M. de Vaudreuil arrived, who was told that the government was in a marvellous condition. In the latter part of June, arrived M. Duquesne, who repeated to his successor what he had already written, and, two days after, news was received of the capture of Beausejour. M. Duquesne, who knew that his fort was menaced, had sent a reinforcement thither, totally neglecting the other quarters. The reinforcement arrived at the aforesaid point, and, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, knowing that the enemy



was no more than three leagues from Fort Duquesne, 891 men were dispatched, 250 of whom were French and the remainder Indians, under the command of M. de Beaujeu,<sup>1</sup> Captain of our troops, who found himself in front of the enemy at 11 o'clock of the forenoon. He attacked them with great vigor, and after a contest of 5 hours, our detachment succeeded in totally routing a van-guard of 13 hundred and some men, exclusive of wagoners, under General Braddock, whose rear-guard of 700 men was about eight leagues distant, and not attacked. That van-guard included Halket's<sup>2</sup> regiment, raised to 700 men since its arrival in Virginia; 3 independent companies of 100 men each; the rest, Provincials. 600 remained dead on the field; a very great number wounded—since dead, by the returns. The General himself was wounded on the occasion, and died some leagues from the field of battle.

In a word, of these 1300 men, only about 300 returned; of these, 11 were officers, out of more than 150, their original number. We lost only the Commandant and two other Officers, 30 and some Canadians and Indians, and nearly about the same number of wounded. The entire of the enemy's artillery, his carriages and all his equipments remained on the field of battle, and caused such a considerable booty, that it stopped our troops. General Braddock's papers were found, containing the King's Instructions to him, written with reserve, and which were more amplified by a despatch of Colonel Napier,<sup>3</sup> Adjutant-General, written by order of the Duke of Cumberland, to serve as a guide in all his operations, whereby it appeared that General Braddock had orders from the Court of London to prepare, 1<sup>st</sup>, material for the reduction of the fort on the Ohio; 2<sup>nd</sup>, for the reduction of Niagara, under the command of Colonel Shirley, Governor of Boston; 3<sup>d</sup>, of Fort St. Frederic, under Colonel Johnson's orders; 4<sup>th</sup>, for the capture of Beausejour, which was proposed by Colonel L'auarence, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia. It was ascertained by General Braddock's letters to the Minister, that he was marching at the head of 2000 men for the Ohio; that he had designed Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, of 1000 men each, for Niagara, and that 4400 Provincials were to attack Fort St. Frederic; that when the fort on the Ohio would be taken, General Braddock was to unite his forces with those of Choüaguen, where we were to be attacked by a body of 4 thousand 3 or 4 hundred men.

The battalions of Guienne and Béarn accordingly defiled complete for Fort Frontenac, our general rendezvous; those of La Reine and Languedoc, each of which lacked 4 companies that were captured by the English on board *le Lys* at the entrance of the Gulf, marched also for the place of rendezvous; but as we learned, at the same time, by some of our scouts, that the English were cutting roads to attack Fort St. Frederic, the two latter regiments were countermanded before they reached La Présentation and were ordered to Fort St. Frederic. 200 of our troops, 1700 to 1800 Canadians, and 6 to 700 Indians were adjoined to them, carrying that army up to about 3 thousand 3 hundred men, under the command of M. de Dieskau, Brigadier-General, who had come to command the troops which had been sent out to us this year.

The General dispatched divers scouts, the 1<sup>st</sup> of which did not succeed. Finally, one of them informed him that the English had attempted two roads, one by Wood creek, the other by Lake St. Sacrament. *These two routes terminate, by water, at Carillon, where I am at present, and which is 5 leagues south of Fort St. Frederic.* He notified M. de Vaudreuil of the circumstance,

<sup>1</sup> DANIEL LIÉNARD DE BEAUJEU, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, was a Captain of the troops of the Marine. He was proprietor of a Seignior on the River Chambly. — ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, VI., 915.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 312, note,



and informed him that he designed dividing his army in 2, in order to attack by both routes. M. de Vaudreuil wrote him that it would be much better to unite all his forces and thereby profit by the advantage the enemy were giving us by dividing their troops, whom we could, thereby, hope to defeat in detail, as we should be more numerous at either of the two places they might present themselves. This did not prevent him marching a few days after to attack a fort only 6 leagues from Lake St. Sacrament, on the ground that the defence of that fort was weakened by sending back 600 men in consequence of sickness, and the fatigue they endured in cutting roads from their new fort to Lake St. Sacrament. He thought, or appeared to be under the impression, that all the English army had been dismissed, leaving only the guard of Fort Lydius. He formed a detachment of 1500; 200 Regulars and the remainder Canadians and Indians, and took the route by land to attack them. Within 1 league of the fort he captured a courier whom Johnson had detached with word to the Commander of the fort that he was about to be attacked; to be careful to bury his guns which were without the inclosure, and prepare, with his men, for a brave defence. He learned from others that Johnson was at Lake St. Sacrament with about 3000 men, including 400 Indians of the 5 Nations, and proceeded to attack that body of troops. The Indians, 'tis true, preferred this attack to that of the fort. He pushed his men briskly forward, who began already to be much fatigued, and at  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a league from the English camp encountered a sortie of 4 or 500 men, who were overthrown in an instant, with considerable loss.

M. de Dieskau, thinking that he could enter, pell-mell, with the fugitives, followed close on their heels, and found himself under the fire of the intrenchment before he was aware of it. He was treated to so continuous a volley of musketry that his troops could not proceed any farther. He threw himself on the left, where the Canadians were stationed, to make an attack on that side; but being quite close to the enemy, was struck by a ball in the bone of the leg, which prevented him going any farther, and as he persisted in remaining on the same spot, he received a 2<sup>nd</sup> ball in the knees which broke them both; an attempt was made to remove him, but he opposed it; two Canadians were brought to him, one of whom was killed outright; the other, who wanted to carry him on his back, was not accepted; several others were sent to him for the same purpose, but they succeeded no better in persuading him; our detachment remained sometime longer, and seeing that it was idle to think of carrying that post, retired after having lost more than 130 men, and a greater number of wounded.

The intrenchment consisted of bateaux turned upside down and of wagons; in a word, it announced men who had been advised, but a short time previously, of our march.

That defeat somewhat discouraged our Canadians and Indians, who seldom approve being thus exposed without any hope of success, whilst, had he taken all his men with him; had he, even with the force he had, contented himself with occupying the road communicating between Lydius and Lake St. Sacrament, the distance between them being 6 leagues, he would have certainly obliged the enemy, who were as yet without provisions at their new camp, to come out, when he might have attacked them more advantageously; but it must be acknowledged that he felt very jealous of the action on the Beautiful river, and was anxious to efface it by something more brilliant.

M. de Vaudreuil, who saw this frontier more exposed than ever, detached me to erect a fort beyond that of St. Frederic, whereby the enemy might be stopped in the next campaign. For that purpose I have selected the site of Carillon, which is at the junction of the waters of the



Two Rocks<sup>1</sup> with the outlet of Lake St. Sacrament. The 2 Rocks is a very advantageous outpost to this one, as I am informed. It receives the waters of the Wood creek of the South Bay and of the Drowned Lands, whereby the enemy could approach with more difficulty than by Lake St. Sacrament.

The battalions of Guienne and of Béarn have remained at Fort Frontenac to keep the English of Chouaguen in check, and M. de Vaudreuil has sent [that of] Guienne to Niagara, with orders, I believe, to fortify that place.

If I can succeed in erecting at Carillon the fort I have projected, we shall be able to stop the enemy in the next campaign. I commenced it too late to expect to finish it this year. I shall continue to prepare everything, so as to place myself in a position to finish it next spring; we are within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league of the little portage of Lake St. Sacrament, and if men are kept here, advantage can be taken of a league of a defile, where we should have greatly the advantage of the enemy.

We are under tents (*la toile*), which is rather severe for the season in this country. I alone am replacing the three Engineers sent us this year. They were infinitely better paid than I am, and I hope, my Lord, that you will be pleased to feel for my interests. I flatter myself that the Court will grant me my promotion and a better salary than the one I have. My pay is 600*l.* and no more. I'm urged to conclude, and the opportunity leaves this instant. Had I had a little time, I might have endeavored to connect better the facts I have detailed, and would not be obliged to send you a letter so full of erasures and so illegible. I am persuaded that the interest you take in the country would induce you to overlook all these things, provided you were informed of all that occurs.

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Camp at Carillon, 24<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1755. LOBINIERE.

Should the enemy attack us by sea, and on all the sides he has began to do this year, I do not well know how we shall be able to extricate ourselves, which circumstance demands considerable attention on the part of the Court. He is strengthening Chouaguen.

The battle of Lake St. Sacrament was fought on the 8<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>.

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*Commissary Doreil to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 28<sup>th</sup> October, 1755.

My Lord,

After having rendered you separately as detailed an account as my limited time permitted me, of the department of the service you have confided to me, I proceed to have the honor of informing you in cipher, of some particular matters you have referred to me. I am obliged to

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 320. — Ed.

do so succinctly and briefly, as I am unable to embrace so many objects at once. I shall speak to you, my Lord, with the most exact truth; my zeal and duty oblige me thereto. I proceed, and particularly with what concerns M. de Dieskaw.

He is charged, my Lord, with being too ardent, and even too rash. Yet, 'tis admitted that it is difficult to excuse those who did not have him removed when they were retiring. These object that he would not consent [to be removed] in such a case a General should have been removed, even though he were dying [in preference to leaving him] to perish absolutely, because he witnessed the failure of his enterprise, and he ought to have been taken off dead or alive, so as not to leave so glorious a trophy in the hands of the enemy. I pity him with all my heart, because I am persuaded that his intentions were good, and am certain he has been deceived. But I avow that I had a secret presentiment that misfortune would overtake him, because I knew him to be too great a stickler for the dangerous principle that intrepidity alone can accomplish the most difficult things. M. de Vaudreuil says, publicly, that he had expressly forbidden him in the orders and instructions with which he was furnished, to run any risk, and particularly not to divide his forces.

He had taken 3500 men with him; of these, 1000 were Regulars, the remainder Canadians. The Indians have reported that, on being told by an English prisoner that the enemy, who was said at first to be marching against Fort St. Frederic, had divided their forces, he marched with 1500 men, 200 of whom only were detachments from the battalions of La Reine and that of Languedoc, and 1200 Provincials; and, after four days' march, he was much surprised to find a corps of about 3000 men encamped and intrenched near Lake St. Sacrament, which he determined on the spot to attack, without even giving time to all the Indians and Canadians to arrive, who, on the way, had just destroyed or dispersed about 400 men that were going, on learning our march, to reinforce Fort Lydius, on the River of Orange, against which they supposed M. de Dieskaw had a design.

Such, my Lord, in general, is what is imputed to him. I think that a good deal would have to be deducted were he to reappear. For his justification it is, however, added, that, had he not placed all his confidence in a Colonial officer of artillery named M. le Mercier, whose advice alone he received, he would not have divided his forces, and the affair would not have turned out so bad. I lament all I hear because I was necessarily so much attached to M. de Dieskaw. As he was not accompanied by either the Commandant of the battalion of La Reine, or the Commander of that of Languedoc, having left these corps behind, Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General, assumed the command when M. de Dieskaw was put *hors de combat*, and conducted the retreat. It has, as yet, been impossible to ascertain, precisely, whether M. de Dieskaw has been massacred by the hostile Indians, which is greatly to be feared, or whether he is a prisoner among the English. Both are reported, but it would not be prudent to decide in this regard. I have considered it my duty, my Lord, to inform you of these details. I beg you to keep my letter secret.

Since the occurrence of the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, the four battalions are under the orders of M. de Roquemaure, commanding the battalion of Guyenne. M. de St. Julien, Commandant of the battalion of Artois and of the two battalions which are serving at Isle Royale, is his senior.

It is very essential, my Lord, that, to replace M. de Dieskaw, you should have a chief selected whose prudence is as unquestionable as the other qualities necessary to a General. M. de Vaudreuil doubtless applies to M. Machault for one; but though he should omit doing



so, it would not be less an absolute necessity; the situation of this Colony is critical in all respects; it requires prompt and powerful assistance. I dare even assert that if some one be not sent, it runs the greatest risks next year, for there is no doubt the English will make the greatest efforts to invade the country, and that we shall be attacked next spring. The troops are in the best disposition; they sustain, with unlimited constancy and zeal, the fatigues and difficulties to which they have been incessantly exposed since their arrival; but their number is so small, and the extent of country to be guarded so great, that they cannot suffice. I regard, then, as certain, my Lord, that the King will send some reinforcements next year. In that case permit me one observation, whereupon I have conferred with M. de Vaudreuil who agrees with me in opinion. Among the number of battalions that you will order over, I think it would be well to send one Irish battalion, the rather as it would possess all the necessary resources to recruit itself. I must remark here, my Lord, that, counting from next spring, you may calculate on the diminution of the amount of one battalion out of the four here, regard being had to the loss of the eight companies captured on board *le Lys*.

It will be, likewise, necessary, my Lord, to order out the same number of Engineers that you had sent, and were taken on board *l'Alcide*. They are urgently required. In this Colony there are only some Naval Engineers, who are unable to attack or defend places, and their Chief is so old that he can no longer march; but when sending those Engineers, the Bureau of the Marine must not again commit the mistake of putting them all on board the same ship.

There are three officers here called officers of artillery, of whom M. le Mercier is chief. I have already spoken to you of him; the other two are Mess<sup>rs</sup> Jacob and de Lusignan; and one company of gunners and bombardiers, but according to the advice I have received from the officers of our battalions, all this is merely in name, and it appears to me of vast importance that some officers of artillery should be sent out; for where would we be, for example, should the English make sufficiently great efforts to realize their projects of attacking Quebec by sea, whilst penetrating overland to Montreal and throughout the interior of the Colony, which might be the case next year. The fortifications of both these places excite pity. The forts of the Colony—beginning with Fort Duquesne, so vaunted that it has given rise to the present war—are miserable *bicoques*,<sup>1</sup> fit only to bring dishonor down on all who will command them. A house surrounded by a little ditch, with stockades or palisades 7 or 8 feet over the ground but in such a bad state that most of them fall through rottenness, composes what is styled Fort Niagara. The same is the case with almost all the rest. This excites grief in the minds of the honest servants of the King, who are aware what extravagant sums it has cost him. I have no fear, my Lord, of pushing observations too far with so respectable a Minister, my attachment to whom I shall ever esteem as my greatest glory. Although I have naught in view save the good of the King's service and the honor of his arms, I shall carefully refrain from making any similar observations to M. de Machault.

Permit me, my Lord, to remind you, in this secret despatch, of the account I render you exclusively of the battalions of Artois and Burgundy, which are, in truth, to be pitied in every point of view, and would be more so did I not effect impossibilities to relieve them, by incessantly befriending them with the Intendant. M. Prévost, Commissary of Marine,

<sup>1</sup> A term signifying an ill fortified place. It is derived from a locality between Lodi and Milan, which was originally a gentleman's country house surrounded by ditches. In the year 1522, a body of imperial troops were stationed in it and stood the attack of the whole French army. This engagement was called the battle of *Bicoque*. *James' Military Dictionary*. — Ed.



Superintendent of Finance in Ile Royale, quite disdains the commission of Commissary of the war department which you have had sent him. He has explained himself on the subject in his letters to M. Bigot, who spoke to me on the matter whilst blaming him. He has pretended that a clerk in the Marine ought to perform all the duties thereof, and would insist that the troops should pass in review before such clerk, to whom it was also required that the Parole should be communicated by a Sergeant of the circle.<sup>1</sup> Though all these pretensions have been provided for by the Intendant, who, at my request, has sent him orders to terminate them, I am warranted in believing that he will persist, for you perceive, my Lord, by a letter from M. St. Julien to M. de Dieskaw and to myself, that notwithstanding precise orders issued by M. Bigot, he has continued, among other matters, to refuse the troops things the most just, affirming that he should await the orders of the Court. My despatches on the special letter respecting Ile Royale contain the fullest details, to which I beg you, my Lord, for the good of the troops, to be pleased to pay attention. This M. Prevost, whom I do not know, has the reputation of being a stingy, difficult and self-sufficient man. He it was who lived on such bad terms with Major-General de Raymond, formerly Governor of Ile Royale, and who, it is said, has been the cause of the latter's recall.<sup>2</sup> However that be, my Lord, I, individually, request you to consider how indecent it would be, and how mortifying for the troops and Commissaries of war, that a clerk of the Marine should perform our duties. Moreover, I am acquainted with the person in question. He is of Toulon. I infer, from the manner M. de Prévost speaks in public and has written to me of this man, that he will apply to M. de Machault to be sent as Commissary of War next spring. 'Tis very necessary, my Lord, for the good of the troops and the service, that you give them satisfaction, and that the Commissary whom you will send out, have orders to correspond with me.

I have had the honor to inform you in my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> instant, by the frigate *la Fidèle*, that M. de Vaudreuil intended stationing 200 men near the Guyenne battalion this winter at Niagara, 150 of the Béarn battalion at Frontenac, 50 of La Reine and 50 of the Languedoc battalion at St. Frederic. In communicating his plan to me, he told me that he wished to have some companies remain; I submitted to him the inconvenience of it, requesting him to make these detachments up by pickets, as was the custom in France. He granted my request. That brought forth an explanation respecting the Commandants of the forts, from which I discovered that, by the arrangements of the Marine and his own, officers belonging to our troops are not to pretend to such appointments, at least for this year; it is a great hardship for them, my Lord, the rather as, were it not for me, there would have been in the detachments seniors to those of the Marine, to whose orders they are to be subject. To spare them such mortification, I have proposed to M. de Vaudreuil to have the officers of the pickets who remain detached, taken from the juniors (*par la queue*). He consented, and I shall see it

<sup>1</sup> Circle was a form observed under the old government of France, by which it was directed that every evening, at a specific hour, the Sergeants and Corporals of a brigade should assemble to receive orders; the former standing in front of the latter. *James' Military Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Pichon, Secretary to Count Raymond, has given the following sketch of Commissary Prévost: "The Ordonnateur who remains in the Colony has, so to speak, grown grey in the harness. He has come quite young to the country. He even has reared the Creole whom he has married. Many say, that he understands, perfectly, the advantages and interests of this Colony; some, and especially his adversaries, have pretended that he understands, still more thoroughly, his own; that he favors only his relations and friends; that, through unjust preferences, he discourages settlers and thereby prevents the progress of the place. This Commandant reproached him, moreover, with his low origin, his first employment as clerk of the Marine, and the mediocrity of his talents for whatever does not regard himself personally. But he who was casting these reproaches is not, himself, entirely exempt from them." *Lettres, &c., pour servir à l'histoire du Cap Breton*, p. 149. — Ed.



executed. I am aware, my Lord, that this is contrary to the usual rule of the infantry service but you see my motive. I am already certain that it will be agreeable to the officers of our battalions, whom I save from the disagreeableness of being perhaps under the orders of juniors. Another advantage also results herefrom, which is, that the younger officers are better able to bear the hardships of the forts during the winter than those of a certain age, and before the return of the latter comes, I hope, my Lord, either that you will have issued contrary orders, or that we shall have returned to France. There is so little accommodation in the forts, that half the officers and all the soldiers are in huts. This is sorry repose for troops who have not enjoyed a single moment's rest since January. They bear their hardships and fatigues without a murmur, but they have great need of my watching over them. I shall not neglect to do so. Fortunately, I can flatter myself with being agreeable to M. de Vaudreuil and on the best terms with him. I have been careful to cultivate his good opinion, and have endeavored to gain his confidence during our voyage. I shall pay attention to keeping near him principally until the arrival of the Commandant, who will be destined for us. I shall, consequently, pass the winter here.

M. de Dieskaw has doubtless demanded some favors from you for the battalions, which, I dare assure you, deserve that you should deviate somewhat in their favor from the general rule, as regards the Crosses especially. I am persuaded that M. de Vaudreuil will write to you on the subject. I do so in virtue of my office, and consider it a duty. Among the Adjutants, M. de la Pause, of the Guyenne battalion, and M. de Malartis, of Béarn, deserve the highest eulogiums. There is no vacancy except that of M. de la Fursoniere, Lieutenant in the Languedoc battalion, who has been killed in the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>. As I have not seen that battalion since, I am ignorant who will be proposed to succeed him. There is in that battalion a young gentleman named M. de Courcy d'Herculles, well known to Marshal de Maillebois,<sup>1</sup> whom I have placed there as a volunteer on his recommendation, since our arrival in the Colony. I had requested M. de Dieskaw to propose him for the first vacancy. In my last letter, concerning the battalions of Artois and the Burgundy, I had the honor to mention to you M. de la Tour, first Service-Captain (*factionnaire*)<sup>2</sup> of the Artois battalion, who proceeds to France; Sub-lieutenant Delpreil, of the grenadiers of the Burgundy battalion, who died of small-pox on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, and Captain d'Aligny, of the battalion of Artois, whose resignation I transmit.

Captain de St. Vincent, of the battalion of Guyenne, has just written to M. de Vaudreuil, to explain to him that delicacy of feeling alone determined him to embark; and, having long suffered from very bad health, it has become so much worse, that he can remain in Canada only until the fall of next year. M. de Vaudreuil having given me communication of this letter, I told him, as I assure you, my Lord, that this officer is, in fact, in a dangerous condition.

<sup>1</sup> JEAN BAPTISTE FRANÇOIS DESMARETS, Marquis de Maillebois, son of Nicolas Desmarets, Comptroller-General of France, and grandson of the great Colbert, was born in Paris in 1682; became Colonel of the regiment of Touraine in 1702; was afterwards employed in Flanders, and, having distinguished himself at the siege of Lille, in 1708, was promoted to the rank of Major-General. He was created Lieutenant-General in 1731; commanded a division of the army in Italy in 1733, and at the peace, was appointed Governor of Dauphiné; in 1739 was sent to Corsica, which he subdued in three weeks; was created Marshal in 1741; next served in Germany; thence went to Italy, where he defeated the Austrians and Piedmontese on the banks of the Po, in October, 1745, but was afterwards forced to retreat, with serious loss. In 1748 he was named Governor of Alsace, and died in Paris, 7th February, 1762. A history of his campaigns has been published, Paris, 1775, 3 vols. 4to, with Atlas. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Premier Capitaine factionnaire* implied that the officer so called was the fourth Captain of a battalion; as the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major and the Captain of grenadiers did not mount the ordinary guards. *James*.



I had him under my eye one year continuously, in 1750, when his regiment was in garrison in Toulon. He had then a pulmonary attack, and was reduced to a milk diet.

I know that Captain d'Aubrespy, of the Béarn battalion, is to submit to you the reasons for his returning to France, which he left purely from motives of delicacy. M. de Cremille was struck by, and admired his conduct on that occasion. You are in a position, my Lord, to call on him for a report on the subject. Both these officers are exposed to passing a sorry winter at Niagara and Frontenac. It were desirable that they and the others had been longer in ignorance of the danger to be encountered in returning to France, even by permission; some persons have been so indiscreet as to inform them of it on arriving in the Colony.

M. de Dieskaw proposed to lay before you some difficulties in regard to the military honors usually rendered in this Colony, without being authorized by any ordinance, viz: For the Governor-General, the honors of a Marshal of France; for the Intendant, those of a Lieutenant-General; for a Commodore, the same; a Captain of a ship requires guards to turn out (*se mettre en haie*). Our troops are obliged to comply, notwithstanding the provisions of the ordinance of 7<sup>th</sup> of June, 1750; they have expressed their objections to me against it, but must obey. Something worse even than that happened. On the first day of our landing, there died a Lieutenant of a ship, who ranks only with a Captain of Infantry. As such, M. de Dieskaw commanded that an escort of 50 men should accompany the corpse. The gentlemen of the Navy would insist on 80 men, under pretext that they are in the habit of furnishing them in their ports, which is true, and they refused the 50 men who were sent back, and the burial took place without any honors. M. de Vaudreuil did not wish on this occasion to offer the remotest slight to the Navy. The service has been very badly performed; everything was confounded and in confusion; very little experience therein; it goes somewhat better. I flatter myself that I have contributed somewhat thereto. I have succeeded as regards the department of Hospitals, which specially concerns me, in establishing the military and police discipline, to which I pay exact attention.

I would treat here of other matters very essential to the King's interests, but, independent of being foreign to my duties and the details of war, they are so monstrous that they would appear incredible, unless in a volume. I confine myself to carefully seeing that our troops be furnished with what they are entitled to, and to conciliating all, so as to maintain that complete harmony which ought to prevail, and you have so strictly enjoined, though it is no easy matter, and much of my own must be put into it. I can assure you, my Lord, that I have succeeded so far, that everything goes on with regularity. Nothing is issued except on my written orders or requisition, and as I take care not to give any lightly, there is no more difficulty. This adds to my labors; but it is cheerfully done for the maintenance of order and good understanding. The same rule is observed in regard to the public chest. I write a note containing the reason therefor (*motivé*), wherein I request M. Bigot to pay such an amount for such an article; he annexes his check at foot, and the treasurer pays the amount, so that the staff officers apply to me for whatever they want. M. Bigot does not meddle in any manner with military matters; to these as well as to what appertains to hospitals, I attend *en chef*. I have no reason to complain of him, and hope he has no cause to complain of me. I give him whatever is his due, and he reciprocates by acts of politeness and attention.

Permit me, on this occasion, to represent to you, my Lord, that he and the entire corps of Marine and Regulars believe, that I hold a commission of *ordonnateur*, and so style me, persuaded that such favor has been the fruit of all the sacrifices I, in expatriating myself, have submitted to



in common with all who compose our staff. I acknowledge to you, my Lord, that this is an impression, the correction of which would be too painful to my self-esteem; I dare even say that by making it, I would have lessened the opinion entertained of the prerogatives of my position, and injuriously affected the advantages the troops derive from that favorable opinion, which I endeavor to confirm by decency of demeanor. You are too just, my Lord, to disapprove of my conduct and to refuse me any longer a favor which will flatter me the more, as I shall be indebted for it to your goodness. I dare not say that it is merited; yet, I am at the end of the sixth year of a laborious and unceasing service. I have abandoned my affairs, children in the cradle, compromised my health, exposed my life, and am overwhelmed by the burden of work and the duties imposed upon me by the office you have confided to me and the importance of which I appreciate, so far as to flatter myself with filling it well or dying under the load. I am about giving you, my Lord, a new proof of zeal and of my attachment to the King's interests, in order to have the more merit in your estimation. You did intend to give me a deputy for Canada. I have been deprived of that assistance hitherto, and in the most critical time. I have, notwithstanding, met all engagements, and my health is no worse. I feel disposed to dispense with a deputy for another year, and to save the King that expense. You can therefore forego sending me one here, my Lord, even though additional troops come out. It is absolutely necessary that you be so good as to send one to Ile Royale.

There remains one matter deserving particular mention. That is, the loss I suffered on board *l'Alcide* of my best and most valuable effects, in consequence of my not being allowed to put them on board *l'Entreprenant*, in which I came. I have had the honor, my Lord, to submit the details of my misfortune to you in my letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> of July last. I am fully persuaded that you will be pleased to procure for me an indemnity proportionate to the value of that loss which has crushed me.

I forgot, my Lord, to bear witness that none of our soldiers has as yet exposed himself to be tried by Court Martial.

I ought to have corrected certain things which slipped into my other despatches, but I was prevented by want of time. I am even obliged to omit much that remains yet to be mentioned.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DORIEL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1755.

My Lord,

I have the honor to send you hereunto annexed:

1<sup>st</sup> The return of the officers and soldiers of the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, who have been killed or wounded in the Baron de Dieskau's campaign at the Lake St. Sacrament Carrying place.

2<sup>d</sup> The return of the number of officers and soldiers in this Colony belonging to the battalions of La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne and Béarn.

You are aware, my Lord, that ten officers and 155 soldiers belonging to the battalion of La Reine were taken on board the King's ships *l'Alcide* and *le Lys*, with a like number of officers and soldiers of the Languedoc battalion, which reduces these two, 330 men.

The battalions at Louisbourg appear complete, according to the return sent me of them; that of Artois is 31 officers and 489 soldiers, and that of Burgundy 31 officers and 491 soldiers.

3<sup>d</sup> 4 statements of services which have been sent to me by M. de Rocquemaure, commanding the battalion of La Reine, in order to procure the Cross of St. Louis for Captains d'Hebecourt, d'Hert, Germain and Delmas.

4<sup>th</sup> Three other statements of services addressed to me by M. Prival, Commandant of the Languedoc battalion, to procure the Cross of St. Louis for Captains Chevalier de Marillac, de Basserode, Chevalier Renepont, and a fourth statement of the services of Lieutenant Palfouren, commanding the new company of grenadiers, with a view to procure for him a Captain's commission.

5<sup>th</sup> Statements of service sent me by M. Hurault de L'hospital, Commandant of the Béarn battalion, to procure Crosses of St. Louis for Captain de Trepezee, and M. de Rosmordue, a seconded Captain.

I could not do otherwise, my Lord, than let the commanders of these three battalions be the judges of the favors they demand for their officers, with whom I am not particularly acquainted. Therefore, I cannot have the honor of mentioning anything to you from myself respecting them. Yet, I must bear the fullest testimony as to the zeal of the commandants, officers and soldiers of those four battalions; they have given me proofs thereof in the different movements I have been obliged to order them to make, to keep the enemy in check.

I must, my Lord, have the honor to represent to you that it is not necessary to have a general officer at the head of these four battalions; they can be disciplined and exercised without that. War in this country is very different from the wars in Europe. We are obliged to act with great circumspection, so as not to leave anything to chance; we have few men, and however small the number we may lose, we feel its effects. However brave the commander of those troops may be, he could not be acquainted with the country; nor, perhaps, be willing to receive the advice subalterns may offer; would rely on himself or on ill enlightened counsels, and would not succeed, though he should sacrifice himself. I found my representations on the result of M. de Dieskau's campaign. Besides, I must not conceal from you, my Lord, that the Canadians and Indians would not march with the same confidence under the orders of a commander of the troops from France that they would under the officers of this Colony. I flatter myself that you will approve my representations, the object of which is the good of the service and of this country.

Captain de St. Vincent, of the Guyenne regiment, has applied to me for permission to go to France next year, in consequence of ill health. I shall conform to the King's order in this regard.

I inform Count d'Argenson of Chevalier de Montreuil's reception into the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, and in consequence of the letter with which he had honored me, address him my certificate thereof. Permit, my Lord, that I inclose here under a flying seal, the letter I have written, and which I request you to have the goodness to have forwarded to him, if you approve of it.

I am, with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,  
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.



*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 1755.

My Lord,

Though I have been much occupied in making suitable arrangements to oppose the progress of the English, I have, nevertheless, given my attention to everything that regards the Nations of the Upper country. I have seriously examined the reports rendered by the Commandants of the respective posts, and have, moreover, taken every possible information so as not to be ignorant of anything. 'Tis certain, my Lord, that the Upper countries, generally, have been much neglected in every respect; the Indian Nations are mostly at war among themselves. I have even discovered that several of those Nations had received Belts and Messages on the behalf of the English. I have sent suitable orders to each post for the establishment of good order and good police therein. I have provided, also, for everything that could secure us the fidelity of the Nations without occasioning any expense to the King. I have been informed that they were impatiently expecting my arrival. The chiefs of the Outaouas, Wild Rice, Sacs and Foxes have expressed to me the pleasure they felt at seeing me; they have informed me that the most distant Nations would feel equal pleasure to theirs, and wished to take the trouble of going to tell them that they had seen me, in order to convince them that the English boasted prematurely that they would capture me at sea and that I should never reach this Colony. I flatter myself that I shall see, next year, some chiefs from all the Nations, and that I shall succeed in rendering their attachment towards the French inviolable.

I doubt not, my Lord, but you have been informed of the excellence of the Detroit lands. That post is considerable, well peopled, but three times more families than it possesses at present could be easily located there. The misfortune is that we have not enough of people in the Colony. I shall make arrangements to favor the settlement of two Sisters of the Congregation at that post to educate the children without costing the King a penny.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 31<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

I can, with all safety, have the honor of reporting to you that I have, fortunately, succeeded in arresting the progress of the English in all their projects.

M<sup>r</sup> de Dieskau's campaign, though not as successful as I ought to expect, has, nevertheless, intimidated the English who were advancing, in considerable force, to attack Fort St Frederic, which could not resist them; they would not have experienced any difficulties afterwards in proceeding farther, and it would have required great efforts on our part to stop them.

The English have had, constantly, at Chouaguin, an army of 3000 men under the command of Governor Shirley, well provided with artillery, for the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontenac, but the camps of observation that I have maintained at each of the forts have kept them in check and obliged them to be on their guard through fear, lest, whilst they would be on their way to attack one of these forts, the Regulars, Canadians and Indians on the other side, would immediately pounce on Chouaguin. I just learn that their army was retiring, and that they were leaving only a strong garrison at that place.

We could not hope for anything more fortunate, my Lord; I have stopped the enemy, who, had it not been for the prudent measures I have adopted, would be at present in the possession of Niagara, and consequently of all our posts in the Upper country.

I am, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 31<sup>st</sup> S<sup>bre</sup>, 1755.

My Lord,

The attention I have paid to discover the sentiments of the Five Nations has been crowned with all the success I could possibly expect from it.

Deputies from the Five Nations came to La Présentation, but as they dared not appear before me, they empowered some chiefs of that Nation to bring their Message to me, whereby they announce that, with a view to occupy themselves for the future only with good business, they have rejected the hatchet which they had accepted from the English, and that they will remain neutral in our war with the English. I had no doubt of their being spies; I have, nevertheless, answered their Message; I reproached them for their treason and warned them that, should they continue to mix themselves up with the English, I shall abandon them to the vengeance of the Upper Nations and of those domiciliated among us who have taken up the hatchet against them.

M. Joncaire arrived yesterday with a Seneca chief and ten influential Indians belonging to that Nation.

He at once reported to me that the Indians of the Five Nations had, in general, assured him of their neutrality, and that I could reckon, with certainty, on that of the Cayugas, of the Senecas of the River Cascochagon,<sup>1</sup> the Oneidas and Theskaroriens, the news of my arrival having made them really forget their engagements to the English; but as regards the Nontagués, we could not confide in their promises, as they are intimately connected with the English.

The Cayugas had given two Belts to Sieur Joncaire, as well on the part of themselves as on that of the Oneidas and Theskaroriens, to persuade me of the perfect sincerity of their sentiments; and as I had given orders to M. Chabert de Joncaire to leave Niagara on the

<sup>1</sup> Genesee river. See IX, 1092, note. — Ed.



arrival of his brother, so as to proceed to the Five Nations to prosecute what he had commenced, M. de Joncaire handed over to him those two Belts to enable him to urge the Nontagués to follow the example of the Cayugas, Senecas, Oneidas and Theskarorins, I am fully persuaded that Sieur Chabert will leave nothing undone for the success of his Mission, but I am always in doubt whether he can change the Nontagués.

The Seneca chief and the ten principal Indians, who came down with Sieur de Joncaire, have expressed to me their joy at seeing me again; they have informed me of everything the English had reported respecting my detention in England and that I should never make my appearance in the Colony, adding, that the Englishman was an impostor; and the chief, who was decorated with a medal of the King of England, said to me :

“ Father. I am a wretch ; I had forgotten you and allowed myself to be seduced by the English ; be persuaded that your absence has been the sole occasion of the inconstancy of the Five Nations, and since the Master of Life grants to our prayers a Father whom we cherish, and who restores *Grand brûlé*, a village which can never be blotted from our memories, I forget that there are any English on the earth, and to give you proof that I despise them and look on them as dogs, see, I tear off the medal of the King of England which hangs from my neck, and trample it under foot. I ask of you no marks of distinction from the great Onontio Goa ; I have rendered myself unworthy of them by my misconduct, which I cannot repair save by sacrificing myself as a proof to you of my loyalty.”

I answered this speech in suitable terms, and seized the opportunity to complain of the ingratitude and treason of the Five Nations.

I sent back this chief to express my resentment throughout all the villages of the Five Nations, and to warn them that, unless they altered their conduct, my Upper country and domiciliated children will wage a never ending war against them.

I shall send up Sieur de Joncaire on the ice to the Five Nations, not only to maintain them in their neutrality but even to get them to declare against the English, if possible.

Actual circumstances oppose the desire I might feel to punish the Five Nations for their treason.

The English afford me sufficient occupation to drive from my mind every other subject of war.

But should any of the Five Nations be found next spring among the English, I will let loose all our Upper and domiciliated Nations on them ; cause their villages to be laid waste and never pardon them. 'Tis to be wished that I may not be driven to this necessity.

I am, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Louis XV. to George II.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

The King is able to demonstrate to the whole universe by authentic proofs, that it is not owing to his Majesty that the differences relating to America have not been amicably accommodated.

The King, being most sincerely desirous to maintain the public peace and a good understanding with his Britannic Majesty, carried on the negotiation relative to that subject, with the most unreserved confidence and good faith.

The assurances of the King of Great Britain's disposition to peace, which his Britannic Majesty and his ministers were constantly repeating both by word of mouth and in writing, were so formal and precise, that the King could not, without reproaching himself, entertain the least suspicion of the sincerity of the Court of London's intentions.

It is scarce possible to conceive how these assurances can be reconciled with the orders for hostilities given in November, 1754, to General Braddock, and in April, 1755, to Admiral Boscawen.

The attack and capture in July last, of two of the King's ships in the open sea, and without a declaration of war, was a public insult to his Majesty's flag; and his Majesty would have immediately manifested his just resentment of such an irregular and violent proceeding, if he could have imagined that Admiral Boscawen acted by the order of his Court.

For the same reason the King suspended, at first, his judgment of the piracies that have been committed for several months by the English men of war, on the navigation and commerce of his Majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, the usages established among civilized nations and the regard they reciprocally owe one another.

The sentiments of his Britannic Majesty gave the King room to expect that, at his return to London, he would disavow the conduct of his Admirals and Naval officers, and give his Majesty a satisfaction proportionate to the injury and the damage.

But, seeing that the King of England, instead of punishing the robberies committed by the English navy, on the contrary, encourages them by demanding from his subjects fresh supplies against France, his Majesty would fall far short in what he owes to his own glory, the dignity of his crown and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding from the King of Great Britain a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag and the damage inflicted on the King's subjects.

His Majesty considers it his duty to apply directly to his Britannic Majesty and demand from him immediate and full restitution for the French ships, as well men of war as merchantmen, which, contrary to all law and decorum, have been taken by the English navy; and of all the officers, mariners, guns, stores, merchandise and generally of everything belonging to those vessels.

The King will always prefer to owe to the King of England's equity, rather than to anything else, that satisfaction which he hath a right to demand; and all the Powers will doubtless see in this step which he hath determined to take, a new and striking proof of that invariable love of peace, which directs his counsels and resolutions.

[If his Britannic Majesty order restitution of the vessels in question,<sup>1</sup>] the King will be disposed to enter into a negotiation for that further satisfaction which is legally due to him, and will continue desirous, as he hath always been, to have the discussions relating to America determined by an equitable and solid accommodation.

But if, contrary to all hopes, the King of England shall refuse what the King demands, his Majesty will regard this denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the Court of London to disturb the peace of Europe.

Versailles, 21<sup>st</sup> X<sup>ber</sup>, 1755.

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets are from the translation of the above Document, in *Entick's History of the Late War*. London, 1763, I., 221.



*Abstract of M. de Vaudreuil's Despatches.*

The frigate *Sirenne*, which arrived at Brest on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, set sail from Quebec on the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, but her day of sailing is not to be reckoned until the 12<sup>th</sup>, because contrary winds up to that date prevented her making any headway, except such as the tide enabled her to make.

The letters brought by *la Sirenne* from M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, bear date from the 17<sup>th</sup> of September to the 2<sup>d</sup> of November, and are all written from Montreal, where that Governor still was. The details they contain of all that occurred up to that time, relate to,

1<sup>st</sup> *The affair of M. de Dieskau.* M. de Vaudreuil transmits a detailed account thereof. According to the list annexed, we have had only 95 or 96 men killed and 130 wounded in that affair. And the English have lost in it, by their own acknowledgment, more than 500 men. Our troops retired after the action towards Fort St. Frederic, without having been pursued. And M. de Vaudreuil has had a sort of intrenched camp constructed some leagues in advance of that fort.

The English, on their side, have remained in their posts, but they did not attempt to execute the project of attacking Fort St. Frederic.

2<sup>d</sup> *What occurred in the direction of Acadia.* Since the capture of Forts Beausejour and Gaspareau, the English, being desirous of forcing the Acadians to take up arms against France, have had recourse to all sorts of violence and cruelty against those people, a large number of whom have retired to various places in the interior of the Continent, whither relief has been sent to them from Canada. Although the Commandant of the River St. John had concluded on burning the fort, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the English, he, however, maintained his ground on that river, and M. de Vaudreuil has adopted measures to secure its possession.

3<sup>d</sup> *What occurred in the direction of the Lakes.* In consequence of the troops which M. de Vaudreuil had concentrated at Fort Frontenac with a view to lay siege to Chouaguen, Governor Schirley, who had repaired to the latter post with a considerable body of troops to attack all our forts on the lakes, has not dared to attack any of them. And M. de Vaudreuil was informed that he had returned with his entire army, except the garrison he had left at Chouaguen. But M. de Dieskau's ill success has prevented M. de Vaudreuil attacking the last mentioned post. He proposes to make that attack at the opening of the next spring, unless insurmountable obstacles arise.

4<sup>th</sup> *What occurred in the direction of the Beautiful river.* Since General Braddock's defeat, divers parties of Indians have penetrated the English settlements and taken several scalps. But notwithstanding the consternation created by that circumstance throughout the English Colonies, the news M. de Vaudreuil has received from that quarter announce that preparations are making there for a new expedition next year against Fort Duquesne; and he is adopting measures, on his side, to defend that fort. He transmits 3 very authentic copies of General Braddock's papers, amongst which are the King of England's Instructions to that General; a private Instruction which had also been given him by the Duke of Cumberland;<sup>1</sup> several

<sup>1</sup> The Instructions are printed in *Pennsylvania Archives*, II, 203; also, in *Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition*, 394, where the letter written by order of the Duke of Cumberland will likewise be found. — Ed.

letters written by that General to the English Ministers, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Newcastle, Robinson, Fox and Halifax, and many other documents, proving, very manifestly, the projects of the British Government.

5<sup>th</sup> *The dispositions of the Indians.* In general M. de Vaudreuil appears much satisfied with them. He does not despair of even prevailing on the 5 Iroquois Nations to remain neutral.

But despite the little success the English have had this year in the direction of Fort St. Frederic, the lakes and the Beautiful river, he expects new efforts on their part next year, and demands considerable assistance in troops, artillery, arms, ammunition and provisions.

December, 1755.

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*An Account of what has occurred this year in Canada.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

The King's frigate, *la Syrenne*, which left Quebec on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November and arrived at Brest on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December, has brought letters containing the details of what occurred this year in Canada relative to the operations of the English against that Colony.

Independent of the Naval forces which the English have sent at the opening of the spring into the seas of North America to intercept the French ships destined for Canada and Isle Royale, they had collected together in their Colonies divers corps of troops to attack Canada simultaneously by the frontiers of Acadia, Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, and towards the Beautiful river.

The troops destined to operate against the frontiers towards Acadia and consisting of about eighteen hundred men, repaired, in the beginning of June, with a considerable train of artillery of every description, to the head of the Bay of Fundy, and immediately attacked Fort Beausejour, which, in the course of a few days, was rendered incapable of any defence by the effects of the shot and the shell. The garrison, amounting to only two companies of fifty men each, was obliged to capitulate on condition that it should march out with arms and baggage, and with drums beating; that it should be transported to Louisbourg, and that it should not serve in America for the term of six months. The English immediately summoned the French officer in command at Gaspereau,<sup>1</sup> a post situated a few leagues from Beausejour, in which there was only a detachment of twenty men, who surrendered on the same terms as those contained in the capitulation of Beausejour. The English, after that expedition, marched towards the River Saint John, where there was only a very old fort. The officer in command there, and who had but a few soldiers, concluded on burning it and retiring to some settlers who live in that district, where he maintained his ground; only a few skirmishes have occurred in that quarter, in which the English have always been defeated by the French and Indians, who have joined that officer.

The army which had been raised to operate in the direction of the Beautiful river was composed of some regiments of Regulars sent from England to Virginia, and some regiments of Provincials, raised in that and the adjoining Colonies. It amounted to three thousand men at the time General Braddock assumed its command, to march against Fort Duquesne.

<sup>1</sup>On Bay Verte. — Ed.



Sieur de Contrecoeur,<sup>1</sup> Captain in the Canadian troops, who was in command of that fort, had been informed that preparations were making in Virginia, but did not expect that he was to be attacked by such a considerable force. Having sent different scouting parties on the route of the English, he learned on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July that they were only six leagues from the fort, and were advancing in three columns. He immediately formed all he could spare from the fort into a party, to go forward and meet them, which was composed of two hundred and fifty French and of six hundred and fifty Indians. Sieur de Beaujeu, who was in command of it, had with him Captains Dumas and Ligneris, and some subaltern officers. He set out at eight o'clock in the morning, and at half an hour after noon found himself in front of the enemy, about three leagues from the fort. He forthwith attacked them very vigorously. His little troop were somewhat staggered by the first rounds from the enemy's artillery, but on the third, when M. de Beaujeu had the misfortune to be killed, Sieur Dumas, who assumed the command, Sieur de Ligneris and the other officers, followed by the French and Indians, fell so impetuously on the English, as to force them to retire in turn. The latter continued defending themselves sometime longer, showing a very bold front, but at length, after four hours' sharp firing, they broke up, and the route became general. They were pursued for some time, but Sieur Dumas, having learned that General Braddock had left a body of seven hundred men under the command of Colonel Dumbarr,<sup>2</sup> some leagues in the rear, ordered the pursuit to cease. The English have lost in this affair nearly seventeen hundred men. Almost all their officers have been killed, and General Braddock died of his wounds a few days after. All their equipments, which were very considerable, their provisions, artillery, consisting of eight pieces of cannon, seven mortars and furniture of all sorts, a vast quantity of arms and ammunition, their military chest and generally all their stores, have been captured, together with the Instructions given to General Braddock in England; also, numerous letters written to the Ministers of the King of Great Britain, containing reports of the dispositions he was making for the execution of the plans entrusted to him in his capacity of Commander-in-Chief of all his Britannic Majesty's forces in North America. Sieur de Contrecoeur remained afterwards on the defensive in his fort, after having been assured of the retreat of Colonel Dumbarr's reserve. But some Indian detachments have made incursions into the frontiers of the English Colonies.

The two other corps of English troops were likewise ordered to march; one, composed of about five thousand men, towards Lake Ontario to attack Fort Niagara and Fort Frontenac; the other, still more considerable, towards Lake Champlain to lay siege to Fort Saint Frederic. Sieur de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, having learned that General Shirley had already repaired with a portion of the first of those two divisions to Choueguen, an English post established some years ago south of Lake Ontario, determined on dispatching a detachment of Regulars and Canadian Militia, the four battalions of La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne and Béarn, which the King had this year ordered to Quebec, and a certain number of Indians, to cover Forts Niagara and Frontenac, and gave the command of the whole to Brigadier-General, the Baron de Dieskaw. But learning, a few days after,

<sup>1</sup> PIERRE CLAUDE DE PECAUDY, or Pecaudy, Seigneur of Contrecoeur, in the District of Montreal, was the son of an officer in the Regiment of Carignan, who was ennobled by Letters Patent, dated January, 1661, and had obtained the above seigniority in 1672. Though the family existed in 1774, it is now extinct—the last of the race having been accidentally killed. *Collections of Quebec Historical and Literary Society for 1838*, p. 72; for 1840, *Document 2*, p. 3; *Bibaud's Hommes Illustres du Canada*, 86; *Bouchette's Topography of Canada*, 8vo., p. 201. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, VI., 915, note 2.



that Colonel Johnson was in full march at the head of another body of men to attack Fort Saint Frederic, and that he had already established several depôts on the route, M. de Vaudreuil sent a courier to communicate this intelligence to Baron de Dieskaw, and the resolution which had been adopted to send, without delay, a detachment of Regulars and Militia, with some Indians, to reinforce Fort Saint Frederic. Baron de Dieskaw proceeded thither in person, and was accompanied by the battalions of La Reine and the Languedoc, which consisted of only nine companies each. On arriving at Fort St. Frederic, he thought proper to go and meet the English, and found himself, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, eight leagues from that fort at a place called Carillon;<sup>1</sup> he halted there, and having sent out scouts in different directions learned that the English were busy erecting a fort some leagues off; that a garrison of five hundred men was already in that fort, which was much advanced; that a considerable reinforcement of troops was expected, and that Colonel Johnson was with his main body at the head of Lake St. Sacrament. On this report, and hoping to surprise that fort, Baron de Dieskaw resolved to march without delay at the head of fifteen hundred men, to wit: six hundred Indians under the command of Sieur de Saint Pierre; six hundred Canadians under Sieur de Repentigny, and three hundred Regulars, including the two companies of grenadiers of La Reine and Languedoc battalions, with three pickets of the artillery company belonging to the Colony. He sent the remainder of those two battalions, under the orders of Sieur de Roquemaure, commanding La Reine, to the place called the Two Rocks, in order to fall back on him in case of being forced to retreat, and sent Major de Celoron, commanding the Regulars and Militia of the Colony, with the remainder of his forces towards the falls of Lake Saint Sacrament to prevent the English attempting anything in that direction. In consequence of these arrangements he marched from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> of September, when he found himself within a league of the English fort. As night was falling he halted and sent forward a scouting party of Indians under the orders of M. de Saint Pierre to reconnoitre the ground. The Indians killed a courier whom Colonel Johnson was sending to notify the Commandant of the fort, of the march of the French. They captured, also, some wagons which were carrying artillery and ammunition thither; but some of the drivers escaped. As there was no longer any doubt of the English fort being alarmed, Baron de Dieskaw gave the Indians the option of either adhering to the plan of proceeding to attack that fort or of marching against the camp of Colonel Johnson, who, according to all accounts, was only five or six leagues off with a force of three thousand men. The Indians all approved of the latter course. Early in the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> he marched, in five columns, in the following order: The French troops and gunners in the centre; a column of Canadians and one of Indians on the right, and two other similar columns on the left, and arrived at ten o'clock in the forenoon within one league of the camp. Prisoners taken by the Indians declared that some wagons which the English were sending to their fort, were approaching along the road the army was marching, and that these wagons were escorted by a considerable detachment. Baron de Dieskaw ordered the Canadians and Indians to the left of the road, with instructions to let the English attack, and not to fire on them until the Regulars, who would continue their march on the highway, should have commenced the fight. A few minutes afterwards some musket shots were heard and the fire became animated between the Indians in front and the English. The Canadians immediately ran to their support, and the English fled, who were pursued to within sight of their tents,

<sup>1</sup> Carillon, or Ticonderoga, is only about ten or twelve miles from Crown Point. — Ed.



and that detachment, which consisted of eight or nine hundred men, was almost entirely destroyed. Very few of them returned to the camp, and it was in this fight that *Sieur de Saint Pierre* was killed. *Baron de Dieskaw* continued to occupy the road whilst the enemy were beating a retreat. Though the Canadians and Indians were greatly fatigued, he believed that the best plan to induce them to follow him was to hasten his march in order to profit by the confusion which the defeat of that detachment would create among the troops in *Colonel Johnson's* camp. It was not long before he reached it. Word having been sent him that his right was not supported by any column, a small body of Canadians proceeded in that direction and opened a very sharp fire on the English. But the camp being intrenched with bateaux, wagons and large trees, the French infantry in front were exposed to so hot a fire from the artillery and musketry that they were obliged to fall back behind some trees, where they remained during two hours discharging their pieces with the rest of the troops, which, consisted only of five hundred men in that attack, because a portion merely of the Canadians followed, and the Indians had come to a halt. It was then that *Baron Dieskaw* was wounded first in the leg, and he shortly afterwards received a ball that went through his right knee and entered the flesh of his left hip, obliging him to suffer himself to be removed some paces off, to sit down. He ordered *Chevalier de Montreuil*, Major-General, and second in command, to leave him there and to proceed to find out whether there was any chance of getting into the camp. *Chevalier de Montreuil* perceived the impossibility of effecting that object; the troops were too much fatigued; in too small a number and too much cut up by the fire to which they had been exposed. He concluded on retreating. At first there was some confusion, but the troop repaired in good order to the place where the bateaux had been left. The loss of the English has exceeded seven hundred men in the detachment that has been attacked by the Indians and Canadians, exclusive of the wounded who reached the camp, and the loss they experienced in the intrenchments is not known. That of the French has been only ninety-five men killed, including officers, soldiers, Canadians and Indians, and one hundred and thirty wounded, of all arms. *Baron de Dieskaw* has been made prisoner and carried to Orange with *Sieur Bernier*, his Aid de Camp, and two officers of militia, all three wounded like himself.

Nothing has since occurred in that direction. *Colonel Johnson's* loss, and the presence of the French troops, who afterwards intrenched themselves in the neighborhood of *Fort Saint Frederic*, have caused him to abandon the execution of his design against that fort.

The reinforcements which *Sieur de Vaudreuil* had forwarded to *Forts Frontenac* and *Niagara*, have imposed also on *Governor Shirley*, who retired with his troops, except a strong garrison which he left at *Choüeguen*, with a considerable train of artillery. *General Braddock's* defeat and the ill success of *Colonel Johnson*, must have contributed to induce him to adopt that step, for all the different expeditions had been combined together.

A Paris, du Bureau d'Adresse aux Galleries du Louvre,  
vis à vis la Rue Saint Thomas.

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Avec Privilège du Roi.

*M. de Machault to Messrs. de Vaudreuil and de la Laune.*

Gentlemen,

No declaration of war has appeared on either side since the departure of the two frigates which I have dispatched to you by the King's order, to give you advice of the state of affairs at the close of the month of July last. Notwithstanding the aggressions committed by the English on the fleet his Majesty had sent to Canada, he has thought proper to order his ships to keep on the defensive. The English, on their side, have been some time without attacking the French vessels they encountered in the European seas. But since the end of the month of August, they have seized on all the merchantmen they met, without distinction of place or of destination. Even recently, they have attacked the King's ship *l'Esperance*, and you will find hereunto annexed, the detail of that combat.<sup>3</sup> You will learn that they have captured and taken into their ports a great number of ships which were employed in the trade of the islands. They have not, however, been condemned; indeed, it is not very clear on what ground they could be, since these prizes have been taken, contrary to all law. We are informed that they talk only of selling the cargoes and placing the proceeds on deposit; but the crews remain in prison, and we know not what course the English will adopt, both in their regard and in respect to the ships and proceeds.

Such is still the situation of affairs in Europe with that Nation. We are not informed that her ships have made any prizes on the West India Coasts, but it can hardly be doubted. The piracies she perpetrates in the European seas—those she has committed in the seas of North America, and the open war she wages in Canada, prove but too strongly that the most extreme violences on her part are to be expected. And, as the Island of St. Domingo is one of the

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS PHILIPPE RICAUD, Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of Philip R. de V., Governor of Canada, and Louise Elizabeth de Joybert de Soulanges, was born in Canada, and entered the Royal Navy of France in the eighteenth year of his age. In 1744, he commanded *L'Aquilon*, 48, in the combined Spanish and French fleet, which engaged the British fleet off Toulon; and *L'Intrepide* in the engagement with Admiral Hawke, off Cape Finisterre, 14th August, 1747, on which occasion he behaved, says Beaton, with great spirit and conduct in the heat of the battle, and rescued his Admiral from destruction. He was Governor of St. Domingo in 1755, when the above despatch was sent to him; it seems he remained there two years; in 1759 he commanded the frigate *L'Arethuse*, 32, which was captured on the 18th of May of that year, by three British men-of-war, off the Coast of Brittany, after a gallant fight, in which M. de Vaudreuil was wounded and taken prisoner. Out of respect for his bravery on this occasion, he was allowed to retain his sword, and was soon after sent to France without exchange. On the breaking out of the war between France and England, in 1778, he commanded *Le Fendant*, 74, in Count D'Orvilliers' fleet, which engaged that of the British under Keppel, in the battle of Quessant, 27th July, of that year. In January, 1779, he commanded a French squadron, which recaptured Senegal, and then joined the fleet under M. d'Estaing at Martinico, and in July following, did good service in the attack on the Island of Grenada, which was reduced. On his return to France, he was offered, but declined, the government of St. Domingo, and in 1780, returned to the West Indies with *Le Fendant*, where he joined the fleet under the command of Count Guichen, and took his share in the battle with Admiral Rodney, 17th April, of that year, off Martinico. In the unfortunate engagement off Cape François, 12th April, 1782, M. de Vaudreuil led the van in *Le Triomphant*, 80, after which he retreated to St. Domingo. He returned to France after the peace, and was created Lieutenant-General; in 1789, elected Deputy by the Nobles to the States-General, but in 1791, retired to England; returned to France in 1800, and spent the remainder of his life in the most profound seclusion in Paris, where he died, 14th December, 1802. *Ferland's Notes sur les Registres de Quebec*, 42; *Almanach Americain*, 1783, p. 41; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I, 367, 369; II, 349; III, 52; IV., 454, 455, 462; VI, 221; *Garneau's Histoire du Canada*, II., 181, 182; *Biographie Universelle*. The article in the last mentioned work is, however, full of errors. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> M. de la Laune was Intendant of the Island of Saint Domingo. *Almanach Americain* for 1783, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>3</sup> On the 14th November, 1755, *L'Esperance*, 74, commanded by Count de Bouvel, was captured on her return from Louisburg to Brest, by three British men-of-war belonging to Admiral Byng's fleet. *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I, 432.



objects which, since some time, inflames her jealousy and cupidity, the King has deemed it proper to adopt measures for the dispatch of reinforcements to that Colony.

It is in that view that his Majesty has ordered thither a fleet composed of ships and frigates whereof I annex hereunto a list; and has given instructions, copy of which is here adjoined, to M. Périer, who commands that fleet.

They have a twofold object: the protection of the trade on the coasts of St. Domingo and the defence of the Colony itself.

As regards the first object, it will be necessary for M. Périer to direct the movements of the fleet in the most convenient manner to secure, as much as possible, the entrance and departure of the ships which will carry on the trade; and, touching the second, he is ordered so to conduct himself according to circumstances, as to support the posts that will happen to be either attacked or threatened.

There is a third object, which is that of his private Instruction, and regards the English men of war and merchantmen. You will see thereby that he has orders to attack the former, should he find any opportunity of so doing with advantage, and to seize on the others without distinction.

Should he capture any ships of war and they cannot be conveniently manned so as to strengthen his fleet, measures must be always taken to preserve them, and such other practical steps adopted as will enable him to bring them safely with him whenever he will return to France.

In regard to the English merchantmen which he will carry into the ports of St. Domingo, you will likewise see by his private Instruction that his Majesty does not mean that they should be confiscated without his further orders; that proceedings must be confined to the sale of the cargoes and to depositing the proceeds of such sales in the Treasurer's chest, which is to be done agreeably to the ordinances you will issue to that effect, and with all the formalities that time, place and circumstances will permit.

You will find hereunto annexed the draft of the ordinances you are to issue for these sales. You may commission the officers of the Admiralty to proceed therewith. You will observe, each in your department, that the inventories which are to precede the sales be made out with the greatest exactness; that no errors be committed either in regard to the sales or the costs they will occasion, and which M. de la Laune must, himself, regulate by private assessments and on the most moderate scale possible. You will take care to pay the proceeds immediately into the Treasurer's chest; you will observe, particularly, to state, in the *procès-verbaux* to be drawn up, the formalities which will have been observed; the object of each sale and the deposit which will have been made on account thereof, and independent of the transcript of each of the *procès-verbaux* which you will cause to be transmitted to M. Périer, you will, also, send me a duplicate thereof.

You will, possibly, receive, before M. Périer's return, orders as to what will have to be done with those funds thus in deposit. But should you not receive any, you will put those funds on board the ships of the fleet with the precaution of having a *procès-verbal* drawn up of their embarkation, copies whereof you will also send me.

As regards the officers and crews of the ships of war and merchantmen, you will also see by M. Périer's private Instruction, that the one and the other are to be delivered up to you to be detained in prison. You will, however, be careful to observe towards the officers all the courtesies and forbearance compatible with the necessity that exists of not allowing them an

opportunity to acquire any information which they may afterwards abuse. And should the English furnish an opportunity, before M. Périer's return, for an exchange of the one and the other for French officers and Ensigns, you will be at liberty to coöperate therein, observing, in all the copies you will make, to explain yourself in such a manner as to let it be understood, but without affectation, that you do not regard those crews as prisoners of war.

In other respects you will pay attention to arrange all the matters in company with M<sup>r</sup> Périer.<sup>1</sup>  
[ December, ] 1755.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

New-York, 12<sup>th</sup> January, 1756.

My Lord,

I had the honor on the 15<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> to report to you my condition, and the means to which I was obliged to have recourse to procure some money.

Finding myself, since that time, entirely out of danger, and my wounds improving daily, I have requested Sir Charles Hardy,<sup>2</sup> Governor-General of New-York, to allow Sieur Bernier, my Aide-de-Camp, to proceed to England in a man of war, in the hope that he will be able to pass over without delay to France, to render you a more particular account of what concerns me.

I beg of you, my Lord, to extend your protection to him, and to be pleased to permit me to refer to the details which he will have it in his power to communicate, in consequence of the confidence I repose in him.

I have the honor to be with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

The Baron DE DIESKAU.

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*Remarks of the British Ministry on the Letter of the King of France.*

Whatever may have been or are now the sentiments of the most Christian King, with regard to the differences concerning North America, it is unfortunate that the conduct of the Court of

<sup>1</sup> M. Périer du Salvert was, it is supposed, a connection of M. Périer who was Governor of Louisiana 1726-1733. In 1744 he commanded *Le Mars*, 64, in Admiral de Roquefeuille's fleet; in 1746, *L'Ardent*, 64, belonging to the unfortunate Duke d'Anville's fleet, and on his return to France was chased ashore and his vessel destroyed by the *Exeter* near Quiberon. In the spring of 1755 he was detached by M. Bois de la Mothe, in command of the squadron ordered to conduct the French reinforcements to Louisbourg, after which he returned to France, and in December was sent with a squadron of five ships of the line and four frigates to the West India. *Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs*, I., 424; III., 42, 66, 88; *Entick's History of the Late War*, I., 241. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, VI., 1021, note.



Versailles towards Great Britain should so ill correspond to the dispositions which M. Rouillé's Memoir ascribes to his Majesty, and to the professions of good faith and unreserved confidence with which, it was pretended, the negotiation on the affairs of America was, on his part, carried on.

If it be from the course of this negotiation that the authentic proofs are to be drawn by which the most Christian King is able to demonstrate to the whole world that it is not owing to him that the differences in question have not been amicably arranged, it will not be improper to touch briefly upon some parts thereof. All the facts will bear witness in favor of his Britannic Majesty's moderation.

In the month of January, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, the French Ambassador<sup>1</sup> returned to London and made great protestations of the sincere desire felt by his Court to adjust all disputes between the two Crowns, concerning America, in a final and prompt manner, and, notwithstanding the extraordinary preparations which were at that time and are at present making in the ports of France, her Ambassador proposed :

"That before the ground and circumstances of the quarrel be inquired into, positive orders should be immediately sent to our respective governments, forbidding them thereafter to undertake any new enterprise or to proceed to any act of hostility; enjoining them, on the contrary, to put things without delay, with regard the lands on the Ohio, on the same footing that they were, or ought to have been, before the last war; and that the respective claims be amicably referred to the Commission established at Paris, so that the two Courts might terminate the difference by a speedy accommodation."

England at once declared its readiness to the proposed cessation of hostilities, and that *all the points* in dispute might be discussed and terminated by the *Ministers of the two Crowns*, but on condition that all the possessions in America shall previously be put on the footing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Wherefore his Majesty proposed :

"That the possession of the lands on the Ohio, or Beautiful river, should be restored to the footing it was on at the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht, and agreeably to the stipulations of the said treaty, which was renewed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle; and, moreover, that the other possessions in North America should be restored to the same condition in which they actually were, at the signing of the said Treaty of Utrecht, and agreeably to the cessions and stipulations therein expressed; and then the method of instructing the respective Governors and forbidding them to undertake thenceforth any new enterprises and acts of hostility might be treated of, and the claims of both parties reserved to be speedily and finally discussed and adjusted in an amicable manner between the two Courts, that is to say, France should repair the injury done by open force before the parties should enter into treaty, even about that right, after which the possessions of both parties might be settled on the footing of a definitive treaty."

The French Ambassador thereupon drew up a kind of reply which at bottom was only a repetition of his first proposal. But to soften the matter, he produced, at the same time, full powers from his Court, couched in very specious and polite terms.

The effect was, however, as little correspondent thereto as before, and France soon after delivered a draft of a preliminary convention, which was nothing more than the first proposal somewhat enlarged. This, added to what was doing in the ports of France, was too

<sup>1</sup> Marquis de Mirepoix. — Ed.



plain to deceive, and England took care not to lend herself to a convention that would leave to France the fruits of her violences and usurpations, which constituted precisely the grievances England was complaining of; for after its expiration all would have to be begun over again.

A draft of a counter convention was afterwards delivered to the Ambassador, containing an offer of the most moderate terms, confined simply to those points which were an indispensable right, and essential to the security of the King's Colonies.

To this France did not vouchsafe any answer, and her Ambassador was authorized thereupon *only to hear, but not to make any propositions.*

In fine, after a long series of singular evasions, in which the cessation of hostilities continually recurred, the Ambassador, instead of receiving instructions to enter into negotiations upon the counter convention above mentioned, was ordered to demand, as a previous condition, that England should desist from three points which formed a large portion of the matter in dispute.

I. The south part of the River St' Lawrence and the lakes whose waters flow into that river.

II. The twenty leagues of country demanded along the Bay of Fundy.

III. The territory between the Ohio and the Ouabache.

The discussions by which this extraordinary piece was followed, and during which France tergiversated at every step, concluded with a Memoir presented by the Ambassador wherein were treated the affairs of the Islands as well as those of North America. This also was answered by a very ample piece which refuted the Ambassador's Memoir article by article, and fully justified the terms of the English counter convention. In consequence of the Ambassador's unexpected retreat, this piece has remained without any reply.

The assurances France received of his Majesty's pacific disposition were as honest and sincere as they were formal and precise; but he should have reproached himself had he carried them so far as to endanger the possessions of his Crown and the safety of his people.

It is to no purpose that France applies the epithet of *hostile* to the orders given to General Braddock and Admiral Boscawen. She would be very glad to draw a veil over all the hostilities committed on her part in America since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the date of those orders. From the very instant, as it were, of the signing that treaty, and even at the opening of the commission which, in consequence of it, was established at Paris for the affairs of America, France, distrusting beforehand her right, and setting herself up as judge and party in her own case, caused the Province of Nova Scotia to be invaded, and after a series of open hostilities against the inhabitants, the King's subjects, had erected three forts in the heart of that Province, and had she not been prevented, was on her way to destroy the new settlement of Halifax. Like hostilities were committed, at the same time, against his Majesty's territories and subjects on the Ohio and the Indian lakes, where France, without any shadow of right, forbid the English to trade, seized them by force and sent them prisoners to France, invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort which covered its frontier, and to secure these usurpations, erected, with an armed force, a chain of forts on the lands she had invaded. If his Majesty could have supposed that the Governors of Canada had so acted by orders from their Court, he would have been justified to repel these hostilities at once with the vigor which the case deserved.

He confined himself to complaining thereof to the Court of France, but with so little effect that that Court, not content with not vouchsafing any answer, gave, on this occasion, a very singular instance of its honesty; for, in despite of these complaints made by the late Earl of Albemarle, in consequence of an order from the King, particularly by a Memoir delivered in



the month of February, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, on those usurpations in America, France had, afterwards, the modesty to allege, that England had never complained of those proceedings, and consequently had nothing to find fault with.

At last, the King's patience being worn out by the continuance of these violences, he found himself obliged to provide for the security and defence of his subjects. Yet, notwithstanding the just reasons he had for proceeding to extremities, he added to his many years' forbearance a signal proof of his moderation in the very smallness of the succors he sent to America, which consisted only of two battalions of 500 men each, escorted by two frigates, and in the orders given to the commanding officer, which were to dislodge the invaders of the King's territories. In these facts there is nothing irreconcilable with the assurances given of his Majesty's pacific dispositions. It is the invasion on the part of France and all the violences which have attended it, that are hostile, and it can never be unlawful to repel an aggressor.

In order to make out the pretended insult to the flag of the most Christian King, France is obliged to invert the order of things. She affects to take the consequence and effect for the cause, and, pretexting the small succors General Braddock carried to America, alleges, as the principal affair, what are only its result and accessory, as if the sending of that succor had given rise to the troubles. France equips a fleet of a very alarming force, and the King is, in consequence, obliged to make proportionable armaments. France dispatches that fleet to America with three times the number of troops carried to the same continent by General Braddock, intending, thereby, to support her previous acts of violence and to superadd new ones.

Now, the same law, the same principle of defence which authorizes the resistance of an invader, authorizes equally the preventing him overwhelming the party attacked by so formidable a reinforcement. It was, therefore, very natural to expect that the King would provide eventually for the protection of his subjects, by preventing the landing of so powerful an armament in America, and by endeavoring to preserve his American Provinces from total ruin.

For the rest, it is hard to imagine why an English fort and English Provinces in America should be less entitled to respect by an aggressor, than a ship of war on the Banks of Newfoundland, by an officer acting under the authority of a Prince, who defends himself and protects his subjects.

The same motive of defence hath forced the King to seize the ships and sailors belonging to the French Nation, in order to deprive the Court of France of the means of making a descent, with which her Ministers in all the Courts of Europe have incessantly threatened England. Menaces, the more significative to England, inasmuch as they have been preceded or accompanied by the precipitate recal of the Ministers of France from London and Hanover; by the march and cantonment of large bodies of troops on the coasts of Flanders and of the Channel, and by the publicly avowed reëstablishment of the port of Dunkirk.

For the rest, it cannot be conceived why the French should imagine that the King ought to disavow the conduct of his officers, who have acted by his orders, or why they should wonder at his Majesty's demanding of his subjects the supplies necessary to enable him to frustrate the views equally ambitious and violent of France.

How can that Court pretend to be surprised at the acts of violence it complains of, after the Court of Great Britain had, during the whole course of the negotiation, constantly rejected the proposal made by France for a suspension of hostilities, unless it were preceded by

the restitution of the possessions taken by open force from England ; a condition to which the Court of Versailles would never agree. This was a broad hint to that Court, of the course the King proposed to follow in the prosecution of his just rights.

It was for such just and valid reasons that the King has rejected the peremptory demand contained in the Memoir signed by M. Rouillé. To avoid all occasion of taking notice of the terms made use of in that paper, which shock common decency, his Majesty caused Mr Fox, his Secretary of State, to write a brief and negative answer to it, in the form of a letter. And he is the more determined not to admit what France demands, as a preliminary condition, prior to any negotiation, as it appears from that very Memoir that, after granting it, the King would be as far as ever from obtaining an equitable and solid accommodation with respect to the injuries he has to complain of for several years. And it does not appear how his Majesty's resolution to defend his American dominions and hinder France from insulting his Kingdoms, can be construed into a denial of justice, and a design formed by the King to disturb the repose of Europe.

January, 1756.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 2 February, 1756.

My Lord,

- I have had the honor to report to you in my letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, what precautions I had taken for the safety of Niagara, after the unfortunate result of Baron de Dieskau's campaign.

To accelerate the works which M. Pouchaut has deemed necessary, in order to put that place in a state of defence, I made the battalion of Guyenne sojourn there as long as the season admitted. I ordered four platoons of that battalion to winter there. These added to the Colonial troops and the Canadians, compose a force of about 300 men, who are continually at work. I cannot but express my praise of M. Pouchaut's zeal and activity. I have reason to hope that he will carry out his work to perfection ; Niagara will then be in a condition to resist the enemy. Its position is, besides, very advantageous. But I shall be obliged to send considerable forces and provisions thither, at the opening of the navigation, for I may be well persuaded that the enemy will undertake its siege very early, as he is making preparations for it a long time, and his army may have arrived at Chouaguen, when I shall dispatch the one I intend to oppose to it, inasmuch as the River of Orange is navigable a month earlier than ours.

I shall be obliged to provide, at the same time, for the security of Fort Frontenac. The second armed sloop I ordered to be built, is considerably advanced. Our two sloops will be provided with cannon and will cruize on Lake Ontario. The enemy is busy building another.

Chouaguen is actually in a defensive condition. Its siege could not possibly be undertaken unless by a very large army and a good deal of artillery. The English have three forts there, each of which is furnished with cannon and mortars. The garrison is composed of 600 men who are continually on the alert. My knowledge of the situation of Chouaguen is derived less from the reports of prisoners and deserters than from actual reconnoissance, this winter, by two small parties which I sent thither.



The first of these parties has brought me two prisoners; the second, under the command of Ensign Mo' de Louvigny, has perfectly fulfilled its mission. This officer tarried several days in the neighborhood of Chouaguen and examined everything himself. He was unable to burn the sloops because they are all under the guns of the fort and well watched. He took two prisoners, and on his return rendered from 60 to 80 bateaux unserviceable.

In regard to the Five Nations, M. Joncaire Chabert, whom I sent to them on the return of his brother, made a long sojourn there and has been continually in council with the Senecas and the Cayugas, who, in the name of the Five Nations, have assured him that they were about preparing to come to see me early in the spring. They have disavowed those of their people who were found among the English in the affair of Lake St. Sacrament, and say, as is their custom, that it was only some hot headed fellows who had lost all sense. They have also said that they wished to remain neuter. I have so little confidence in this that I signified to them that if any one of their Nations was found among the English I should treat them as enemies, and let loose all the Upper Nations on them. I wish I may not be under that necessity:

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*Count d'Argenson to M. de Vaudreuil.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Sir,

I received, at one time, two letters you have done me the honor to write me from Montreal; one of the 30<sup>th</sup> of October last; the other without date.

We had already been informed, by the news from England, of the unfortunate fate of M. Dieskaw, who is, at present, in New-York. I hope you will have reason to be satisfied with the prudence of the gentleman whom the King has named as his successor, and that you will find in him all desirable dispositions to concur with you for the good of the King's service and the successful achievement of the operations which you will judge proper to intrust to him. I say nothing further on this subject, as I have no cipher with you, and am aware that M. de Machault has advised you of his Majesty's dispositions.

I submitted to him your proposal to employ Sieur de l'Isle as Commissary of War in the place of M. Crance, who has been taken on board *l'Alcide*, but his Majesty has not deemed it necessary to have a second Commissary in Canada, and had already chosen the one he intended to send to Louisburg, M. Prevost having stated that he was too much occupied with the details of the Marine to be able to attend, at the same time, to those of the land forces.

I request you, Sir, to be fully persuaded of the perfect attachment with which I have the honor to be, &c.

29 February, 1756. Approved.

*Count d'Argenson to M. Malatie.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

You did me the pleasure, Sir, to send me a narrative annexed to your letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of October last, of the movements of the battalion of Béarn, in which you were serving, since its landing at Quebec. I request you to continue to inform me, in like detail, of all the operations in which that battalion will be employed, and whereof you will have a personal knowledge, and to be persuaded that I shall be always pleased to make such use of it as may be profitable to you.

I am, Sir, your most humble and affectionate servant.

29 February, 1756. Good.

*Count d'Argenson to M. Doreil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Sir,

I annex hereunto the note of the letters I have received from you since your embarkation. You know that the answers from France cannot reach you except in spring. This will be dispatched by the first vessels leaving our ports.

I commence by assuring you of the satisfaction entertained by the King of your services, and as a token thereof, I announce to you that his Majesty has appointed you *Ordonnateur*, and has allowed you a gratuity of twelve thousand livres as an indemnity for the losses you have sustained on board *l'Alcide*. My nephew sends you the King's commission as *Ordonnateur*, and you will receive by M. de Machault the order for the gratuity.

The King has nominated M. de Montcalm to replace M. de Dieskau in the command of the troops in Canada, as Major-General (*Marechal de Camp*). He will be accompanied by Chevalier de Lévy, Brigadier; M. de Bourlamarque, Colonel of Engineers, and some officers of artillery; they will all embark immediately with two battalions and a considerable number of recruits.

No new Commissaries will be sent you as you expect alone to be sufficient for everything that is to be done in Canada, but one will be dispatched to Isle Royale whom I shall recommend to correspond with you particularly in whatever will regard the troops belonging to the garrison of Louisburg.

I have been informed by M. de St. Jullien of the difficulties he has experienced from Sieur Prévost, and I have put an end to them by decisions which will be communicated to you by Sieur Portalis, whose presence will supersede the order authorizing Sieur Prévost to commission a deputy to pay the land forces; it will annul also that which empowered himself personally to do it.

I have commanded the Postmasters in the maritime ports, as you requested, to make packages to your address of all the letters which will be deposited with them for the officers of the troops in Canada, and to hand them to the Captains of the first vessels up for that country.



You have anticipated M. de Dieskaw's desire in preventing the sale of his property. He has written to me from New-York, requesting that it be preserved, as he proposes to sell it if he do not recover from his wounds.

I leave to M. de Machault to inform you of the King's intentions respecting the representations you have made concerning the exemption from duty of the effects the officers of the land forces have ordered to be sent to Canada for their own use, and the furniture indispensable for the officer and soldier; breeches, hats, snuff and medicine, in regard to all which he is invested with power.

I have noticed with pleasure what you have communicated to me in all your letters respecting the confidence reposed in you by M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot. I hope that such good understanding will go on always increasing, and I doubt not but you will do all that lies in your power to foster it. I am, &c.

29<sup>th</sup> February, 1756. Approved.

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*Count d'Argenson to M. de Montreuil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Sir,

I annex hereunto a note of the letters I have received from you since you embarked, so that you may see if all you have written have reached me. The other private letters you have written have been also communicated to me, and I thank you for your attention in informing me of all the occurrences in the country in which you are stationed. It is unfortunate that we have lost, by over confidence, the superiority we had gained over the English by the defeat of General Braddock, and that M. de Dieskaw's detention has enabled them to turn to advantage an event which has cost them more than it did us. The King is fully convinced that no blame is to be attached to you, personally, in that regard, and that you have done, on that occasion, all that circumstances permitted you. I shall recommend you to the new Commander whom the King has designed for you, and I doubt not but by the application and willingness which I know you possess, that you will be a favorite with him.

For the rest, I beg you to continue to let me hear from you as often as you can.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

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*Commission for the Marquis de Montcalm.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

LOUIS, &c. Having resolved to send additional troops to Canada, and wishing to provide for the command both of the said reinforcements and of the troops we ordered thither last year, which command is vacant by the detention of Baron de Dieskaw, on whom We had conferred

it, We have concluded that a better choice could not be made than of our dear and well beloved, the Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General in our armies, considering the proofs he has given us of his valor, experience, capacity, fidelity and affection to our service in the different engagements and other commissions entrusted to his care. These and other considerations Us moving, We have made, constituted, ordained and established, and by these presents, signed by Our hand, do make, constitute, ordain and establish, the said Marquis de Montcalm Commander, under the authority of our Governor-General of said country, of the troops that are to proceed to Canada, and of those at present there, and have given and do give him power to employ them wheresoever need shall be for effecting our intentions; to make them live in good order, police and discipline, according to Our military rules and ordinances; to cause the same to be kept, maintained and observed inviolable in all places where said troops shall be employed; to authorize the punishment and chastisement of those who shall dare to contravene them; to see that all the accoutrements which shall have been ordered, be made exactly by those commissioned to that effect, and generally to do and order, as regards said troops, all that he shall judge necessary; all, as already stated, under the authority of our Governor-General in Canada.

And We command Chevalier de Levy, Brigadier in our Infantry, and Sieur Bourlamaque, Colonel of Infantry, employed with the said troops, the Lieutenant-Colonels, Colonels, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns, the Commissaries of War, Engineers and all other officers who will accompany them, to acknowledge the said Marquis de Montcalm, in said quality of Commandant, and him to obey and hear in all matters to the said commission appertaining. For such is Our pleasure. In testimony whereof, We have caused Our seal to be affixed to these presents.

Given at Versailles, the first day of the month of March, in the year of Grace, 1756, and of our reign, the XLI<sup>e</sup>.

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*Count d'Argenson to M. de Montcalm.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Versailles, 13<sup>th</sup> of March, 1756.

Sir,

I have the honor to send you the commission of Major-General (*Marechal de Camp*), which the King has ordered me to transmit to you, with power to command his troops in Canada; a return of those which his Majesty sends thither with you, and the letters of service of Chevalier de Levy, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bourlamaque and de Montreuil, who will be employed under your orders, the first as Brigadier of Infantry, the second as Colonel and the third, who is on the spot, as Adjutant-General. I annex hereunto a copy of the instructions I had furnished the Baron de Dieskau, by his Majesty's orders, to which he desires you to conform yourself in every particular, and a cipher which you can use when you will have anything secret to communicate to me. I request you to lose no opportunity of transmitting me news of yourself, and to be always persuaded of the perfect attachment with which I am, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant.



*Instructions to Ensign Douville.*

[ Pennsylvania Archives, II., 600. ]

DUMAS, Captain of Infantry, Commandant of the Beautiful river and its dependencies.

Sieur Douville, Ensign *en second*, is ordered to march at the head of a detachment of fifty Indians to observe the enemy's movements back of Fort Cumberland.

He shall make it his business to harass their convoys and endeavor to burn their magazines at Canagiechuie, if possible.

He shall spare no pains to make prisoners who may be able to confirm to us what we already know of the enemy's designs.

Sieur Douville will employ all his talents and influence to prevent the Indians exercising any cruelty on those who will fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought to be our guides in that regard.

Fort Duquesne, 23<sup>d</sup> March, 1756. DUMAS.

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*Extract of a Letter dated Quebec, 5th April, 1756.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Since the battle of Lake St. Sacrament nothing of moment has occurred in this country. Our Indians only have laid waste the rural districts of Virginia in the course of the winter, which scatters despair throughout that quarter. We have taken some prisoners recently, who inform us that extensive preparations are making throughout New England to attack us next month on all sides. We are busy, on our side, in opposing their enterprises.

The authorities have received, within eight days, letters from Baron de Dieskaw, who is at New-York. He had received four wounds; one, a severe one which pierced his bladder, does not heal.

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*Expedition against Fort Bull, Oneida county, New-York.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Extract of a letter dated Quebec, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1756.

Since my last we have received news of a detachment of about 400 men who left last March under the command of M. de Léry. On the 26<sup>th</sup> they reached the vicinity of a depôt situated between Choaguin and Corlaer, which was full of provisions, merchandise and ammunition, and guarded by 80 men. M. de Léry's detachment, having run short of provisions, and the major part having eaten nothing since the previous evening, he could not determine on an

attack that day. Fortunately, he had only halted, when 10 wagons made their appearance. An attack followed; the drivers were seized, and the wagons found loaded with provisions, which helped to recruit our people. M. de Léry having determined to attack on the morrow, the men rested the remainder of the day. Next day, the 27<sup>th</sup>, M. de Léry having divided his little army into two parties, half of whom was occupied in watching the loop-holes, whilst the remainder was cutting the stockades which surrounded the dépôt. On the breach being sufficiently large to admit a line of eight men, he ordered to charge bayonets and to summon the Commander to surrender. On his refusal the doors of the storehouse were burst open and the entire garrison, except about three, killed. The men next set about throwing into an adjoining creek whatever was in this store, where, 'tis stated, there were, among other things, thirty thousand weight of powder, considerable grenadoes, balls, and other stores destined to be forwarded, on the opening of the navigation, to Chouguin for the supply of that fort and the attack of some of ours. This advantage is the more important as it has cost only three men killed, to wit, one soldier, one Indian and a militiaman. Besides, it will retard, at least, the execution of our enemy's projects.

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*Abstract of Occurrences in Canada; 1755, 1756.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Detail of Occurrences in Canada, from the debarkation of the Regular troops in the month of June, 1755, to the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1756.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil learns, a few days after his arrival at Quebec, that the English have taken Forts Beausejour and St. John, in Acadia.

Orders all the preparations to be made for the siege of Chouaguen.

Learns that the enemy are advancing towards Fort St. Frederic.

Sends thither Baron de Dieskaw, at the head of 3000 men, with orders to attack them, and postpones the attack on Chouaguen until his return.

M. de Dieskaw learns, at Fort St. Frederic, that the enemy, numbering 4000 men, are constructing a fort at the Lidius house, on the River of Orange, six leagues from Lake St. Sacrament.

September 2<sup>d</sup>. He marches with his army to attack them.

Learns, on the way, from a prisoner, that the enemy have retreated towards Orange, and that five hundred men are encamped under the fort.

He alters all his arrangements; leaves half his army at the falls of Lake St. Sacrament and at the entrance of the Twelve mile marsh (*Grand Marais*), to secure his return.

4<sup>th</sup> Proceeds at the head of 600 Indians, 680 Canadians and 220 Regulars, to destroy that fort.

7<sup>th</sup> Arrives there in the evening; our Indians, at the moment he was making his arrangements to attack, bring him in two prisoners, who inform him that 4000 men are encamped six leagues in his rear, near Lake St. Sacrament.



8<sup>th</sup> In the morning determines to march against them in preference to the fort, calculating that they were not so numerous as was reported.

Falls in, at half-past eleven o'clock, with 1000 men who were coming to meet him.

Drives these back with success to their camp, which he attacks right and left, without losing any time, in order not to afford the enemy an opportunity of reconnoitring.

The firing continued an hour; half the detachment, abandoned by the remainder, was obliged to fall back; a general and precipitate retreat ensued without orders from any person.

M. de Dieskaw and Chevalier de Montreuil were left by themselves during the affair near the camp, between the two fires.

When the former received four gunshot wounds and was made prisoner of war.

Chevalier de Montreuil was wounded in the arm and received a contusion in the side.

The detachment was a day and a half in returning to its camp, across the woods, without provisions, and carrying one hundred wounded.

The French have lost in that affair 200 men killed, wounded and missing, and the English 400, many of whom are officers of distinction.

The remainder of the season passed on both sides in constructing a fort near Lake St. Sacrament.

Eight hundred Indians and 200 Canadians have killed, in the month of July, 1200 Englishmen and General Bradoc, near Fort Duquesne, on the River Ohio.

During the winter the Indians have burned several English settlements, made a number of prisoners and taken a great many scalps in every direction.

Four hundred Frenchmen or Indians have burnt, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of March, twenty-five leagues from Chouaguen, a small English fort filled with provisions and munitions of war, guarded by 40 men, whom they put to the sword. The English are collecting 6000 men at Lake St. Sacrament, and 4000 at Chouaguen.

Prisoners assert that their design is to attack Forts Niagara and Cataracoui, on Lake Ontario, and St. Frederic, on Lake Champlain.

M. de Vaudreuil expects to put seven thousand men on foot; the English, 'tis believed, will not make any attempt in the direction of the Beautiful river.

If the Five Nations remain neuter, as is hoped, the French will have on their side about 1200 Indians, and the English 400.

The fate of the operations of this campaign will be decided, according to all appearances, towards the end of July; everything appears to assume a favorable turn for Canada.

I augur that the enemy will keep on the defensive, having heard of the reinforcement which arrived from France in the course of May.

The battalions of La Reine and Languedoc are encamped under Fort Carillon, situate on Lake Champlain, five leagues beyond Fort St. Frederic.

The Guienne battalion is on the way to Fort Cataracoui, and that of Béarn to Niagara.

Eight hundred Canadians or Indians are encamped near Niaouré Bay, to harass the enemy, who are about to rendezvous immediately before Chouaguen.

Divers considerable parties of Canadians and Indians are out in the direction of Fort Lydius, on the River of Orange, to watch the movements of the enemy, who, 'tis reported, are preparing to come and attack Fort Carillon.

The battalion of La Sarre is to proceed immediately to Cataracoui or Niagara.

That of Royal Rousillon is destined for Carillon.

The nine companies of the battalion of La Reine number 327 men.

The battalion of La Sarre, 515.

That of Royal Roussillon, 519.

The nine companies of the battalion of Languedoc, 326.

The battalion of Guienne, 492.

That of Béarn, 498.

M. de Nau, first factionnary<sup>1</sup> of Guienne, died in the month of February.

Sieur de la Furjonniere, Lieutenant in the Regiment of Languedoc, was killed in the affair of Lake St. Sacrament.

M. de Sudria, Lieutenant in the Guienne, returns to France on account of sickness.

Four officers and two soldiers have married.

The Artois battalion, which is at Louisburg, amounts to 547 men, including the recruits arrived from France, who are attached to it whilst waiting for instructions from Court on this subject.

That of Burgundy numbers 543, including the recruits.

M. Delpriel, Sub-Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the Burgundy regiment, died at Louisburg on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, 1755.

Total of vacancies by death, three.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 21 May, 1756.

My Lord,

Although I have reason to believe that this letter, which I am dispatching by way of Louisburg, will not reach you before the one I shall have the honor to write you from this place, at all events, I have the pleasure of informing you of my arrival on the 13<sup>th</sup>. *Le Héros* is here since the 12<sup>th</sup>, and of the nine companies of the Regiment of Lasarre on board that vessel, only one man died on the passage; twenty-three were sick; of these, only one dangerously. I flatter myself that it will be the same on board the two other ships and the other two frigates which we may consider arrived, as *le Leopard* and *la Sirene* are at anchor nine leagues below, and the remainder were at Bic island on the fifteenth. The first wind from the northeast will bring them all up. Our Staff, Engineers and troops are therefore all arrived. We have also four other ships in port, with stores and recruits on board, and a fifth is at anchor with our men of war. M. de Bourlamaque and M. Desandroüins, Engineer, are already here, having come up by land from Cape Torment, as I likewise did. I heard from Chevalier de Levis the 15<sup>th</sup>. He was at Bic island in very good health, awaiting a favorable wind.

The day following my arrival, I sent a courier to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and to-morrow I proceed to join him. Everything is in movement for the opening of the campaign. The

<sup>1</sup> *Premier factionnaire* of a regiment implied that the officer so called was the fourth Captain of a battalion. *James' Military Dictionary*. — Ed.



winter has been less severe than usual. I found it impossible to repair sooner to Montreal, as the rain had rendered the roads impassable, and the winds were contrary. The same reasons have retarded M. Doriel's arrival, who is coming to receive the troops, and with whom I expect to confer on the way. During my eight days' sojourn, I have taken information respecting a country and a war, in which everything is different to what obtains in Europe, and acquired a knowledge of Quebec and its environs. I shall be in Montreal on Tuesday morning, although I have to travel sixty leagues, partly in a cart, in canoe and in a vehicle peculiar to the country, which seems to have served as a model to the cabriolets of Paris.

The winter operations consisted merely of some forays of Indians, who have really laid waste Pennsylvania and Virginia.

M. de Levis, a Colonial officer, carried on the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, sword in hand, a small fort near Chouaguen, in which the English had a depôt of provisions and forty-five thousand weight of powder. This detachment was to consist, at first, only of Canadians and Indians, under the apprehension that our Regulars were unable to bear the fatigue which, according to their avowal, far exceeded that of Bohemia, and could not travel on snow shoes. But, to satisfy their zeal and request, it became necessary to adjoin to it sixty volunteers from the four battalions, who have distinguished themselves to the great satisfaction of that officer. This action cost only two or three men. Two young English officers have been brought in here lately, whom the Indians had taken on a scout.

It appears to me that the Iroquois are expected to remain, at least, neutral.

I write by this opportunity to M. de St. Julien, Commandant of our two battalions at Louisburg, directing him to be very exact in writing to you, and to inform me likewise of any particulars respecting those two battalions.

The attention and politeness of the gentlemen officers of the ships to the troops, cannot be mentioned in too high terms.

I shall have the honor to enter into fuller detail when I write to you directly.

I have the honor to be respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS JOSEPH Marquis DE MONTCALM de Saint Veran, was born at the Chateau of Candiac, near Nismes, in 1712. At the age of 14 he entered on his military career and served seventeen years in the regiment of Hainaut, with which he made the campaign of Bohemia. He became Colonel of the regiment of Auxerre in 1745; received three wounds at the battle of Plasencia, in Italy, June 16, 1746, and two in the disastrous battle of Exiles, in Piedmont, July, 1747, in which year he was appointed Brigadier, and Colonel of Cavalry in 1749. In 1756, he was appointed Major-General; Commander of the Order of St. Louis in 1757; Lieutenant-General in 1758, and was mortally wounded before Quebec, on the 13th September, 1759. He died the following morning in the Castle of St. Louis, and his remains were interred the same night by torch-light, in the Church of the Ursuline Convent. The *Biographie Universelle* says that General Montcalm was buried in a hole made by a shell — "a meet tomb for a warrior, who died on the field of honor." This, we fear, is pure imagination on the part of M. Vincens St. Laurent. In Canada, says M. Garneau (*Histoire du Canada*, II., 327), he exhibited all his best qualities and all the most striking imperfections. He was brilliant, but not profound; brave in war, but timid of purpose; by no means enterprising; negligent of the discipline of his own troops. Like Braddock and Dieskau, despising everything Colonial, he was jealous of others to such a degree, that he may be said to have sacrificed his life to the fear that the victory he anticipated, when he went forth to meet General Wolfe, would be shared by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. — Ed.

*Journal of Occurrences in Canada from October, 1755, to June, 1756.*

1755. October. By a letter from Detroit dated the 18<sup>th</sup>, all the Indians of that quarter appeared inclined to attack the English. The Miamis and Poutouïamis are equally so disposed. The latter have had parties out constantly, and have killed or captured, up to the date of this letter, 120 English.

M. de Dieskau has been removed from Orange to Boston; no news have been received from him for a considerable time.

110 Acadian families have been removed to the Island of St. John, and 40 to the river of that name, notwithstanding the efforts of the English to the contrary.

1756. January. Spies have been sent to Minas and Port Royal, who have reported that there were 400 Regulars at Chibouctou, now Halifax, and 80 at Port Royal.

The English have burnt a barn on us filled with hay, in the neighborhood of Carillon, and have taken one prisoner.

February. The English, 'tis said, are making great preparations and considerable levies in all the New England Provinces. At Orange they have organized a company of Rangers composed of Dutchmen, and other people of the same sort, who are familiar with the woods.

March 18<sup>th</sup> Received information that M<sup>r</sup> du Mas, commanding at Fort du Quesne, has defeated the English on the same ground where they were beaten last year, and that the Indians have committed great ravages on the enemy's territory.

20<sup>th</sup> 200 bateaux, designed to transport our troops in the next campaign, are just completed.

April 11<sup>th</sup> Some Englishmen, who came to the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederic, have burnt 4 barns. A sergeant and soldier, who went to hunt from Fort Carillon, have been attacked by a party of Mohawks; the sergeant has been killed and scalped; the soldier escaped.

May. A party of Iroquois took some English prisoners, among whom was a Major and another officer; the first was bearer of what are considered important despatches, but nothing has transpired respecting their contents.

3<sup>d</sup> We learn from M<sup>r</sup> de Klerec,<sup>1</sup> Governor of the Mississipi, that the Indian Nations within his government design to make an attack on the English of the Beautiful river, where we have taken a considerable number of prisoners, amounting to 600, since the battle of Fort de Quesne, where M<sup>r</sup> Braddok was killed.

6<sup>th</sup> A letter, written from the country of the Wiatanons, states that the Illinois have attacked the Kikapaux and Miamis of St. Joseph, on the River of the Iroquois;<sup>2</sup> they have killed two women and taken five children prisoners.

23<sup>d</sup> We have taken three English prisoners in Lake St. Sacrament.

This moment news arrives that three deputies of the Five Nations have come to Montreal to demand that the road from us to Chouaguin be open. They have been very coldly received by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and 'tis in consequence of this proposition that M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers has been detached, with 1100 Frenchmen and Indians, to intercept all communication with the English, and prevent the transportation of their provisions, ammunition and artillery to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 281, note.

<sup>2</sup> The Iroquois river rises in Indiana, runs westerly by Concord, Montgomery and Iroquois city, Iroquois county, Illinois, turns thence northerly and falls into the Kankakee. — Ed.



said Fort Chouaguin. The reports of divers prisoners leave it to be presumed that it is badly provided in every way.

Some Englishmen, in ambush near Carillon, have killed a militiaman, made a prisoner of a young cadet who had been sent with 20 men to remove some trees that had fallen across the road. This young officer was so imprudent as to leave the guns belonging to his detachment at some distance from his party.

On 27<sup>th</sup> of March last there was a fight near Chouaguin in which M<sup>r</sup> de Lery, a Colonial officer, distinguished himself. I shall append the relation of that affair at the end of this Journal.

The King's ships *le Héros*, *l'Illustre* and *le Léopard*, with the frigates *la Licorne*, *la Sauvage* and *la Sirène*, which sailed from Brest in the forepart of April, in three divisions, that is to say, a ship and a frigate in company, arrived at the end of this month at Quebec. *Le Léopard* had a large number of sick which have increased since the arrival of the vessel. M<sup>r</sup> Gomain, Commander of this ship, and M. de Romainville, his First Lieutenant, have died; also, an officer of the land forces. The mortality among the soldiers and sailors is not as considerable as was to be apprehended.

June 7<sup>th</sup> Word is arrived from Montreal that M. de la Colombière, a Colonial officer, who has been gone three weeks with 300 men, on a scouting expedition, and to burn the canoes belonging to the English at Fort Lydius, about 20 leagues from Fort St. Frederic, which were designed to transport the provisions and ammunition, has been discovered some leagues from that fort, in consequence of the indiscretion of a Cadet who was taken in the neighborhood of Fort Carillon, now called Fort Vaudreuil, and had informed the English that that officer was on his march. Thereupon they have adopted measures to oppose his project, by reinforcing the garrison of Fort Lydius and removing their canoes under the cannon of the fort.

M. de la Colombière having learned what the English had done, from scouts he had abroad, thought only of making prisoners in case the enemy should think of showing themselves, which failed not to be the case.

They made a sortie of 80 men, who would have all perished, had it not been for the precipitancy of our Canadians and some Indians, who showed themselves too soon; a portion of that detachment has, notwithstanding, been defeated, and three prisoners taken. That officer has returned to near the same place with 200 men.

A party of Indians has killed 14 carpenters and taken three prisoners in the neighborhood of Chouaguin, out of 40 who were at work there.

The Mississagués and Senecas have killed 50 Englishmen near Fort Cumberland, on the Beautiful river.

Considerable consternation prevails in that quarter among the English, and the news received last winter in France of the desolation of Pennsylvania, are not without foundation. The great pillage at the time of General Braddock's defeat, has attracted some Indian tribes from very remote countries to Fort du Quesne.

The merchant vessels, *la Renommée*, *le Robuste*, *la Reine des Anges*, *le Sagittaire* and two schooners which sailed from France in the month of March, freighted with provisions for the Colony and bringing troops, have arrived in the month of May. Several others are expected.

The news received of the enemy is to the effect that they have collected two considerable bodies of troops which are estimated to amount to 10,000 men each—one at Orange, destined for an attack on Fort St. Frederic, and the other at Chouaguin, threatening Niagara; but 'tis hardly to be believed that there are really 20,000 men assembled.



Our troops will be distributed this year, according to the following order :

The battalions of La Reine and Languedoc are already encamped at Carillon, or Fort Vaudreuil, with a corps of Canadians and Indians, who go out frequently and always come back with some scalps.

Béarn is on the march since the last days of May, to encamp at Niagara, and Guyenne at Frontenac ; La Sarre will join it, and our Engineers are going there—that place requiring their presence.

The news to be received of the enemy will determine the destination of the Royal Roussillon regiment, which cannot reach Montreal before the end of the month.

The navigation of Lake Ontario is an object of consequence. We have 4 vessels on it ; the largest of these carry 14 12-pounders. The English have some craft on it also, but there is reason to believe that we shall be an overmatch for them, especially as the largest of their ships cannot be launched, as we are assured.

The latest intelligence from Fort du Quesne is of the 27<sup>th</sup> of April. The enemy does not appear to be making any considerable movement in that quarter. The Upper Nations appear to be well disposed towards us, and as yet, nothing but neutrality is perceptible among the Five Nations.

#### Capture of Fort Bull by M. Lery.

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of March, 1756, at four o'clock in the morning, the detachment commanded by M. de Léry, Lieutenant in the Colonial troops, commenced its march, very much weakened by the fatigue it experienced during fifteen days since the men left Montreal, and because these were two days entirely out of provisions. They arrived at the Carrying place about half-past five o'clock, and the scouts in advance brought in two Englishmen who were coming from the fort nearest Chouaguin, whom M. de Léry caused to be informed that he should have their brains knocked out by the Indians, if he perceived that they attempted to conceal the truth, and if they communicated it to him, that he would use all his influence to extricate them.

These prisoners stated that the fort towards Chouaguin was called Bull, having a garrison of 60 soldiers commanded by a Lieutenant and containing a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions ; that the fort was constructed of heavy stockades, 15 to 18 feet above the ground, doubled inside to a man's height and was nearly the shape of a star ; that it had no cannon, but a number of grenadoes which Colonel Johnson had sent, on receiving intelligence from the Indians of our march ; that the Commandant of this fort was named Bull ; that 15 bateaux were to leave in the evening for Chouaguin ; that sleighs were arriving, at the moment, with 9 bateaux loads ; that the fort on the Corlar side, at the head of the Carrying place, was of much thicker stockades and well flanked, having 4 pieces of cannon and a garrison of 150 men, under the command of Captain Williams, whose name the fort bore ; that they did not know if it were provisioned, as they had not been in it.

At 10 o'clock the Indians captured 10 men who were conducting the sleighs loaded with provisions. These confirmed what the prisoners had stated, and added that 100 men had arrived at 8 o'clock on the preceding evening, who announced that they were followed by a large force.

M. de Léry, whilst occupied in distributing among his detachment the provisions found on the sleighs, was informed that a Nègre who accompanied the loads, had escaped, taking the



road to Fort Williams; whereupon, not doubting but they would have intimation of him at that fort, he acquainted M. de Montigny, his second, of his determination to attack Fort Bull, as the prisoners had assured him that it contained the greater part of the provisions and ammunition. Each officer immediately received orders to form his brigade, and M. de Léry told the Indians that he was about to attack the Bull; but they represented to him that there was provisions enough to carry the detachment to La Présentation—English meat which the Master of Life had bestowed on them without costing a man—and that to risk another affair would be to contravene His Will; if he desired, absolutely, to perish, he was master of his Frenchmen. This Commandant replied, that he did not wish to expose them and asked them for only two Indians to act as guides, which they, with difficulty, granted. Some twenty determined, afterwards, to accompany him, being encouraged by some drams of brandy. The Algonquins, Nepissings, and those Iroquois who were unwilling to follow, accepted the proposition offered by M. de Léry, to guard the road and to watch the movements of the English at Fort Williams.

The detachment having proceeded along the high road, the soldiers, with fixed bayonets, M. de Léry gave orders, when within 15 arpens of the fort, to move straight forward, without firing a shot, and seize the guards on entering. He was still at a distance of 5 arpens when he heard the Indians whoop notwithstanding the prohibition he had issued. He instantly ordered his men to advance double-quick so as to secure the gate of the fort, but the enemy had time to close it. Six Indians only followed the French; the others pursued six Englishmen, who, being unable to reach the fort, threw themselves into the woods.

M. de Léry set some men to cut down the gate, and caused the Commandant to be summoned to surrender, promising quarter to him and all his garison. The only answer to this was a volley of musketry and the throwing of a quantity of grenades. Our Regulars and Canadians, who ran full speed the moment the Indians whooped, got possession of the loopholes, through which they kept up a fire on such of the English as they could sight. Great efforts were made to batter down the gate, which was finally cut to pieces in about an hour. Then the entire detachment rushed into the fort with a cry of *Vive le Roi*, and put every one to the sword they could lay hands on. One woman and a few soldiers only were fortunate enough to escape the fury of our troops. Some pretend that only one prisoner was made during this action.

The Commander and officers repaired to the stores and caused their men to use diligence in throwing the barrels of powder into the river, but one of the magazines having caught fire and M. de Léry, considering that he could not extinguish the flames without incurring the risk of the people being blown up who might be employed in that duty, gave orders to retire as quick as possible. There was hardly time to do this before the fire communicated to the powder which exploded in 3 places. The concussion was so violent that a soldier of Guyenne and an Iroquois of the Sault were wounded by the debris of the fort, though they were already at a distance. The Indian, especially, is in danger of losing his life by the wound.

Meanwhile, a detachment was sent to look after the baggage that remained on the road, and shortly after an Indian came to notify M. de Léry that the English were making a sortie, which caused him to collect his men, and placing himself on the bank of the creek, he had the shells, grenades, balls and all the ammunition that could be found, thrown into the water, notwithstanding. He had the 15 bateaux staved in, and then set out to meet the sortie of which he had been notified, but he learned on the road that it had been repulsed by the Indians,



after having killed or captured 17 men. This sortie was made from Fort Williams, on the intelligence carried thither by the Negro, and so well did the Indians who took charge of the road acquit themselves, though unwilling to attack Fort Bull, that the party quickly retreated with a loss of 17 men. Wherefore, the Indians, on coming some hours after, to congratulate M. de Léry on his fortunate success, failed not to make the most of their advantage.

One Chief asked him if he proposed attacking the other fort; this was nothing more than a vaunt on the part of this Indian. M. de Léry answered that he would do so forthwith if the Indians would follow him. This reply drove this Chief off, and all his party prepared to go after him.

Our troops did the same thing and encamped in the woods, three-quarters of a league off. The Fort Bull prisoners were examined, and we learned that Colonel Johnson, having been informed of our march, had sent to warn all the posts thereof, though regarding it, however, as impossible, in consequence of the rigor of the season. Fort Bull is situated near a small creek that falls into that of Chouaguin, about 4 miles from the fort. Fort Williams is near the Mohawk river, which falls into that of Corlar. The Carrying place, from one fort to the other, is about 4 miles long, over a pretty level, though in some places swampy, country.

M. de Lery's detachment consisted of 15 officers, 2 cadets, 10 soldiers of the regiment of La Reine, 17 of Guyenne, 22 of Béarn and 27 Colonial, making, in all, 93 soldiers; 166 Canadians, 33 Iroquois of the Lake of the Two Mountains, 33 of La Présentation, 18 of the Sault St. Louis, 3 of St Bigin,<sup>1</sup> 3 Abenakis of Missiskoui, 2 Algonquins and 11 Nipissings. Total, 362 men, 265 of whom attacked the fort. A soldier of the Colony and an Indian of La Présentation were killed. A soldier of La Reine, 2 Canadians and 2 Iroquois have been wounded.

It is estimated that more than 40 thousand weight of powder was burnt or thrown into the creek, with a considerable number of shells, grenades and shot of various calibre. A great quantity of salted provisions, bread, butter, chocolate, sugar and other stores was likewise thrown into the water. The magazines were filled with clothing and other effects which were plundered; the rest have been burnt. This day cost the English 90 men, 30 of whom are prisoners. Our detachment killed or captured 30 horses.

22<sup>nd</sup> of June. News has been received of several merchantmen in the river, among others of *Le Beauharnois*; they are all at Bicqs, and will reach Quebec with the first northeast wind, which has not been frequent this spring, though it be the season.

Chevalier de Tourville, Commander of the King's frigate *la Sauvage*, having received despatches from the Marquis de Vaudreuil by 2 couriers who arrived at Quebec on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> of this month, set sail on the 22<sup>d</sup> for France.

24<sup>th</sup> Intelligence is received from Montreal informing us that the English have erected forts every two leagues from Lake St. Sacrament to Orange, a distance of about 30 leagues. 'Tis also reported that they are on the march to attack Fort St. Frederic with a force of 10,000 men, which has caused the Royal Roussillon to be destined for that quarter, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil has likewise sent all the militia he could muster. I have already mentioned that the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc were already there with a considerable force of Canadians and Indians. The battalion of La Sarre can be easily forwarded thither, if thought necessary, instead of leaving it at Frontenac with that of Guyenne.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Regis.—Ed.



The Marquis de Montcalm has remained at Montreal, in order to be more convenient to the quarter where his presence will be required. Chevalier de Levi has set out for Montreal on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of this month for Fort St. Frederic.

M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamarque is destined for Frontenac or Niagara.

FROM ILE ROYALE.

On the first of this month 4 English vessels made their appearance off Louisburg, but did not remain. It is presumed that they wintered at Halifax, and were on their way to Europe when seen. Louisbourg is so much the more quiet, as it is well provided with supplies and munitions of war.

27<sup>th</sup> June. We have found *l'Outarde*, a flyboat from Rochefort, and *l'Ascension*, anchored at Bicqs, having on board troops and munitions of war for Quebec.

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*M. Kerlerec to M. de Machault.*

New Orleans, 1 June, 1766.

My Lord,

By the last letters of the 16<sup>th</sup> of March, which I have received from M. de Mackarty, Commandant at the Illinois, he informs me that he has not received any order from M. de Vaudreuil, and appears ignorant of the different events passing in Canada. He adds, that Captain de Chation, commanding at St. Joseph, a dependency of Canada, writes that he received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, recommending him to labor in keeping the Nations quiet in existing circumstances, and that he will soon send him packets for M. de Mackarty, which he will be hardly able to receive before this month. Therefore, my Lord, I cannot give you any news of what is passing in the North and on the Beautiful river. As regards the domiciliated Indian Nations, and others in the neighborhood of Illinois, they appear pretty quiet.

M. de Mackarty in accordance with the letter of M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, copy whereof I annex hereunto, complied as far as he was able with the requisition for flour and salted provisions, but not to near the quantity that was desired. As soon as I shall be better informed, my Lord, of what will take place both at the Illinois and the Beautiful river, I shall not fail to send you an account thereof.

The only information I have from different Indians of that quarter is, that those of the North are incessantly, and most successfully, ravaging and laying waste all the settlements belonging to the Provinces of New-York, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia and Potomac. Several have even\* quite recently been discovered with all their baggage within 5 days' journey of the Kaoutas,<sup>1</sup> going in quest of an asylum between St. Augustine and New Georgia. This is what I have learned pending my voyage to Mobile.

I am with the most profound respect, My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

KERLEREC.

<sup>1</sup> The French name for the Creeks. *Jefferson*. — Ed.

Copy of the letter written to M. de Makarty, Commandant at the Illinois, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1755, by M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Du Quesne.

Sir,

The critical condition of Canada last summer; attacked on all sides by numerous armies, whose movements M. Du Quesne, at the time our general, was unwilling to foresee; with posts defenceless and without supplies; Lake Ontario closed by Chaouaguin during the entire of the fine season; all this, Sir, has placed this post in the most sad want of provisions.

The enemy having cut off our communication, as I have had the honor to inform you, Sir, it is a long time since I have received any news from M. de Vaudreuil; I have reason to believe he is busy clearing the roads, but the greatest success cannot at present provide so many indispensable necessities; therefore I have to look elsewhere.

In this so delicate a conjuncture, I take upon myself, Sir, to send to you for provisions, and if they can reach us in season, they will afford us the opportunity of being provided with other necessities by facilitating the carriage of whatever comes to us from below.

Wherefore, I send you Sieur Ducharme, a skilful voyageur who formerly came up the Beautiful river as far as the Falls, and who expects to be able to ascend it again as far as this place, with carts loaded with 10 thousand weight under a guard of six men.

I have had the honor to advise M. de Vaudreuil of all this, and I flatter myself that you will give all your support to an undertaking on the success of which depends perhaps the fate of our settlement.

I furnish M. Ducharme with 18 men; he proposes to engage some at the Illinois, but I foresee that it will be difficult for him to find people sufficient to convey 120 thousand weight of flour and 40 thousand weight of pork. It is on you, Sir, that I rest the confidence with which I enter on this project.

You, Sir, can easily furnish Sieur Ducharme with a detachment under the command of an officer. It will march as an escort, and the soldiers will be paid as laborers by the contractor for working in the convoy.

I have heard of one Delisle undertaking formerly to convey provisions to the Ouyatonons. I suppose, Sir, you have orders to protect him. I demand the same assistance for Sieur Ducharme, and that you will add thereto whatever will be in your power.

In laboring for the good of the service your reward and mine are assured, since we have performed our duty.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed), DUMAS.

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*Abstract of Despatches received from Canada.*

The despatches just received from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of the Colony, dated the 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8<sup>th</sup> of February, contain the following particulars.

That Governor remained at Montreal, in order to be in a more convenient position to harass the English during the winter, and to make preparations for the next campaign.



With this double object, he directed his efforts principally to gaining the Indians, and flatters himself that he has generally succeeded.

All the Nations on the Beautiful river have taken up the hatchet against the English.

The first party that was formed in that quarter, since the last report M. de Vaudreuil had sent in the month of October, ultimo, was composed of two hundred and fifty Indians, to whom the Commandant of Fort Duquesne adjoined some Frenchmen at the request of those Indians.

This party divided themselves into small squads, at the height of land, and fell on the settlements beyond Fort Cumberland; defeated a detachment of 20 regulars under the command of two officers. After these different squads, had destroyed or carried away several families, pillaged and burnt several houses, they came again together with the design of surprising Fort Cumberland, and accordingly lay in ambush during some time; but the Commandant of the fort, who no doubt was on his guard, dared not show himself. This party returned to Fort Duquesne with sixty prisoners and a great number of scalps.

The second detachment, which consisted of a military Cadet, a Canadian and 4 Chaouanons, took two prisoners under the guns of Fort Cumberland, whither the party had been sent by the commandant of Fort Duquesne, to find out what was going on there.

The third, made up of a Canadian and several Chaouanons, destroyed eleven families, burned sixteen houses and one mill, and killed a prodigious number of cattle. The Indians returned on horseback.

The fourth party was composed of one hundred and twelve Delawares (*Loups*). They struck in separate divisions. Thirteen returned, first, with twenty-one scalps and six prisoners. The remainder of the party took such a considerable number of scalps and prisoners that these Indians sent some to all the nations to replace their dead.

M. de Vaudreuil reports only what these four parties did. A number of others had marched with equal success. Some have actually been on the war path as far even as Virginia.

The Commandant of Fort Duquesne has informed M. de Vaudreuil that the Delawares settled beyond the mountains which separate us from the English, had, on his invitation, just removed their villages so as to unite with their brethren, our allies; that the old men, the women and children, had already gone with the baggage, and that the warriors were to form the rear guard and, on quitting, to attack the English.

M. de Vaudreuil observes, on this migration, that it will be of so much the more advantage to us, as the Delawares will become respectable in the estimation of all the other nations, and the Beautiful river will acquire new settlers who are sworn enemies of the English.

All the Indians towards Acadia and New England are, in spite of the various attempts which the English have made to seduce them, more hostile to these than ever; but, unfortunately, they have not as yet been able to go on the war path, having been afflicted by the small-pox in all their villages.

This disease has committed ravages also among the Canadians, and prevented M. de Vaudreuil executing the movements and incursions he had projected during the winter.

Another and a most extraordinary event, in that country, had equally prevented that project; namely, since the twentieth of January, there has not been a particle of snow on the ground; this is the case ordinarily only towards the end of April or even the beginning of May. The roads were thus rendered impassable. He was impatiently waiting for the return of the cold weather to send out some expeditions. (Letters from Ile Royale, of the month of April, state that the frost has been quite severe there at the close of February.)



Some parties have been out, but have only taken a few scalps, as the English were always distrustful and dared not appear except in numbers.

Among the number of scalps is one which is represented to be that of the English Engineer at Lake St. Sacrament.

In regard to the Iroquois, they have sent word to M. de Vaudreuil, by a French officer resident among them, that their deputies will come to see him this spring.

They have disavowed all those of their people who were with the English in M. Dieskau's affair. They have likewise said that it was their intention to follow their former system of neutrality, and M. de Vaudreuil had them notified that if any of their Nation was found among the English he would regard them as enemies, and would let all the Upper Nations loose on them. He will be better able to judge of their true disposition in the course of their proposed visit.

In respect to the operations of the campaign, M. de Vaudreuil foresaw that he should be constrained to confine himself to the defensive. He did not consider himself in a condition to risk the Choüaguen expedition. The English have constructed their forts there, which are provided with cannon and a garrison of six hundred men continually on its guard. M. de Vaudreuil was, however, not losing sight of that expedition; he was making every preparation that depended on him in order that there should be no delay, if circumstances permitted him to undertake it on the arrival of reinforcements from France.

According to intelligence received from the English Colonies, they were preparing to make the greatest efforts for attacking Canada again this year on the Acadia side, by Lake St. Sacrament, Niagara and the Beautiful river; but their dispositions for these four campaigns are different from those of last year. They are to direct their principal strength against Fort St. Frederic and Forts Niagara and Frontenac.

The troops from Old England are to be employed in the army that is destined against the two last mentioned forts; after having reduced these, they are to proceed towards the Beautiful river at the same time that fifteen hundred men will be dispatched to that quarter from Virginia.

Whatever these plans may amount to, M. de Vaudreuil is preparing to face them all. He does not transmit the distribution he proposes to make of his forces to effect that object, because it will depend on circumstances and events.

He merely remarks that at the opening of the navigation he will dispatch the men and provisions he will consider necessary for the defence of each part; but that he will be careful to form a corps of reserve of Canadians, either to forward assistance to the most exposed points or to serve in the expedition against Choüaguin, should it take place.

Meanwhile the following are the measures he has adopted.

Towards Acadia and New England: He has sent orders to Captain Boishebert, who commands on those frontiers, to maintain, to the last extremity, the post on the River St. John so as to prevent the progress of the English in that quarter. And he hopes that officer will succeed therein with the aid of the French and Indians, whose confidence he fully possesses. The Missionaries will second him, and, possibly, he will likewise be assisted by some Acadians who have retired thither in order to be safe from the cruelties which their fellow countrymen experience at the hands of the English.

For the defence of Fort St. Frederic: M. de Vaudreuil has set about fortifying Carillon, which post he had caused to be occupied between the above mentioned fort and Lake St. Sacrament, after M. Dieskau's affair.



Twelve guns and eight peteraroes had already been placed in battery with four small mortars for throwing grenades, and M. de Vaudreuil was to send thither, at the opening of the navigation, eight other pieces of artillery, two of which are eighteen, and the remainder twelve, eight and four-pounders. The fort is, moreover, well supplied with powder, balls and grape shot (*mitraille*), &c.

M. de Vaudreuil had left a garrison of only four hundred men there, but was to send a considerable detachment thither and to establish a flying camp at the Little Carrying place of Lake St. Sacrament, which is an important post some leagues beyond Carillon, and he flatters himself that he will be able to stop the English in that direction. He has been, moreover, informed that the English have had a new fort constructed on this side of Lake St. Sacrament since M. Dieskaw's affair.

The works which have been considered necessary to put Niagara in a state of defence, were much advanced, and they would, it was expected, be completed this spring. A garrison of three hundred men is actively at work there. Niagara will, thus, be capable of resisting the enemy; its position is, moreover, very advantageous. M. de Vaudreuil remarks that, meanwhile, he will be obliged to send thither, early in the season, a considerable force with provisions, and that he will hasten to do so the rather as the navigation of the English in that quarter is open earlier than with us.

He will provide at the same time for the security of Fort Frontenac. He has caused two sloops to be built on Lake Ontario, which are to be equipped as war cruizers on that lake, where they will be capable of doing good service.

Respecting the Beautiful river: The commandant of Fort Duquesne has advised M. de Vaudreuil that that fort will not be in a condition to resist an attack with artillery. That Commandant is Captain Dumas; the same that happened to be in command at the affair against General Braddock after Sieur de Beaujeu's death.

He has observed to M. de Vaudreuil, that to go out to meet the enemy and give him battle appeared inevitable. M. de Vaudreuil had not yet given any positive orders on that point; they were to be transmitted after mature reflection. He was to send him also, very early in the season, all the assistance he had demanded, both in men, provisions, &c.

In order that M. Dumas may not be straitened in any of his operations, M. de Vaudreuil has issued his commands to all the posts convenient to the Beautiful river, to forward some Indians and Frenchmen to Fort Duquesne.

M. Dumas will find himself in a condition to continually send out some considerable parties to meet the enemy, and M. de Vaudreuil expects that before the English have reached our territory, they will have lost more people than they will possibly kill of ours in a decisive action.

"'Twill probably depend," he adds in one of his letters, "on who will do best; the enemy or I. I will offer them everywhere the most active resistance.

"I shall be prepared to take advantage of every circumstance that chance will throw in my way.

"I am confident they will not make any progress, and that they will lose men; but it is easily seen that all those movements cannot be made without immense expense, and this is what causes me most uneasiness."

4<sup>th</sup> June, 1756.

*M. de Vaudreuil to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> of June, 1756.

My Lord,

I have received the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the

I cannot but bear most favorable testimony of the conduct of the battalions of La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne and Béarn. Equally good has been the behavior of those which have passed the winter in Montreal or its environs, and of those of La Reine and Languedoc which have wintered at Carillon, of Guyenne at Niagara and of Bearn at Fort Frontenac.

The two former battalions are encamped at Fort Carillon; the third at Fort Frontenac and the fourth at Niagara. The one and the other are very useful for the works which I am obliged to have constructed at these forts, and they apply themselves with good will.

I must render you the best report in particular of M. Pouchot, Captain in the Bearn regiment. He perfectly understands all the departments of engineering. He was so good as to take on himself the direction of the fortifications I proposed constructing at Niagara, and applied himself so closely thereto, from the time of the unfortunate issue of the Baron de Dieskaw's campaign until now, that he has almost entirely superintended them to their completion, and that fort which was abandoned, and beyond making the smallest resistance, is now a place of considerable importance, in consequence of the regularity, solidity and utility of its works. I add, my Lord, that M. Pouchot has surmounted all obstacles and that his zeal has suggested resources to accelerate his labors; he has even accomplished all with an economy whereat I cannot but feel agreeably surprised. He is, besides, much experienced in all that concerns the service, and every reason will engage me to unite with the Marquis de Montcalm in requesting you to procure for him such favors from the King as he will deserve.

During the past winter, I have employed, my Lord, two soldiers of each company of the battalions of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn, in a detachment composed of Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Lieutenant de Lery. I could not include any of the soldiers of the Languedoc battalion, because it was at Chambly, and the river was impassable to Montreal either in bateaux or on the ice. I sent this detachment to the carrying place situate between Corlar and Chouaguen to seize one of the forts the English have erected there, and which was the principal entrepôt of their provisions and ammunition. This detachment has fulfilled its mission to perfection; some soldiers belonging to the troops of the Line and of the Colony, several Militiamen and Indians, burst open and cut down the gate of that fort, despite the fire from the enemy's musketry and a prodigious quantity of grenades. All the English in that fort have been killed or taken. We had only two men killed and six wounded; of these, one was a soldier belonging to La Reine, and one of Guyenne. Whatever was in that fort, whether provisions, ammunition or stores, has been thrown into the creek or burnt in the flames, according to the report of the detachment and even of the English prisoners. There was 45 thousand weight of powder, which it will not perhaps be easy to replace.

The parties I have sent out this winter to harass the enemy have not been as considerable as I had wished. I could not do entirely as I wanted in this matter, because no fort was sufficiently supplied with provisions, and the roads have not been passable, as the season has



been one of the most unsettled. Nevertheless, I calculate that, without exaggeration, the English have, since my arrival, lost one hundred men for our one.

The English muster this year, my Lord, a much more considerable force than they employed last year; and I am, on my side, prepared to offer them everywhere the same resistance, and am confident they will not be more fortunate this, than they were last season.

The battalions of La Sarre and Royal Roussillon are fortunately arrived at Quebec; also 117 volunteers drafted from different regiments.

The Marquis de Montcalm and M. de Bourlamarques are now at Montreal. Chevalier de Levis will not delay joining them. He has remained at Quebec in order to get the two battalions in order.

I have experienced a real pleasure, my Lord, in conferring with M. de Montcalm, especially in what relates to the service of the land forces, both in garrison and in the field. I act in concert with him for the incorporation of the Recruits into the different corps, and we conform ourselves exactly to the intentions of the King. I have not concealed anything from him of the actual condition of the Colony. He is very prepossessing. On my side, I neglect nothing for the maintenance of union and good understanding between us, and we shall always agree as to whatever will tend to the good of the service and the advantage of the Colony.

I will immediately dispatch the battalion of La Sarre to Fort Frontenac. I am obliged to have that fort put in the best state of defence, in consequence of its proximity to Chouaguen, and to anticipate the English, who probably will attack it in preference to that of Niagara.

If a party of about 900 men, composed of a detachment of Marines, Canadians and Indians, that I sent to attempt the capture of some convoys of provisions, and to hinder the junction of the forces at Chouaguen, meet with success; and if my circumstances be also anywise favorable, I shall be able to undertake the reduction of that fort, and the battalions of Guyenne, Béarn and La Sarre will be ready, on receipt of my orders, to encamp there, and to join the Colonial troops that I shall have destined for the same expedition.

As regards the battalion of Royal Roussillon, I shall send it to Carillon.

I have not assigned any command as yet to Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm, de Levis and de Bourlamarque; I shall employ each according to the exigency of the case.

I shall have the honor, my Lord, to inform you of whatever will transpire in the places where these battalions are employed during the campaign; and I shall seize with avidity every occasion to renew to you the assurances of my respectful attachment.

The pains I have taken, my Lord, to acquire positive information of M. de Dieskaw, have not been fruitless. I have received two letters from him, and I know that he is cured of his wounds. I have sent him letters of credit, and have also written to M. Schirley, to the Governor of New-York and to M<sup>r</sup> Johnson, requesting them to exhibit towards him the regard and attention which are due to him personally, and particularly to his rank of General officer.

I am, with most profound respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> of June, 1756.

My Lord,

I have received the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, with the King's instruction respecting the conduct I was to observe towards the English, whereunto I shall exactly conform.

In truth, there must be no longer any question of managing the English. Their enterprises are carried to excess, and you see, my Lord, by the reports I have the honor of rendering you, that they are making new and greater efforts against this Colony; that I am making use of the reinforcements the King has granted me to oppose them, and that I neglect nothing to enable me to carry the war into their country. But before undertaking any enterprise, I occupy myself in making all the dispositions necessary to assure the defence of my government and it will be always on this principle that I shall regulate my operations as his Majesty has prescribed in my instructions.

I apply myself particularly, my Lord, to sending parties of Indians into the English Colonies. I also do my best to multiply them as much as circumstances permit. Nothing is more calculated to disgust the people of those Colonies and to make them desire the return of peace. My labor in this regard has not been in vain. None of the New England Countries but feels the incursions of our Indians, and I can say, without exaggeration, that the English have lost one hundred men for our one. I should greatly wish to discover some means to make that people more and more sensible how much it would be to their advantage not to countenance such odious views, the consequences whereof may be so fatal to themselves. But the matter is not so easy, and I shall have recourse to it only so far as I shall be sure of not compromising anything.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1756.

My Lord,

I profit by the first opportunity that presents, in the departure of Chevalier de Tourville with the frigate *La Sauvage*, to report to you the actual condition of everything. I have had the honor to write you by way of Louisburg on the 21<sup>st</sup> of May. Although that letter does not contain any detail of interest, in order to be more exact, I annex a duplicate of it hereunto.

The reinforcements sent by the three ships of war and the three frigates, arrived safe. *Le héros* entered the harbor of Quebec on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May; the frigate on board of which I came, on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The other ships and frigates arrived at Quebec between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup>.



No English ship was seen except on leaving Brest. *Le Léopard* and *l'Illustre*, with the Royal Roussillon regiment and four companies of that of La Sarre on board, have had a great many sick. The regiment of La Sarre lost, during the passage, up to the 31<sup>st</sup> of May, only six soldiers and one servant. That of Royal Roussillon lost only two. Both these regiments had, on the second of this month, two hundred and twenty sick in the hospital at Quebec. Two died the evening before. I flatter myself this sickness will not have any unfortunate results. Six merchantmen have also arrived at Quebec, freighted, on the King's account, with provisions, munitions of war and 400 men, part recruits and part soldiers drafted from the different regiments of Infantry.

Since the battle of Lake St. Sacrament, the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc have remained in camp at Carillon; Béarn, at Frontenac; Guienne, at Niagara, and entered into winter quarters only at the end of November. As this entire Colony had been neglected and the forts existed only in name, these regiments had been engaged with some Canadians in putting them in order. M. de Vaudreuil employed M. Pouchaut, Captain in the regiment of Béarn, who has erected a good fortification at Niagara. It consists of a horn-work with its half-moon, covert-way, lunettes at the *places d'armes* reëntering from the covert-way. The front of this work is 120 toises. It is fortified according to M. de Vauban's method.

At Carillon has been constructed a square fort with four bastions, which are defended by a redoubt situated on a hill that commands the fort. The object of this fort within five leagues of St. Frederic has been to cover the latter, which becomes a place of second line; to secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, and to command the principal egress of the English at that point. The works are of earth and will be soon in a state of defence. The fort of Carillon has been superintended by M. de Lotbinière, Colonial Engineer. He has been assisted by Captain Germain, of La Reine, and by Adjutant Joannes, of the Languedoc regiment. I have written to these gentlemen to enable me to render you a more exact account thereof.

Frontenac which is the centre of our line of defence, is the part on which the least has been done. Our two Engineers are on the march for that place, to construct a fortification there partaking of the character of an intrenched camp and commanding an ill located fort, which must be preserved because it is in existence.

The winter operations have been confined to forays of the Upper country Indians, who have really laid waste Virginia and Pennsylvania; to negotiations with the Five Nations who have, as yet, promised only neutrality, and to an expedition of which I have had the honor to speak to you in my letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> of May.

The soldier is very well off here, as he has rations as well as his pay and is employed in works for which he is remunerated. He has, as it were, too much money, wherefore the greatest attention has to be paid to discipline. The climate, the manner in which he sees the Militia of the country and the Indians do service, inspire him with a spirit of independence, for much patience and management are necessary when Canadians and Indians are led to battle. Since coming to Montreal, I spend my time among the latter in receiving and returning compliments according to M. de Vaudreuil's instructions. The Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis have done me the honor of coming to present me with a Belt, and in all their speeches, speak with respect and veneration of the power and protection of Ononthio Goa, as they style the King.

There cannot be better hospitals than those in which our soldiers are treated. You will see, my Lord, by the return annexed to this despatch, that the loss of men in the four battalions far exceeds that occurring in full peace in France.

There are only two vacancies in the four battalions. One by the death of Captain Nau of the Guienne regiment; the other by that of Lieutenant de la Fargeonniere of the Languedoc regiment, who was killed in the affair of Lake St. Sacrament.

Lieutenant de Sudriat of the regiment of Guienne proceeds to France by leave of the Marquis de Vaudreuil; he is dying of consumption. I have the honor to address you a Memoir for filling the vacancies created by the death of M. de Nau. I shall propose others to you for the remainder, at the close of the campaign.

I have communicated the despatch you have done me the honor to write me on occasion of the favors his Majesty has been pleased to bestow. The example of the pensions and crosses which you have had granted before the time, will redouble zeal and emulation. It must be allowed that expatriation and the fatigue merit a particular consideration.

Only two soldiers have as yet been married in the Colony, but there have been four officers. These have married respectably but do not increase their fortunes.

I have agreed with the Marquis de Vaudreuil that, as it is impossible to allow the extra pay of Colonial troops to all the soldiers that were drafted in France from the different Infantry regiments, the overplus should be given to us in preference, to recruit our battalions.

I have sent Chevalier de Montreuil his commission as Adjutant-General. I have no doubt of his application and zeal. I have sent M. Doreil to Quebec to receive our two battalions.

By our last advices from Louisburg of the 23<sup>rd</sup> of April, they had at least ten months' provisions, and the two battalions were completed, having even some supernumeraries. According to a return transmitted by the Adjutant of the Burgundy, that battalion amounted on the 9<sup>th</sup> of April to 543, and had lost since the tenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, only thirty-two men, namely, twenty-eight dead, three discharged and one sent to the galleys. I have as yet seen no return of the situation of the Regiment of Artois.

The portion within brackets is in cipher in the original. [The battalion of La Reine, with that of Languedoc, the Canadians and Indians, are encamped at Carillon. Chevalier de Levy will command at that post; the Canadians and Indians there amount to eight hundred. The Béarn battalion is going to Niagara; Guyenne with the battalion of La Sarre will encamp before Fort Frontenac with M. de Bourlamaque. The Indians and Canadians, numbering nearly one thousand men, [are] near Chouaguen at the head of the Bay of Niaure, between Forts Frontenac and Niagara. The destination of the Royal Roussillon battalion, as well as my own, will depend on the movements; it will not arrive at Montreal until the twentieth.

The navigation of Lake Ontario is most important; the English have three sloops with some three and five-pounders. They are building two which will, it is reported, be of twenty guns. We have four vessels, one of which carries twenty four-and six-pounders, and eighty men; the others have forty men and ten four-pounders.

From intelligence we have received from our prisoners, or Iroquois who being neutral visit the English, it appears certain that there is a camp at Orange, eight hundred men at Chouegen, three hundred at Fort Lidius, with two hundred bateaux on Lake St. Sacrament. M. de Vaudreuil believes that the English had twelve thousand men for our seven thousand, the remainder are in Acadia or Fort du Quesne, or on the works, or forwarding provisions. M. de Vaudreuil particularly respects the Indians, loves the Canadians, is acquainted with the



country, has good sense but is somewhat weak, and I stand very well with him. He ought to have been supplied a month ago with provisions and artillery, but everything is behind. I urge that all be at Fort Frontenac, which is to be the depôt for the siege of Choueguen, in sufficient season to make an impression on the enemy and commence the siege whenever the opportunity offers, or at least, this next spring.<sup>1</sup> M. Bigot's letters make me apprehend that the plan of operating this winter or earlier will be stopped by [the want of] provisions. M. de Vaudreuil has no fear for Quebec in any event. He has cruisers at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence.]

M. de Boishébert continues to occupy a small portion of Acadia. He has collected a number of Acadian families there with Father Germain, the Jesuit; they lie in the woods and harass the English.

The latest news from Fort du Quesne is to the 9<sup>th</sup> of May. No English movements of any importance yet in that quarter. Our Indians, together with some of our detachments, made many successful forays. Thirty scalps have been sent us, and the commissions of three officers of the English regiments raised in the country, who have been killed. The Upper country Indians carry off entire families, which obliges the English to construct several pretended forts; that is to say, to inclose a number of dwellings with stockades. Our Upper Indians appear well disposed towards us, notwithstanding the presents and solicitations of the English. M. Dumas, an officer of great distinction in the Colony, commands at Fort Duquesne and on the River Ohio. We have lost, in one detachment, Ensign Douville, of the Colonial troops.

We keep small parties of Indians out everywhere in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament and Choueguen, who frequently bring in prisoners and scalps. Recently, one of these parties fell, at the gates of Choueguen, upon a workshop full of carpenters, some twenty of whom they killed, and brought away five of them prisoners.

Of the six ships or frigates, *la Sauvage*, commanded by Chevalier de Tourville, is now on her departure; another frigate will remain to take the news of the campaign to France, and the rest will doubtless sail in succession. *Le Leopard* is condemned as unseaworthy. Her crew will reinforce those of *Le Héros* and *l'Illustre*, and serve to man a frigate built here, called *l'Abenaguisse*.

[I believe the ships and the two frigates have orders to go and capture Fort Beausejour, at the head of the Bay of Fundy; they will be supported from Acadia. Captain Beausier of *le Héros* will command the expedition. M. de Vaudreuil has not mentioned the matter to me; they might possibly sail in a month. It is to be seen whether the English will offer any opposition. It is no secret here.

Fort Duquesne is not worth a straw. A freshet nearly carried it off a short time ago. Chevalier de Levy and M. de Bourlamaque may exchange; but one will be always at the Camp of Fort Frontenac; the other at that on the Island of St. John.<sup>2</sup>]

I shall punctually inform you of everything as well as I am able. I annex to this despatch a return of the equipments and subsistences belonging to the officers and soldiers during the campaign, with some observations. I fancied you would be perhaps pleased to be acquainted with customs different from ours.

I am, with respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

<sup>1</sup> Je presse pour que tous soit au Fort de Frontenac qui sera le dépost pour le siège de Chouegen, assi de le persuader aux ennemis et le faire si l'occasion se trouve ou au moins ce printems. *Text.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

I have omitted to inform you that in this Colony, honors regulated by particular orders from his Majesty are paid to the Governor-General, the Bishop, the Intendant, and the Captains of Men of War. Baron de Dieskau at first made some objections to it. I think you will approve my not having offered any, and merely having demanded what has been allowed, that the guards at Quebec turn out for Colonel de Bourlamaque the same as for Captains of Ships, although that officer did not wish it, because the ordinance of the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 1750, does not accord that honor to Colonels; but I thought it my duty to maintain the equality of that grade with that of ship captain.

The four officers of our battalion who have married last winter at Montreal are, Captain de Germain, of the regiment of La Reine; Captain de Marillac, of the regiment of Languedoc; Captains de Barotte and de Figuières, of the regiment of Béarn.

Advices have just arrived from Louisburg of nearly the same date as the preceding. There was nothing new. I have received a return of the condition of the regiment of Artois; it amounted to 547, by means of the 28 recruits which it needed, and the twenty-two supernumeraries. Its losses, since the 11<sup>th</sup> of April, 1755, to the 9<sup>th</sup> of April, 1756, were twenty-eight men, of whom two were discharged, one condemned to the galleys, one delivered up to justice, and 24 dead in the hospitals.

Return of the actual state of the undernamed battalions, and of the changes which have occurred in each since their departure from Brest in May, 1755, to this day, 25<sup>th</sup> of May, 1756.

[ BY M. DORVILLE ]

Name of the Battalions.	State on sailing from Brest.	Died during the passage.	Died in the hospitals of Canada.	Killed at the affair of Lake St. Sacrament.	Number of effective men, 25 <sup>th</sup> May, 1756.
La Reine, 9 companies	360	2	10	21	327
Languedoc, .....	360, not including 2 cadets received at Quebec.	24	7	5	326
Guienne, .....	524	1	30	1	492
Bearn, ....	524, exclusive of 2 cadets received at Quebec.	7	10	"	508
	1768	34	57	27	1653
118					

NOTE.—Some soldiers may have died in the detachments which spent the winter at Forts Frontenac, Niagara and Carillon, of whom no exact return has as yet been received on the 25<sup>th</sup> of May. 5 soldiers will, I believe, return to France, being entitled to admission into the Hotel Royal des Invalides on account of wounds.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Machault.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 12 June, 1756.

My Lord,

Although you have communication of the letters I write, I should consider myself wanting in my duty did I not have the honor to inform you directly of the arrival of the whole of the reinforcement, and of a portion of the recruits, with considerable provisions and ammunition.

I am waiting for Chevalier de Levis who arrived last, and then M. de Bourlamaque, who will proceed, the one to Frontenac, and the other to Carillon, which will be the two principal camps, convenient to Lediis and Chouegen, the two points where the English are beginning to collect. We are assured that they have few people there yet; though possessing more facilities for concentration than we, they must experience a part of our difficulties.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil wishes me not to leave Montreal until all the troops have passed through to their destination, and it is determined whether an offensive or defensive course shall be adopted. This plan appears to me regular. The Governor-General overwhelms me with politeness; I believe him to be satisfied with my conduct towards him, and I think it convinces him that general officers can be found in France who will study the public good under his orders, without pretension or finesse. He is acquainted with the country; possesses in his hands both authority and means; is at the head of business; he it is who must prescribe it; it is mine to relieve him of the details relative to our troops, in what regards discipline and the execution of his plans.

The article of discipline requires all of a general officer's attention, in a country where the soldier possesses too much money and has contagious examples before his eyes.

Our latest advices from the Beautiful river are of the ninth of May; there has not been, as yet, any movement of importance on the part of the enemy. Meanwhile, Pennsylvania and Virginia are really desolated. Letters found on officers who have been killed admit not a doubt of the alarm prevailing in that quarter where the inhabitants are not soldiers (*guerriers*). All the Indians generally appear to us very well affected, and I believe that the neutrality of the Five Nations can be depended on. This will be a great point; they are quite convenient to the English who shower caresses and presents on them.

Our regiments are very far from being complete. Their losses since [leaving] Brest up to the twenty-fifth of May, 1756, according to M. Doreil's return, amount to 118; of these

34 died on the passage.

27 were killed in the affair at Lake St. Sacrament.

57 died in the Canada hospitals.

Add to this number some few who may have died during the winter unknown to this Commissary, in the garrisons of the forts at a distance.

Our hospitals are admirable, and M. Doreil, who acquits himself very well of all his functions, bestows the greatest attention on an object of so much importance. He has appeared to me content with Sieur Arnoux, Surgeon-Major of Quebec, who acts as Surgeon-Major of the land forces. M. Doreil is at Quebec to receive La Sarre and Royal Roussillon, which are actually on the march. The delay of the two last ships has put two hundred and fifty of them on the sick list. I flatter myself that these will be soon recovered. With the return fleet some soldiers will be sent back who are entitled to admission into the Royal Hotel of Invalids. I believe they number five.

I hope that in spite of the distance at which I am, you will have the goodness not to forget one who has always reckoned on your kindness; who glories in his devotion to you and to all that bear your name, and who joins to these sentiments those of the respect with which I am,  
My Lord,

Your most humble and  
Most obedient servant,  
MONTCALM.

P. S. 17<sup>th</sup> Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> of July,<sup>1</sup> state that the ship *le Beauharnois*, freighted on the King's account, having 150 recruits on board, was at the Island of Bic; consequently safe. She had left at the mouth of the Gulf four other vessels, which will arrive, as is to be presumed, without inconvenience.

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*M. de Montreuil to ———.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> June, 1766.

I am very well satisfied with M. Montcalm. I shall accomplish impossibilities to deserve his confidence. I have spoken to him in the same terms that I did to M. Dieskaw, namely: Rely only on Regulars in an expedition, but on the Canadians and Indians to harass the enemy; send me to points of danger with your orders; do not expose yourself. M. de Vaudreuil is prejudiced against M. Doreil, the Commissary ordonnateur, and me, because he suspects we report to the Court what passes. I always continue my course, adopting every possible precaution; I continually pay my court to him. The Colonial officers do not like those of the regular army. It is incredible to what a degree luxury prevails in this country, and to what an extent the King is robbed in consequence of the bad administration of affairs. All the French who arrive here are shocked at the waste that is made. The Governor and Intendant are too easy and too remiss in a country where greater strictness is required than in any other. There is no police. The Canadian is independent, wicked, lying, braggart, well adapted for skirmishing, very brave behind a tree and very timid when not covered. I believe a defensive course will be adopted on both sides. M. Montcalm appears to me not to have any desire to attack the enemy. I believe he is right. In these countries a thousand men would keep three thousand of them in check. The enemy are, at least, three thousand stronger than we. I expect to leave in the course of July with M. Montcalm. I have received your two letters in duplicate and another in ordinary writing. I should be inconsolable were you to secretly disapprove of my conduct. You could not furnish a more certain proof of your friendship than to correct me when I am wrong. The detachment was morally certain of being wholly cut off had I returned to M. Dieskaw, whom I would have removed by force had I had four men with me, when he was wounded in both hips, but I was alone with him. I called two Canadians who were the only persons within hail of us;

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* June.



one was killed near M. de Dieskaw and me, and the other was wounded. I also received a shot in the arm. I sent his servants to him when I was moving to the attack on the right; he sent them away after he had had his overcoat and vest laid beside him. It depended entirely on himself to retire after the first wound, which was slight, and I exhorted him to do so as much as I could. M. Dieskaw, 'tis said, is well. The three Commandants have arrived from France with the reinforcement. I will endeavor only to do right; I shall not confine myself to minutiae; no person is more devoted than I to his profession. This campaign will, I hope, afford me an opportunity to continue to deserve [your good opinion.] I have received a letter from Count d'Argenson full of kindness. I have had the honor to write him. No one can love you more strongly than I do. I embrace you thousands and thousands of times. I already stand very well with M. Montcalm. I shall commence the campaign with him in the course of July, and will so demean myself that he will be satisfied with me. He furnishes me considerably more occupation than M. Dieskaw did. I am never happier than when I have a great deal to do.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1756.

My Lord,

Since my annexed letter of the 12<sup>th</sup>, Chevalier de Levis arrived yesterday, and I have just arranged with my Lord the Marquis de Vaudreuil that he should pass a few days at the camp at Carillon. That is the point where we shall have the greatest body of French troops together, and against which the English, perhaps, will direct their greatest efforts; for, until they have succeeded in acquiring a superiority in vessels on Lake Ontario, I consider them less formidable in the direction of Frontenac. As for myself, I expect to depart in the beginning of next month for the camp at Carillon, and after having remained there a fortnight or three weeks, according to the enemy's movements, I shall possibly go and terminate my campaign on the Frontenac and Niagara frontier. Should my Lord the Marquis de Vaudreuil authorize me to accomplish this plan, I shall view the different important points to be guarded, and the works erecting there; it is a matter of four hundred leagues, but 'tis fortunately traveled in canoe.

M. de Bourlamaque leaves here on Monday with the last companies of the regiment of La Sarre, for the camp at Frontenac.

Advices from the latter place, of the 12<sup>th</sup>, state that M. de Villiers, a Colonial officer commanding a corps of a thousand Canadians or Indians, had started on the 10<sup>th</sup>, with seven hundred men, to try and surprise three hundred English, who are occupied in constructing, or protecting those who are building, two vessels near Chouaguen. We cannot have any news of them before three days, and the courier who carries the despatches and the order for the sailing of the frigate, leaves to-night.

My Lord the Marquis de Vaudreuil has just had the politeness to communicate to me the despatches he transmits to you, in obedience to his instructions of this year to report to you

the details relative to the French troops. I noticed that he remarked to you that he had had news of Baron de Dieskau. I consider it my duty to add, that the last news he had received, of which he speaks, are of last November, and consequently of a date anterior to those which that general officer has communicated directly to yourself, by way of England. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has written, six weeks ago, to Colonel Jonson, inquiring about him. He has sent his letter by an Indian; he has not yet received any answer.

According to a letter from M. Doreil, of the eleventh, we had still in hospital one hundred and seventy-four sick, belonging to the regiments of La Sarre and Royal Roussillon. Eleven more had been admitted since their arrival. The greatest number of sick has been in *le Léopard*, on board of which our two companies of grenadiers were. There are a great many sick also among the crew of that vessel. Notwithstanding all I hear said, I believe that the officers of that vessel have paid as much attention as the others to good order and cleanliness; in my letter to the Keeper of the Seals,<sup>1</sup> I do not enter into any details, and have considered it my duty to congratulate myself on the attentions of all the captains of the ships towards our troops, without excepting Mr. Gaumin, the commander of *le Léopard*.

I am, respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient Servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. I learn by letters from Quebec, of the 14<sup>th</sup>, that *le Beauharnois*, with 154 recruits, was, on the 10<sup>th</sup>, within 30 leagues of that city, consequently safe. She left four other ships, with like freight on the King's account, at the entrance of the Gulf.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

Montreal, 19<sup>th</sup> June, 1756.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to write you by way of Louisburg the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, and to send you, by Chevalier de Tourville, two letters dated 12<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> instants, containing all the details which it was my duty to communicate. I shall not delay transmitting the duplicates thereof by a surer conveyance than this, which is no other than a small merchantman on her return to France. All is now in a decided position. Though the troops which arrived last have a great many sick, the number is considerably diminished.

The brackets denote the portion in cipher in the original. [The Béarn battalion is in camp at Niagara; the battalion of La Sarre and that of Guyenne at Fort Frontenac with M. de Bourlamaque; between Fort Frontenac and Niagara, one thousand Canadians and Indians. The battalions of La Reine and Languedoc are at Carillon with Chevalier de Levis. M. de Vaudreuil wishes to send his brother there to command the Canadians and Indians under Chevalier de Levis. The delay in the artillery and the provisions puts a stop, for the present, to all projects against Chouaguen.

<sup>1</sup> M. de Machault was Keeper of the Seals at this time as well as Colonial Minister.—ED.



M. de Vaudreuil appears not to renounce it for the fall. I apprehend the same obstacles. I fully share his confidence, which he never bestows on any person from France. He is well intentioned, but very irresolute. According to certain intelligence of the proceedings of the English, their troops will rendezvous at Chouaguen, Albany and near Lake St. Sacrament. I pray you observe, that I do not write to M. de Machault by this occasion.]

Four prisoners have been brought in this morning. One of them states that M. de Dieskau was, two months ago, at Boston ; that he has been transferred to New-York and was well.

I am, respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. Whilst I have the honor to write to you, I see two canoes of Indians on the point of arriving. They raise the Dead cry ; I have just counted them. That wail announces to us that they have killed or captured eleven of the English.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

New-York, 22 June, 1756.

My Lord,

I received, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, the letter you had the goodness to write me on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February, and I profit by the sailing of a ship for London, to have the honor of informing you that my wounds are beginning to assume a favorable appearance, as three of them are already healed, and only the fourth, which is serious, remains and still confines me, for the most of my time, to the bed, and permits me only to drag myself occasionally along my chamber, on crutches. I expect, however, according to the promises of surgeons, to be able, in two or three months hence, to profit by the departure of some vessels, if occasion offers, and to proceed to London, where I shall solicit permission to go to France.

I sent my Aide-de-Camp, Sieur de Bernier, to London, in February, in the hope that he might there obtain permission to repair to France, where I reckon on his arriving, and on his having rendered you an account, my Lord, of an engagement which might have covered me with glory, had treachery not interposed, as my plan could not fail, and the blow would have been decisive. Unfortunately for me, the result has not equaled my expectation ; but I hope that on future occasions fortune will be more favorable, as I have great hopes that my wounds will not incapacitate me from continuing to serve his Majesty.

I doubt not but M. Bernier has reported likewise to you, my Lord, the infinite obligations I am under to Chevalier de Johnson, general of the English troops by whom I was taken prisoner, as had it not been for him I should have been assuredly burned at a slow fire by the Iroquois, who wished to oblige him to deliver me up to them to avenge the death of three of

their chiefs killed in the action; the General declared it impossible, in order that I might escape so cruel a fate; to nothing but the attachment that Nation entertains towards him, do I owe my salvation, as it is certain, had these barbarians persisted in their sentiments, he would have been obliged to deliver me up, as they had threatened him with being abandoned by the whole Nation, did he not give it satisfaction. The General has pushed his attention so far, that he had me always guarded by a detachment of 50 men as long as I remained in his camp. Yet all these precautions did not prevent one of them entering my tent, sword in hand, on the morning following, to dispatch me; but an English officer, happening there by chance, threw himself before me, calling on the guard at the same time for assistance; this obliged Chevalier de Johnson to have me removed to Orange, notwithstanding the bad state of my health.

I beg you, my Lord, always to continue to me your favors, and the honor of your protection.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Baron de DIESKAW.

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*Abstract of Despatches from Canada.*

FORT DUQUESNE.

Letters of the 23<sup>d</sup> March assure us that the French and Indians have, since Admiral Braddock's defeat, disposed of more than 700 people in the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina, including those killed and those taken prisoners.

The Delawares and Chouanons, Indian Nations of the Beautiful river, some of whose chiefs have been put to a cruel death by the English, to whom they had gone on an embassy, are enraged to an extraordinary degree, and would not make any prisoners were it not for the continual recommendations of the Commandants to commit as few murders as possible. Independent of this, those two Nations have not ceased sending Belts among all the Nations since the close of summer and of the fall, inviting them to come and avenge the insult done them by the English; this invitation has been accepted, and caused all those Nations to chant the war during the whole of the winter.

In April, there had been in those parts twenty detachments of Delawares and Chouanons; these were joined by more than sixty Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations who have committed frightful ravages. The only resource remaining to the inhabitants was to abandon their houses, and to remove to the seacoast. Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of 40 Indians under the command of M. Douville, a Colonial cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape, and the Indians gave no quarter. M. Douville lost his life on that occasion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ensign Douville was killed in an attack on a small fort on the North branch of the Cacapehon or Cacapon, in Hampshire county, Virginia. *Pennsylvania Archives*, II, 620. — Ed.



We have now on the Continent one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chouanons, besides a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the command of Sieur de Villiers, about 250 Miamis and Outaganons, under M. de Belestre, 300 from Detroit and 700 from Michilimakinac, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, d'Anglede and Hebert, Junior, amounting to 3,250 men. [We are] expecting to hear whether M. Beaubassin, Commandant at the Point, will have brought the Sauteurs belonging to his post; we shall soon learn the exploits of these Nations.

M. Dumas, a Colonial Captain, and Commandant of Fort Duquesne, had his eye on Fort Cumberland, which is a vast dépôt belonging to the English to enable them to reach the Beautiful river; it is situate at the foot of the mountains, about 70 leagues from the sea and 80 from Fort Duquesne.

Letters received from Canada by the frigate *la Sauvage*, and dated the first days of June, contain the following details respecting what occurred in the different parts of the Colony since the last despatches from M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, dated last February.

Detachments have been continually in the field, in all directions, against the English Colonies.

M. de Vaudreuil had stated that the mildness of the winter, in the heart of the Colony, had prevented those parties being as numerous as they might have been, had there been snow and ice, as usual, in the country.

#### BEAUTIFUL RIVER.

Quite an untoward revolution has been experienced in the direction of the Beautiful river. The winter there is always very mild; this year it has been exceedingly cold; and as the Indians of that quarter are not in the habit of walking on snow shoes, and still less of going to the enemy when the latter can track them in the snow, Captain Dumas, Commandant at Fort Duquesne, has not been able to have them out as frequently as he desired. Nevertheless, he has continually kept parties in the field, both in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and has placed officers and cadets at the head of some of them.

M. de Vaudreuil does not enumerate the scalps they have brought in, nor the prisoners they have taken, but it appears that the number of the one and the other has been considerable; that they have destroyed whole families; that several villages on the frontiers of the two Colonies have been abandoned by their inhabitants, who have removed into the towns; that a great many houses and a number of barns filled with grain have been burnt in the country; that a considerable amount of cattle has been killed; that some of the little forts, whereof the English have formed, as it were, a chain along the frontiers, have been attacked and burnt, and that a great many people had perished in the flames, and that we have not, so to speak, experienced any losses in all those forays.

Ensign Douville is the only officer killed; he fell in an attack on a little fort which he was on the point of carrying.<sup>1</sup>

From what Sieur Dumas had written him, and from what M. de V. had heard of the enemy's plans from other quarters, it does not appear that they designed marching, this year, in that direction. M. de Vaudreuil adopted all possible measures to enable M. Dumas to make a good defence. He has sent him an abundant supply of all sorts of ammunition, by a detachment of three

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 423, note. — Ed.

hundred Canadians who, with the garrison and the Detroit Militia that will be near enough to go to his assistance, will compose a force of twelve to fifteen hundred men, exclusive of the Indians, who are quite numerous. M. Dumas proposes to harass the enemy by trying to oblige them to keep on the defensive. But whenever advised of their marching against him, he is to call his forces together again in order to proceed to meet them, as, in the present state of the fort, it would be impossible to make any resistance for any length of time, were he to allow himself to be besieged in it.

But in case he will succeed in keeping the enemy at home, he is to send a party of his Indians to reinforce the posts of Niagara and Frontenac. He will always have enough of them to keep detachments in the field. On the one hand, the village of Delawares, domiciliated among the English, who, according to M. de Vaudreuil's despatches of February, were to remove over to us, has executed that project, and made a vigorous attack on the English when leaving them; and on the other hand, M. de Vaudreuil has entered into a negotiation with the Flatheads, a numerous Nation, in alliance with the English, who promised to abandon the latter, provided peace were established between themselves and our Nations in the Upper countries. M. de Vaudreuil expects to accomplish this at an early day.

M. Dumas has, meanwhile, advised him that some Indians of the Beautiful river appeared to be relaxing in their zeal, but M. de Vaudreuil had no doubt of their soon resuming their original ardor.

As for the rest, quite a considerable quantity of shell, shot and bullets has been again discovered this winter, which had been secreted in the woods on General Braddock's defeat. The whole has been removed to Fort Duquesne.

#### THE LAKES.

It is in the direction of the Lakes that the enemy apparently are to move all their forces for the purpose of attacking Forts Niagara and Frontenac on Lake Ontario, and Fort St. Frederic on Lake Champlain.

And by a letter dated Quebec, the twenty-third of June, which is later than those written by M. de Vaudreuil from Montreal, the Intendant of the Colony states, in substance, that he had just learned that M. de Vaudreuil had been informed of the march of an army of 10 m. English to attack Fort St. Frederic.

M. de Vaudreuil has written, in February, that in order to defend that fort, he was busy fortifying the post of Carillon, between it and Lake St. Sacrament, whereof he had caused occupation to be taken after M. Dieskaw's affair, and that already twelve pieces of cannon of various calibre, and eight swivels, have been placed in battery there, with four small grenade mortars. Since then he had had conveyed thither eight other guns, two of which were eighteens and the remainder twelves, eights and fours. That post is, moreover, supplied with all sorts of provisions.

Since the close of May, two thousand men were stationed there; to wit: La Reine and Languedoc battalions, and the remainder Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians. And the Intendant advises, that M. de Vaudreuil had, on hearing of the enemy's march, sent thither the Royal Rousillon battalion, some companies of Colonials, and some Militia detachments.

In order to render the attempt of the enemy against Fort St. Frederic still more difficult, M. de Vaudreuil had taken possession of the Little Carrying place of Lake St. Sacrament, an important post, which he has secured by a strong intrenchment, very well situated, and flanked



by two bastions, and containing six hundred and seventy men. He has, moreover, established a post between Fort Carillon and this intrenchment, to facilitate, in case of necessity, the retreat of the camp of the Carrying place, and to keep it open for the transportation of stores.

M. de Vaudreuil was attending at the same time to keeping parties in the field, so as to be informed of all the enemy's manœuvres, and he had even sent out some pretty considerable detachments to intercept their convoys.

Previous to the news mentioned by the Intendant, Chevalier de Levis was to be sent to Carillon. But according to what M. de Vaudreuil and M. Moncalm have written, it is probable the latter will, on that intelligence, have been to take the command of that canton.

In regard to Forts Niagara and Frontenac, M. de Vaudreuil had reported that they were in a bad condition.

People had been to work at Niagara since last fall, and had erected a fort there with which M. de Montcalm, who has seen the plan, is well satisfied.

It consists of a hornwork with ravelins, a covert-way, and lunettes at the places of arms reëntering from the covert-way.

Men were employed on the works deemed necessary at Frontenac.

M. de Vaudreuil had sent the Béarn battalion to Niagara; this, added to the garrison already there, made a corps of six hundred men, which is sufficient for a respectable resistance.

For Frontenac he had designed the Guyenne battalion, which had arrived there at the end of May, and the battalion of La Sarre, which had set out in the beginning of June. And the Government had adopted measures for the conveyance of succors to these two posts according to circumstances.

He was, in addition, occupied during the winter in harassing the enemy in that direction also; and, according to his report, a great many of the English have been killed, both in New-York and even in the vicinity of Chouaguen.

In order to profit by the advantage which the detachment commanded by Sieur de Léry had had in the month of March, when it destroyed Fort Bull with the stores the enemy had erected there, he dispatched another party of nine hundred men, consisting of Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians, under the command of Captain de Villiers, towards Chouaguen. This officer has orders to post himself wherever he shall consider most advantageous, so as to be in a position to attack the English either at that carrying place, or on the river by which they pass on their way to Chouëguen. He is authorized to make such manœuvres and expeditions as circumstances and the enemy's situation will permit, provided they tend to weaken Chouëguen and to destroy the enemy's preparations against Niagara and Frontenac.

The Commandants of these two posts, and of others in the neighborhood, have orders to communicate with him, and even to send him some Indians.

He is not to retire from the enemy's territory as long as it shall be possible for him to maintain himself there, and if, notwithstanding all the obstacles it will be in his power to offer to the arrangements of the English, they succeed in collecting their forces together, to march against one or the other of those forts, he is to proceed with his detachment to that which will be menaced, and establish a camp of observation at such place as will seem to him best adapted to prevent their landing.

The four vessels that have been constructed on Lake Ontario are all armed and afloat; they will be able to face those the English have built at Chouëguen, which had not as yet made their appearance.

M. de Vaudreuil observes that all those precautions which tend to the defence of Niagara and Frontenac will also contribute to the attack on Chouëguen.

He does not lose sight of that object; he will be in a condition to undertake it whenever an opportunity presents, unless he find means to reduce it by famine; for which he has also projected his arrangements.

#### ACADIA AND NEW ENGLAND.

Since the report rendered by M. de Vaudreuil in the month of February last of the movements which took place on the frontiers of Acadia and New England, our Indians have surprised and captured an English schooner, whilst riding at anchor in the Bay of Fundy, carrying six guns and a crew of ten men, and freighted with provisions for Port Royal.

Sieur de Boishébert, Commandant of the River St. John, had burnt in Bay Verte a vessel of two hundred tons burthen, which the English were building there, and a schooner at anchor in the same place.

Seven Englishmen were killed and one taken prisoner in that expedition.

On the eighth of February an English vessel entered the mouth of the River St. John; she showed French signals and sent her boat ashore for a pilot, saying that she was returning from Louisbourg with provisions.

An Acadian was foolish enough to go on board; but he had no sooner put his foot on deck than the Captain hoisted his colors, and discharged his guns on the Acadians who were on the shore, after which he entered the harbor, but the Acadians lay in ambush and kept up such a brisk fire of musketry as to oblige him to return to Port Royal.

The English having taken, and forcibly embarked, thirty-six Acadian families at Port Royal, numbering two hundred and twenty-six persons, to carry them to Carolina, these Canadians revolted, and having rendered themselves masters of the ship, carried her into the River St. John, on the twelfth of February.

A special report will be made of this exploit, because the Captain of the vessel pretends that he is a Portuguese.

The Indians have made incursions, also, into New England, where they have taken a considerable number of scalps, burned barns filled with grain, plundered the inhabitants and killed a large quantity of cattle.

The settlers on these frontiers have been so intimidated that a party of Indians who returned thence on the eleventh of June, have reported that they had not yet dared to begin their sowing.

The English, on their side, have had several parties in the field against us.

They have burned three barns in the neighborhood of Fort St. Frederic; killed a Sergeant of La Reine near Fort Carillon and a militiaman; captured a Cadet belonging to the regulars and a farmer. To this is reduced all their success.

M. de Vaudreuil states, in general, that all the Indian Nations continue well disposed towards us, notwithstanding all the manœuvres of the English.

The five Iroquois Nations also continue their friendly demonstrations, but the English have partizans among them.

M. de Vaudreuil is of opinion that they will remain neutral. He announced to them that he would leave them at liberty to declare for the English, but if contrary to the protestations



they had made him, any Iroquois should be found in their ranks, he will let loose all the other Indians on them.<sup>1</sup>

He has, in fact, ordered *Sieur de Villiers* to act so, should there be any Iroquois among the enemy's detachments that he will fall in with.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1756.

My Lord,

The English vessels have made their appearance repeatedly on Lake Ontario; ours engaged in transportation to Niagara have not been able to give them chase. Nevertheless, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, our two barks, returning from Niagara, discovered, opposite the Bay of Quintie, something approaching. We gave chase, all sails set, but the enemy sheered off. He was pursued so closely that he was obliged to abandon a sloop, which was his third craft. We left this to our two barks; our two cruisers continued in pursuit of the enemy, who, seeing himself approached, cut his boat loose, and threw a number of other articles overboard. In vain we fired our chasers at him; he made no response, being occupied exclusively in hastening his retreat, and the wind having lulled, he gained on our cruisers in consequence of the quantity of sail he carried. After having chased him quite close to Chouaguen, we tacked in order to overhaul the craft our two barks had missed. She struck at once. This prize is about 20 tons, carrying 6 swivels, 12 muskets, 6 sailors and 8 soldiers.

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of June, as our two cruisers were luffing between the Islands of Couis and those of the Galops, one of them being near the Bay of Niagara,<sup>2</sup> got intelligence of a schooner returning to Chouaguen. He gave chase, and found himself doubling a point quite close on Chouaguen. The schooner had time to enter the river, were it not for which she would not have escaped.

This, my Lord, comprises the movements and exploits of our little navy, on Lake Ontario, up to the present time.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* Nisouré. — Ed.

*Recent Victory of the French over the English.*

General Detail of the recent Victory gained in Canada, by the French, over the English army, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July, 1756, in the attack on the outer and advanced works of the town of Manton, the capital of Canada, belonging to the English, and besieged by the French under M. de Vaudreuil, Commander-in-Chief and Major-General of the Naval and Land forces in that country.

M. de Vaudreuil, the General-in-Chief, and M. de Léry, the second in command, having reduced the Island and the forts of Bull, deemed it proper to carry their victorious arms farther, with the design to capture the Island of Manton, before which they arrived after having been joined by eight hundred and fifty Indians and eleven hundred and forty Canadian soldiers, exclusive of the detachment which lately came from Marseilles and Toulon, making in all an army of eight thousand men, including the Regulars.

The towns in that country are not fortified like those here, for the most of the fortifications are made up only of small ramparts, bastions, horseshoes, little redoubts and ravelins; therefore it was not long before all the outer works were carried.

16<sup>th</sup> July. M. de Vaudreuil caused the Governor, five times consecutively, to be summoned to surrender, threatening him, in case he refused, not to grant any quarter either to him or his garrison. But having answered that he was resolved to defend himself to the last, our Commander ordered a general assault for the following morning. And it was the fine Royal Scotch regiment that was the first to scale the walls, between 4 and 5 o'clock in the morning, followed by one hundred and sixty Canadians and three hundred Indians, who, on entering the town, seized the Governor and hung him over the breach. The garrison was put to the sword and all the inhabitants were slaughtered and burned. Thus it was that the town was captured after a siege of three weeks.

Of all the forts on that island, one only, called Jerabelle, was approached in form, and it has been carried at the end of nine days. The garrison shared the fate of that of the town of Manton.

As this place was the magazine of almost the entire country belonging to the English, a prodigious quantity of munitions of war and provisions were found there, viz: two hundred and four brass guns fit for service, twelve spiked and thirty iron pieces for the vessels; seventy-six mortars, three unserviceable; twenty-nine thousand seven hundred balls; twenty-three thousand shell; five thousand four hundred and seventy-eight barrels of powder; four hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred and seventy-nine muskets fit for use; four hundred and sixty-six unserviceable, and provisions for three years.

We have had four officers killed and twenty-six wounded in this expedition; sixty-seven soldiers are dead and one hundred and one wounded, including Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians. Mr de Léry is Governor until the appointment of another by the King.

This account is conformable with the despatch which the M. de Vaudreuil's Principal Secretary has had the honor to write to the King from Manton, the twentieth of July, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

Although it is excessively hot in that country, our Frenchmen are well pleased with it, and in this connection it will not be irrelevant to give a brief description of the place.



It consists of two islands formed by two sand banks of a square form. The first is more than three or four hundred leagues in circumference, and is entered by an arm of the sea of about four leagues. Here stands the town of Manton. Though not very large it is pretty handsome, and its harbor, though only two hundred and thirty-three toises in circumference, is capable of receiving all sorts of goods. Wheat is scarce in that country, and insufficient for the support of all its inhabitants; but as an offset, it possesses abundance of sugar-cane and wild grapes; the vine twines around elm trees, and it takes three men's arms to span it at the base. Quantities of oranges and lemons grow there also.

In regard to the other island it only consists of forests, and has a population of not quite four thousand, including the towns and forts. All the trees there bear fruit, such as pepper, cloves, coffee, nutmegs, oranges, cotton, &c., which the people barter with French and other European merchants.

Names and Rank of the Officers killed at the siege of Fort St. Philip,<sup>1</sup> in the attack of the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1756, according to the order of the regiments and companies, as sent to the King.

*Regiment of Brittany*: M. de St. Alby, Captain of grenadiers, and M. Duperier, Lieutenant.

*Regiment of Vermandois*: Captain de Kejan and Lieutenant de Charmont.

*Regiment of Royal Artillery*: Captain Dupinay and Lieutenant Dutore.

*Regiment of Medoc*: Sub-Lieutenant Gerard.

*Royal Comtois Regiment*: Captain Desartre and Sub-Lieutenant Dusard, both of the grenadiers.

*Regiment of Cambis*: Captain Pigius of the grenadiers.

*Regiment of Rochfort*: Lieutenant de Luce, of the grenadiers, and Captain Des Bords.

*Regiment of Hainaut*: Lieutenant Maille.

Names of the Officers wounded, with the number of soldiers killed and wounded.

*Royal Regiment*: Captain de la Grattonnage of the grenadiers, very dangerously wounded by a shot in the hip; Captain de la Revertison wounded in the face by a piece of a stone; Captain de Montenoust, dangerously wounded by a shot in the jaw; Captain de Chievres, dangerously wounded in the head by a piece of a shell; Lieutenant de Chatal of the grenadiers, wounded in the face by a piece of a shell; Lieutenant de la Filtre, burned in the face by a mine. Thirteen soldiers killed and fifty-six wounded.

*Regiment of Briquerville*: Captain Cuillière adjutant, dead of his wounds; Captain de Selle wounded in the head and arms; Captain de Mongeot wounded in the ribs; Captains de la Motte and Moreux both wounded in the face; Lieutenants Poirrin, de S<sup>te</sup> Croix, de Magendré and de Rupière wounded in the feet by the fire of a mine; M. Baudot, aged years, son of the Lieutenant of grenadiers, wounded by the explosion of a mine,

<sup>1</sup> At Port Mahon, in the Island of Minorea, at the siege of which place the regiments in this list served. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXV., 320, *et seq.* From this return of the killed and wounded being annexed to the account of the siege of Manton (which is but a slight alteration of "Mahon"), and from the description of the products of the country, we infer that the "General Detail of the recent Victory," on the preceding page, is a squib, based on the capture of Port Mahon by the French in June, 1756. — Ed.

having already received a gunshot in the shoulder. Thirty-seven soldiers killed and two hundred wounded.

*Regiment of Brittany*: Captain Belgarde and Lieutenant du Bose. Three soldiers killed and ninety wounded.

*Royal Regiment of the Marine*: Captain de Campden wounded in the leg by a splinter of a shell. Forty soldiers killed and thirty-three wounded.

*Regiment of Vermandois*: Captain Châtaignier of the grenadiers; Lieutenant de Laudeote of the grenadiers; Captain Croilson, who has had a leg broke. Nine soldiers killed and ninety-six wounded.

*Royal Regiment of Artillery*: Lieutenants Melac-Charbont, Chevalier Verrier, Carpiole, du Gravier, M. Méry and Cadet Chevalier de Rozan, all six mortally wounded; Captain Isarn; Lieutenants de Lairac Lambart, de Goulet, Chevalier de Capriole, Pupilgoirand, Epondallian, Chevalier Missol; Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Rocque and de Lambard have been dangerously wounded; and M. de Goulet has been wounded twice. Seventy gunners killed, ninety-seven wounded.

*Royal Italian Regiment*: M. Moden, Captain *en second*, mortally wounded; M. Patrisi, Captain, M. Pierardé, Count Monaldi, Captain *en second*, dangerously wounded; M. Thénésoti, Captain of grenadiers, M. Botta, Captain, and M. Cancelli, Lieutenant of grenadiers, slightly wounded. Eleven soldiers killed and thirty-three wounded.

*Regiment of Tularu*: Lieutenant Hubert of grenadiers, Captains Bellon and de Jon. Thirty-eight soldiers killed and fifty wounded.

*Regiment of Mdoc*: M. de Valin, Captain of grenadiers, wounded by a gunshot in the belly; M. de Monvein wounded by a splinter of a shell in the hip; Captain de Bellecombe wounded by a stone in the leg and knee; Lieutenant Marille of the grenadiers, wounded by a gunshot in the thigh; Lieutenant Chodois wounded by a stone in the leg; Lieutenant Berail, wounded by a gunshot in the arm; Captain Douse slightly wounded. Forty-seven soldiers killed and seventy-six wounded.

*Royal Comtois Regiment*: Captain Beaumenis wounded in the left thigh; Lieutenant Alexandre, of the grenadiers, wounded by a splinter of a shell and three pieces of stone. Four soldiers killed and twenty-six wounded.

*Regiment of Trainel*: Captains de Cremon, de Chevignis, des Hayats and Lieutenant Parron. Fifteen soldiers killed and thirty-eight wounded.

*Regiment of Cambis*: Lieutenant Saulvebœuf dangerously wounded. Eight soldiers killed and thirty-two wounded.

*Regiment of Rochefort*: Captain Daine, of the grenadiers, wounded by a musket shot; Captains Dannelle and Laffritte wounded in the face and breast by a stone; Chevalier de la Porte and Remainel wounded in the chest and thigh; Lieutenant Deseau Daures wounded by a gun shot through the arm. Fourteen soldiers killed and sixteen wounded.



*Regiment of Nice:* Captain de Rochemont, of the grenadiers, wounded by a gun shot in the thigh; Captain d'Hommières, of the grenadiers, has had a leg broken by the explosion of a mine; Captain Manburon wounded in the knee and leg; Lieutenant de St. Leger, of grenadiers, wounded by a musket shot in the head; Lieutenant Mennier, of the grenadiers, has had an arm broken and been shot in the thigh; Lieutenant Duverdist dangerously wounded. Sixteen soldiers killed and thirty-five wounded.

*Regiment of Hainaut:* Lieutenant Palle dangerously wounded; Lieutenant Caby wounded by a shot in the shoulder; Lieutenant Montesquiou wounded in the neck by a splinter of a shell; M. Vassimont wounded by a musket shot in the hand; Lieutenant Bonnot wounded by a musket shot in the leg; Captain de la Brière, captain of grenadiers, wounded by a mine; Captain Monderin wounded in the head; M. d'Ormesson, wounded slightly. Sixteen soldiers dead and eighteen wounded.

*Regiment of La Marche:* M. des Colonnes, Captain *en second*, wounded by a stone. Thirty-seven soldiers killed and thirty-two wounded.

*Regiment of Soissonnais:* Captain de Gorindelle, of the grenadiers, wounded by a mine; Lieutenant de Farremont, of grenadiers, wounded dangerously; Lieutenants de Bonrepos and de Caumont wounded slightly. Eleven soldiers killed. Total wounded, two hundred and forty.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 20<sup>th</sup> July, 1756.

My Lord,

I had the honor to write to you on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March last [on] my departure with Chevalier de Levis for the camp at Carillon. I remained there from the 3<sup>rd</sup>, the day of our arrival, until the 16<sup>th</sup>. I left there by order of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and arrived yesterday at Montreal, having traveled night and day, and I start to-morrow to repair as quick as possible to Frontenac.

I was not unoccupied the fifteen days I remained at the camp; ambulances in a horrible condition; provisions, to wit, the article of bread, bad; the works of Fort Carillon, begun last year, very little advanced; a number of necessaries wanting in the store; order to be introduced everywhere; reconnoissance of the locality, of the passes through which the enemy can come, and the arrangements for the defence of that frontier, which is always supposed to be threatened.

The southwest winds, which have almost constantly prevailed this year, had contributed to delay the transmission of everything that was wanting. The presence of M. Bigot, who repaired to Montreal, has essentially aided me in restoring order to matters so necessary to the men's lives. No person could employ more activity and expedition in his labors than this Intendant. Sickness was increasing, especially among the Militia. Sieur Arnoulx, Surgeon-Major of our troops, whom I took with me and brought back, is very zealous, and has been very useful to me in what regards the hospitals.

The fort commenced last year, cannot, before a month at soonest, be in a condition to risk a garrison in it, in case of an untoward event. And moreover, it is necessary to use the same activity that I introduced there during my fortnight. That fort consists of pieces of timber in layers, bound together with traverses, the interstices filled in with earth. Such construction is proof against cannon, and in that respect is as good as masonry, and much better than earthen works; but it is not durable. The site of the fort is well adapted as a first line at the head of Lake Champlain. I should have wished it to be somewhat larger, capable of containing five hundred men, whereas it can accommodate, at most, only three hundred.

To understand the ground, I took two long walks afoot with Chevalier de Levis. I am indebted to him for a third, which was necessary to acquire a knowledge of a part called the Mohawk road, of which every one speaks without being acquainted with it. He has been sleeping three days in the woods *au Bivak*. I do not believe there are many superior officers in Europe who are obliged to make such journeys afoot. It would be impossible for me, my Lord, to speak too highly of him to you; without possessing much genius, he has considerable practical knowledge, good sense, is quick-sighted, and though I had served with him, I could not have believed that he had so much readiness. He has derived profit from his campaigns. Though I write you somewhat [fully] I would not do so with the same frankness to M. de Mirepoix.<sup>1</sup> His present position does not fail to be difficult. I left him fully aware of it as well as of his resources. It may be delicate if we have to contend against an enemy aware of their advantages, and able to attack him with a very superior force. I wished he had at least 3000 good men, exclusive of the Indians who come and go. I left him only 2000, fourteen or fifteen hundred of whom are Regulars or Marine forces; the remainder, Militia. About 400 recruits, soldiers or Militiamen are on the march to join him. I urge M. de Vaudreuil to augment them still further.

During my sojourn at the Camp at Carillon, we had, as usual, some parties of Indians and Canadians detached, rather to observe the enemy's movements than to make any attack. Nevertheless one of these parties brought in 7 prisoners and 6 scalps. An English detachment captured two little bateaux belonging to us, and eight men, at the mouth of Otter creek, in Lake Champlain. 'Tis fortunate they did not take any more, for it was not until after that event that we began to see the necessity of using a little more precaution with our convoys. And the Marquis de Vaudreuil has approved of the orders I issued on that occasion, and of my having dispatched a detachment to reconnoitre the whole of that part of Otter creek, to examine whether the English were not designing to form some settlement there.

The object which has recalled me to Montreal so soon, and causes my departure for Frontenac, is a project that appears to me sufficiently military, if all the details be well combined, and I leave without being either assured or convinced of that. It is proposed to proceed with the three battalions of La Sarre, Guyenne and Bearn, stationed at Frontenac and Niagara, and some Canadians who are on shore in the vicinity of Chouaguen, to attempt the siege of that place, or at least, to make a diversion. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has issued, during my absence, several orders relative to this expedition, the success of which is of the

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES PIERRE GASTON FRANÇOIS DE LEVIS, Marshal, Duke de Mirepoix, after a military career of some years, was appointed Ambassador to Vienna in 1737; was promoted to be Lieutenant-General in 1744, and served with distinction in Italy, &c. He was appointed Ambassador to London in 1749, when he was created a Duke, and two years afterwards received the baton of a Marshal; succeeded the Duke de Richelieu as Governor of Languedoc, and became Captain of the Body guards in 1756, and died in 1767. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.



greatest importance. Our Engineers are to reconnoitre the place, and to be prepared to report to me thereupon when I arrive. The Commander of the artillery precedes me some days, as well as M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of the Governor-General, who takes up some Marines, Canadians and Indians to cover, with M. de Villiers' corps, my camp of observation, should I lay siege to the place. I have no need of enlarging on all the difficulties of this expedition, which is, in fact, undertaken only on the supposition that the enemy has but 1000 men there, and that this movement must withdraw a portion of the force which threatens Carillon. I cannot reach Frontenac before the first of August; it is 80 leagues from here. In order to be successful, we would require secrecy and celerity, which are not the virtues of the Colony. You may be assured, my Lord, that I readily yield to this project; and that I count myself as nothing on an occasion of so much interest, and which has appeared to me quite pregnant with obstacles to be surmounted. Increased diligence on the part of the enemy may oblige me, on my arrival at Frontenac, to renounce this grand project, but we shall have made a diversion.

We have had two or three advantages in that quarter in the course of this month. M. de Villiers, a Colonial captain, has incommoded by his musketry some sloops which would attempt a landing; surprised a party of thirteen men, six of whom are prisoners, and seven killed. The same M. de Villiers has attacked three or four hundred bateaux, each having on board three men, who were returning after having carried provisions, ammunition and cannon for the new sloops the English were building there. He has routed them, and, 'tis reported, killed four hundred men; 26 scalps and 50 prisoners have been secured. This advantage would have been more considerable had it not been for the precipitancy of the Indians, who commenced the attack too soon. Some time previous to that affair there had been a naval skirmish on Lake Ontario. Our armed sloops have met those of the English, given them chase and captured a boat with sixteen men and some swivels.

Sickness diminishes in the two regiments of La Sarre and Royal Rousillon. M. de Berval, brother of Madam de Blot, and M. de Romayniac, *sous* Lieutenant of the grenadiers of La Sarre, are dead.

Our incorporated soldiers conduct themselves very well in their regiments, since the example of which I had the honor to render you an account in my preceding, which went with our two vessels and frigates. I doubt whether the expedition has taken place, which it was wished they would attempt in the direction of Acadia, and I have had the honor to mention to you in my despatch of the 12th of June. I believe some changes will occur in the orders issued on that occasion; besides, they were conditional and I am not in the secret.

I have left Major-General<sup>1</sup> Chevalier de Montreuil at Carillon. That has been of service to me in letting it be supposed that I should return soon, and in preventing our domiciliated Indians from following me. They are necessary at Carillon, and I shall have, where I am going, those of the Upper country; M. de Montreuil having served during the last campaign only in that quarter, may be of use to Chevalier de Levis, if need be. Should M. Péan, Colonial Adjutant, go thither, as I expect, a difficulty would arise with our Adjutants to determine who should have the detail of the camp. I am very glad to avoid it, though I believe it ill founded. The presence of the Adjutant-General has decided it, and where I go, I shall find two Adjutants who are very minute, those of Guienne and of Béarn; M. de la Pauze and M. Malartic.

<sup>1</sup> The term *Major-General*, in the French text, agrees, 'tis supposed, with that of "Brigade-Major" in the English service. — Ed.

M. Doreil has returned here. He gave himself considerable trouble at Quebec and Montreal about the sick; our hospitals are admirable; as regards those attached to our camps, 'tis a department he could not superintend.

I have the honor to be with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> of August, 1756.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report to you what has occurred at Fort Du Quesne since my despatch of the 10<sup>th</sup> of June.

Five deserters from Fort Cumberland arrived at Fort Du Quesne.

A detachment under the command of Sieur de Celoron de Blainville, fell in with some of the enemy's scouts at this side of Fort Cumberland. These two parties met unexpectedly and fired point blank; the enemy immediately fell back; we killed three of them whose scalps have been carried off by the Indians, but we lost Sieur de Blainville, one Huron, one Delaware and one Onondaga.

5 Chaouanons had had a similar adventure a little nearer Fort Cumberland. They scalped 3 English. One of their men was killed.

A party from different tribes having divided, returned in squads with a number of scalps.

Sieur de Rocheblave with another Cadet, a corporal, a militiaman and 20 Chaouanons, knocked at the gate of a small fort, 3 leagues beyond Fort Cumberland, where there remained some families and 30 Militia. He killed 4 Englishmen, whom the Indians scalped, wounded 3, who dragged themselves into the fort, and took 3 prisoners.

M. de Montisambert could not approach Fort George's Crown as near as had been recommended to him, because he had only 7 Frenchmen and 20 Indians. He attacked the settlements, after which he mastered a little fort, burnt it, and returned with 18 prisoners and 5 scalps.

Some Indian parties have taken 11 prisoners and scalps in the rear of that fort, and in Pensilvania have destroyed a great many cattle and burnt many settlements.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presqu'isle have been out to the number of 10 against the English. They have taken one prisoner and two scalps, and gave them to cover the death of M. de St. Pierre.

Another party that had been out to avenge said M. de St. Pierre's death, has returned with two scalps and 5 prisoners.

A detachment under the command of M. de Celoron had a fight near Cresap's fort,<sup>1</sup> in the rear of Cumberland; killed 8 Englishmen whose scalps the Indians were not able to secure,

<sup>1</sup> In Allegheny county, Maryland, on the north side of the Potomac, a little west of the junction of its south branch with the main stream. *Jeffrey's Map of Maryland*, 1751. See, also, VIII., 459, note. — Ed.



finding themselves in the dusk of the evening under the musketry of the fort. We have had two Indians killed and one wounded.

Finally, M. Dumas writes me that he has been occupied for more than eight days merely in receiving scalps; that there is not an English party but loses some men, and that it was out of his power to render me an exact report of all the attacks our Indians made.

M. Duplaisis, Commandant at Niagara, has sent M. Dumas the message he had received from the Delawares who are settled near the Five Nations. M. Dumas advises me that such of these Delawares as are in his vicinity give him daily assurances that all their villages will remove this fall. This will make an addition of more than 500 new inhabitants to the Beautiful river, exclusive of those who will go from the neighborhood of Niagara.

All the *Loups* who have withdrawn from the English, are located near M. de la Chauvignerie; those farthest off are only 10 leagues from him.

That officer has informed them of the massacre committed by the English on 3 villages of their brethren settled near Orange. They told him it was very true, but that the English would pay dearly for it.

In regard to the Flatheads, M. Dumas follows, point by point, everything I had prescribed to him. He has profited by the sojourn of the Upper Nations to speak to them on my part. He has treated this affair with the policy necessary to determine the chiefs to conform to my intentions, but those tribes have made answer to him that having left their village with my axe, every other matter must surcease; and that they could think only of making war on the English. M. Dumas has sent a Belt to the Chaouanons, to be given in my name to the Flatheads, whom they are expecting to see, to induce them to come to Fort Duquesne. If that message succeed, I do not despair of entire success.

The Iroquois of the vicinity of Fort Duquesne have almost all retired to M. de la Chauvignerie, at the mouth of the River au Bœuf, on a Belt from the Five Nations. M. Dumas is very glad to be rid of them. His affairs will only improve as soon as he thoroughly understands the dispositions of the Delawares and Chaouanons towards them. He will render me an account thereof; the former appear to think as I desire, but the one and the other require to be better sounded.

Those of Kanaouagon<sup>1</sup> have altered their minds; a dispute among themselves has determined them to remain at their old village, rather than to go settle near M. de la Chauvignerie.

M. Dumas had received the provisions which he had demanded from the Illinois; they were not in as great a quantity as I should have desired.

I knew that the route from the Illinois to Fort Duquesne was as fine as could be desired. Chevalier de Villiers, who commanded the escort of those provisions, came up as far as Fort Duquesne with a bateau of 18 thousand weight. This little convoy makes known to this Colony a sure communication with the Illinois, whence I can derive succor in provisions and men, sooner and more easily than from the heart of this Colony.

M. de Villiers' report shows more strongly than ever the necessity of erecting a fort at the Fall,<sup>2</sup> to secure that communication. In my opinion, my Lord, that work ought not be deferred and ought to be of solid masonry. Our neighbors are going to work in such a manner as to make us bethink ourselves of it; we require only some good posts. I made, in 1746, the like

<sup>1</sup> See VIII., 426, note.

<sup>2</sup> Now, Louisville, Kentucky. — Ed.

representations to the Court, which authorized me to have that fort erected ; but its execution was neglected owing to circumstances, and since then there has not been any further question of it.

M. de Villiers has brought with him one Illinois chief and four warriors ; he made them smoke with the Chaouanons. The peace between these two nations will be lasting ; the Chaouanons appear disposed to send one of their chiefs with M. de Villiers to completely cement it.

These Illinois return home much displeased at having made about 20 days' journey, with M. de Villiers, without having met with any opportunity of striking a blow. I doubt not but they will invite the Missouris, next spring, to join them in an expedition against the enemy.

M. Dumas has likewise caused peace to be concluded between the Illinois, the Nations of the Bay, the Saulteux and Pouteouatamis.

He has sent me two young warriors, Chaouanons, who are attached to him. They have assured me, on the part of their chiefs and their entire Nation, of the pleasure they experienced at seeing me ; that from the first moment they had learned my arrival, they had wholly declared for the French ; that they have given me proofs thereof in the battle we gave the army of General Braddock ; that they were resolved never to quit the French, and to die with them. I have warmly received these Chaouanons. The welcome I have given them will not fail to excite the envy of the other Indians of the Beautiful river to follow the same route. I am sending them back.

According to certain prisoners and deserters, and also our scouts :

The enemy is not announcing any early movement on the Beautiful river. Our continual incursions have placed it out of the power of Virginia not only to undertake anything without, but even to construct any fort to protect herself.

The garrison of Fort Cumberland is not paid ; it is greatly diminished by sickness, which has prevailed there all winter and still continues.

On the 5<sup>th</sup> of June the grass was growing in the roads communicating with Cumberland. Expresses no longer came any farther than Winchester,<sup>1</sup> on account of our Indians, who are always in the field.

Not a grain of Indian corn has been planted between that post and Kanéghuigik,<sup>2</sup> 25 leagues distant from it towards the sea.

The entire frontier of the three Provinces is in the like condition.

It was thought that Fort Cumberland would be soon abandoned ; more than three months have elapsed since a wagon or bateau had come there.

The English are in daily dread of being attacked. They have scouts out to be informed of our march ; have dug a ditch to bury their cannon, and propose blowing up Fort Cumberland and retiring. This news is of the close of June.

Other scouts and prisoners have reported to me :

That the provinces of Pennsylvania and Mariland were reassembling and uniting their forces.

That first, 3000 men, under the command of General Loudoun, were to march, after the harvest, to attack Fort Duquesne. This report is contradicted by the last prisoners taken on Lake St. Sacrament, who unanimously state that Lord Loudoun is to command the army designed to besiege Carillon.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick county, Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> Supposed to be Fort Frederick, Washington county, Maryland, near what Mitchel calls the Conegogee, now the Conecocheague creek. — Ed.



Although the greatest portion of the Upper Nations have returned, through fear of the small-pox that prevailed at Niagara and subsequently at Prequ'Isle, which they have been equally apprehensive of catching at Fort Duquesne, M. Dumas' force consists, nevertheless, of 810 men; and if the enemy was really marching against him, he could soon have raised the Indians of the Beautiful river, who are better disposed, by means of whom he would be enabled to prevent the former making any progress.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.



*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 13 August, 1756.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to report to you the pains I had taken to secure the Five Nations.

The Senecas came to Niagara to receive my answer to the message they had entrusted to M. Duplaissis. He has postponed speaking to them, having no news of the Cayugas, Onondagas and Oneidas. These Senecas have told him that the Iroquois would join them, and that they had not yet decided what side they should take. They have hesitated to receive my answers, saying that they were at Niagara only under the auspices of the Cayugas. Finally, the Cayugas arrived. M. Duplaissis answered them agreeably to my orders. They knew not what to say.

They disapproved of the Onondagas and Oneidas; said that the former had promised to open a road by Oneida to the English, to enable the latter to ride their supplies to the forts they had erected. They allowed him to perceive that the Onondagas, Oneidas and Tuscarorins had accepted the hatchet from the English.

They likewise told M. Duplessis that Colonel Johnson was refusing the Indians nothing, not even money, in order to gain them over.

These Senecas and Cayugas have assured M. Duplaissis that they would remain perfectly neutral. The Cayugas have added, that they would never consent that the English should construct forts in their country; that they will be always attached to the French and will not trouble themselves except with good business.

M. Duplessis pressed them warmly to revenge the blows which the English struck on their nephews, the Delawares.

I never flattered myself with determining the mass of the 5 Nations to make war on the English. I endeavored to divide them and to seize every opportunity to make them strike the others.

A party of Senecas, sent by M. Duplessis to the River Chouaguen, remained there 3 days waiting for its opportunity; saw a number of loaded bateaux pass; attacked one that was astern, defeated it and returned with 3 scalps.

The Senecas have made several attacks; they even have some English prisoners in their village, whom they have made use of to replace their dead.

M. de la Chauvignerie has formed a party of 29 Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, among whom are some belonging to the Grand village. He has sent them to M. Dumas who will not fail to make them strike.

The Onondagas and Oneidas have sent me 80 deputies, who arrived here whilst the Marquis of Montcalm was on his way with the expedition against Chouaguen; they expressed to me the pleasure they, and the 5 Nations in general, felt in receiving my message; that they had even anticipated my intentions in retaining all their warriors in their villages, in order that none of them should be with the English. They have promised me to do their best, in remembrance of my father and out of regard for me, so as to afford me proofs of their attachment to the French. They have communicated many arguments to me, all which lead me to think that they will remain neutral for the present.

I spoke to them with great kindness, but have not left them in ignorance that I was perfectly aware of their conduct. I even showed them the messages and Belts they had introduced, from the English, among the Nations of the Upper countries. I made the most of the zeal of two of their chiefs who had rejected the medal of the English and gave it up to me.

An Onondaga chief, particularly attached to me since last year, told me in the presence of those deputies, that he would have nothing more to do with the affairs of his nation, because it had not received his advice with sufficient cordiality; that he wished to die with the French; that he should not discontinue to make war on the English, and that those of his Nation who had sense, would follow his example. I have appointed this Onondaga a chief, and have decorated him with the King's medal, in consideration of the proofs he has afforded me of his fidelity in the different embassies in which I have employed him. He has attacked the English and even brought me some prisoners. He has assured me he should always labor to promote good business.

I have learned from some Iroquois of the Sault and the Lake that those deputies had presented them some Belts, to induce them to remain quiet on their lands and not to meddle with the war between the French and English. They have invited them at the same time to come into their village to confer on business. Our domiciliated (Indians) have answered in my presence, that they never would have any will but mine; that they had heard my sentiments and exhorted the 5 Nations to conform thereto, for their own sakes.

I have, my Lord, accomplished my principal object, as regards the Five Nations. I proposed sending them a great distance from their villages during my expedition against Chouaguen. I have succeeded therein, for whilst M. de Montcalm lays siege to that place, the Senecas and Cayugas who have been at Niagara, have not yet returned home, and I have in my power 80 Onondaga and Seneca deputies. In consequence of this foresight, I am certain that none of the Five Nations will be found among the English, whatever effort Colonel Johnson may make to induce them to join him.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.



*Journal of the Siege of Oswego.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Journal of the Siege of Chouaguen, commenced the 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1756, and concluded the 14<sup>th</sup> at night. [Transmitted by M. de Montcalm.<sup>1</sup>]

On the arrival of the French troops in Canada in the month of May, every disposition was made for the campaign of that army. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France, had detached a body of Colonial troops and Militia towards the St. John river, to harass the English and receive the remains of the Acadians driven from their settlements, of whom those who had not been transplanted to the more distant English Colonies were wandering in the woods. Another detachment of observation of about 500 men was in the direction of Fort Lydius. The battalion of La Reine and that of Languedoc were encamped in front of Fort Carillon. Bearn was destined for Niagara; Guyenne for Frontenac, and Sieur de Villiers, Captain of Colonial troops, hung on the enemy and watched his movements towards the River Chouaguen, with a corps of 700 men, Canadians and Indians. The defence of Fort du Quesne and the Beautiful river was confided to a somewhat considerable party of Canadians and Savages, and Sieur Dumas, Commandant in that quarter, had orders to retain with him all the Indians of the Upper country whose rendezvous was at Presqu'Isle, in case his posts were threatened; if not to send a part of them to Montreal.

Reinforcements having arrived from France, Royal Rousillon was sent to Lake St. Sacrament and La Sarre to Frontenac with the two French Engineers, also arrived this year, under the orders of Colonel Bourlamaque, to erect new fortifications at that place, or rather an intrenched camp which would have placed them beyond insult. Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier, was destined to command on Lake St. Sacrament, and Major-General the Marquis de Montcalm, to proceed to the quarter which may apparently be most threatened by the enemy.

Thus everything seemed arranged for defence in different parts; on Lake Ontario, Lake St. Sacrament, and the Beautiful river. Some parties, only of Canadians and Indians, succeeded each other without intermission on the English frontiers exposed to their ravages, and were laying waste more especially Pensilvania, Virginia and Maryland.

Toward mid-June it clearly appeared from the report of the Indians sent out as scouts; from the depositions of several prisoners; from the vast preparations made at Albany and Fort Lydius, that the English had offensive intentions in the direction of the Point, or of Lake St. Sacrament. Upon this intelligence, the Marquis de Montcalm proposed a diversion towards Lake Ontario, for the purpose of attracting a portion of the enemy's forces thither, and consequently relieving the Point. This diversion was to be made, however, in such a way that the defensive could be changed into the offensive, according to circumstances.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil had never lost sight of the siege of Chouaguen, a post important by its situation at the mouth of the river of that name on Lake Ontario; the key of the Upper country by its communication with the Five Nations, Albany and the River Hudson; defended by three forts — Fort Ontario on the right bank of the river, Forts George and Chouaguen on the left bank, as well as a species of an earthen crown-work, serving as an intrenched camp, having also a good port and a well sheltered roadstead. But this siege, so important to the

<sup>1</sup> See his letter, *post*, p. 461, of 28th of August, 1756. — Ed.

Colony, did not seem feasible this campaign, the season being already far advanced, the preparation which this expedition required being very great, the distance considerable and transportation not being accomplished except with difficulties and endless delays across a country having no other roads but rivers, filled with falls and rapids, and lakes rendered frequently impassable to bateaux in consequence of the violence of the waves.

Sieur Bigot, Intendant of Canada, arrived at this conjuncture at Montreal; took upon himself the collection of munitions of war of all sorts, and of provisions, the dispatch of convoys and their uninterrupted supply. The diversion towards Chouaguen was then determined on with the design to besiege it, if the condition of that place, or the carelessness of the enemy permitted.

Sieur de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers, was, accordingly, sent with a fresh body of Colonial troops and Indians to assume command of Sieur de Villiers' camp, established at Niaouré bay, about 15 leagues from Chouaguen; Sieur de Bourlamaque received orders to commence at Frontenac whatever preparations he may deem necessary. Sieur Decomble, Engineer, to proceed with a detachment of Canadians and Savages to reconnoitre Chouaguen; and, in order to conceal the project from the enemy, the Marquis de Montcalm departed on the 27<sup>th</sup> June with Chevalier de Levis for Fort Carillon. The defensive positions to be adopted in this quarter; the fortifications erecting at Carillon; the movements of the enemy at Fort Lydius and Albany; all these reasons justified the Marquis of Montcalm's presence at Lake St. Sacrament. This General remained there only long enough to make the necessary arrangements and put the English on the wrong scent. He placed the defence of that frontier in the hands of Chevalier de Levis with a corps of 3000 men; left there on the 15<sup>th</sup> July for Montreal where he arrived on the 19<sup>th</sup>; received there his last Instructions and set out again on the 21<sup>st</sup> and arrived at Frontenac on the 29<sup>th</sup>. The Béarn battalion had already received orders to repair thither from Niagara, and Sieur Mercier, Commander of artillery, had arrived there two days before.

Having made the preparations inseparable from a new expedition in this country, which consequently presented difficulties unknown in Europe, and provided everything necessary to secure a retreat in case superior forces rendered this inevitable, orders were given to two barks—one of 12, and the other of 16 guns—to cruise in the latitude of Chouaguen. A corps of scouts, Canadians and Indians, were sent on the road between the latter place and Albany, to intercept expresses.

The Marquis de Montcalm left Frontenac on the 4<sup>th</sup> August with the first division of the army, consisting of the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne and four pieces of cannon. He arrived on the 6<sup>th</sup> at the Bay of Niaouré, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil had designated as the rendezvous of all the troops, and where the second division, composed of the Béarn battalion, of the Militia, of 80 bateaux of artillery and provisions, arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The number of troops destined for the expedition was nearly 3000 men—to wit, the battalions of la Sarre, Guyene and Bearn, amounting to only 1300 men; the remainder, soldiers of the Colony, Militiamen and Indians.

Sieur de Rigaud's corps, destined as the van-guard, set out on the same day to advance to a cove called *L'anse aux Cabanes*<sup>1</sup> within three leagues of Chouaguen. The first division having arrived there on the 10<sup>th</sup>, at two o'clock in the morning, the van-guard proceeded four hours

<sup>1</sup> In the Northeast corner of the town of Scriba, Oswego county, New-York, near Nine Mile Point.—Ed.



afterwards across the woods to another cove situated half a league from Chouaguen to cover the debarkation of the artillery and troops. The first division reached the same cove at midnight; a battery was forthwith erected on Lake Ontario and the troops bivouacked during the night at the head of the bateaux.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, at day-break, the Canadians and Indians advanced to within a quarter of a league of, and invested, Fort Ontario, situated, as we have stated, on the right bank of the River Chouaguen. *Sieur Decombles*, sent at 3 o'clock in the morning to make arrangements for this siege and to determine the part against which immediate operations were to be directed, was killed, returning from his reconnoissance, by one of our Indians who had escorted him and who mistook him in the dark for an Englishman—a mishap which was rendered of the greatest consequence to us from the circumstance of carrying on a siege in America with one Engineer only that remained. *Sieur Desandronins*, the surviving Engineer, ran a road through the woods, partly through swamps which were explored the evening before, for the purpose of conducting the artillery across. This road, commenced at 11 o'clock in the morning, was finished at night and thoroughly completed next morning. The camp was established at the same time, the right resting on Lake Ontario covered by the same battery that protected our bateaux from attack; the left, on an impassable swamp.

The precaution of marching only at night, and of entering rivers when halting, by which we were concealed, had till then hid our advance from the enemy. It was announced to them only that same day by the Indians who went even to the foot of the fort to fire. Three armed sloops, which sailed at noon from the River Chouaguen, came cruising in front of the camp, discharged some pieces of artillery, but the fire from our battery forced them to sheer off. Since then they cruised only at a distance.

On the 12<sup>th</sup>, at day-break, the regiment of Béarn arrived with the bateaux of artillery and provisions. These bateaux were forthwith unloaded in presence of the English barks which cruised in front of the camp. The battery on the beach was increased—the park of artillery and the dépôt of provisions established, and *Sieur Pouchot*, Captain in the regiment of Béarn, who had successfully begun a fortification at Niagara, received orders to act as Engineer during the siege. Arrangements were made to open trenches that very night; *Sieur de Bourlamaque* superintended them. Six pickets of workmen, fifty men each, were under orders for that night; two companies of grenadiers and three pickets to support them.

Notwithstanding the greatest possible diligence, the work at this trench could not be begun until midnight. It was rather a parallel of about 100 toises, the front opened at 90 toises from the ditch of the fort through ground embarrassed by obstructions and stumps of trees. This parallel, finished at five o'clock in the morning, was completed by the day laborers, who cut the lines of communication and commenced erecting batteries. The enemy's fire, which had been very brisk since the break of day, ceased about eleven o'clock at night, and it was perceived that the garrison evacuated Fort Ontario and passed over to that of Chouaguen at the opposite side of the River. They abandoned, in retiring, 8 pieces of cannon and four mortars. The fort having been immediately occupied by the grenadiers of the trench, the workmen were commanded to continue the communication of the parallel to the river side, where, at nightfall, was commenced a large battery, placed so as to batter Fort Chouaguen, the road from that fort to Fort George, and take the intrenched camp in the rear. Twenty pieces of cannon were conveyed, during the night, in men's arms, a labor which occupied the whole army, with the exception of the pickets and the camp guard.

14<sup>th</sup> At daylight the Marquis of Montcalm ordered *Sieur de Rigaud* to ford the river to the other side with the Canadians and Indians; to occupy the woods and harass the communication with Fort George, where the enemy appeared making considerable preparations. At six o'clock we had nine pieces ready to bear, and though the fire of the besieged, up to that time, was more brisk than ours, they hoisted the White flag at ten o'clock and sent two officers to demand a capitulation. The celerity of our operations in a soil which they considered impracticable, the erection of our batteries completed with so much rapidity, the idea these works gave them of the number of the French troops, the movements of the corps detached from the other side of the river, the dread of the savages, the death of Colonel Mercer, Commandant of Chouaguen, who was killed at eight o'clock in the morning, doubtless determined the besieged to a step which we had not dared to expect so soon.

The Marquis de Montcalm sent *Sieur de Bougainville*, one of his aids de camp, as a hostage and to propose articles of capitulation, which were to the effect that the garrison should surrender themselves prisoners of war, and that the French troops should forthwith take possession of the forts. The articles having been accepted by the Commandant, *Sieur Lithlealles*, commanding Shirley's regiment, and sent to the Marquis of Montcalm, *Sieur de la Pauze*, Adjutant to the regiment of Guienne (acting Major-General) was sent to revise them; and *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, named Commander of Forts George and Chouaguen, took possession of these with two companies of grenadiers and the pickets from the trench. He was intrusted with the destruction of said forts and the removal of the artillery, munitions of war, and the provisions found there.

There were, on our side, only about thirty men killed or wounded; on that of the English about 150, including several soldiers, who, wishing to escape across the woods, fell into the hands of the Indians. The number of prisoners was nearly 1700 men, to wit: Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, arrived from Old England and who were at the battle of Fontenoy, a detachment of Schuyler's regiment, Militia of the country; about 80 officers, among whom were two artillery, two engineer and 12 navy officers. We captured, also, 7 vessels of war; one of 18 guns, one of 14, one of 10, one of 8, three mounted with swivels, 200 barges or bateaux, 7 pieces of bronze, 48 of iron, 14 mortars, 5 howitzers, 47 swivels, a quantity of shot, bombs, balls, powder, and a considerable pile of provisions.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of the same month, all having been demolished, the prisoners, artillery and supplies being removed, the army reëmbarked, and repaired in three divisions to the Bay of Niaouré, whence the several corps proceeded to their respective destinations; the savages having, with the Marquis of Montcalm's permission, departed successively after the siege. This general had, previous to the expedition, bound the Nations the one to the other, by a Wampum belt, which he had presented them in his Majesty's name, according to the custom of the country.

So much warlike stores and provisions found at Chouaguen—the fleet which secured the command on Lake Ontario to the English—the additional reinforcements they expected from day to day—all announced designs on their part against our posts, Frontenac and Niagara, the execution of which was calculated on this Autumn, and the danger whereof the Colony, very fortunately, had not to incur.



## Articles of Capitulation on the Reduction of Fort Chouguen, 14 August, 1756.

1. The garrison [to be] prisoners of war, and will be conducted hence to Montreal, where they will be treated with humanity, and each have the allowance suitable to his respective rank, according to the usages of war.

2. The officers, soldiers and private persons will retain their baggage and clothing, which they will be permitted to take with them.

3. They will remain prisoners of war until exchanged.

Signed, John Littlehale, Lieutenant Colonel commanding. I accept the above articles, agreeably to the French translation, to which I add, The Capitulation applies only to the Military. Besides, private merchants and hired men will be at liberty to retire whenever they please. No injury will be done them. I detain the two officers as hostages, having sent the Major-General to make arrangements. I also send a Surgeon for the sick.

Done at the Camp before Chouaguen, the 14<sup>th</sup> August, near the small fort surrendered on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August.

(Signed), MONTCALM, *Marechal de Camp*.

## Return of effects found in the Fort and sent to Frontenac.

- 7 Brass pieces of the calibre of 19, 14, and 12.
- 48 Iron " of " of 9, 6, 5, and 3.
- 1 Brass mortar of 9 inches 4 lines.
- 13 Iron " of 6 inches and of 3 inches.
- 44 swivels (*perriers*).
- 28 thousand weight of powder.
- 8 thousand weight of lead and balls.
- 2950 shot of various calibre.
- 150 shells of 9 inches, and 300 of six.
- 1416 grenades.
- 730 muskets.
- 340 grape-shot.

## Vessels captured on Lake Ontario.

1 of eighteen guns ; one of sixteen ; one of ten ; another of ten ; one of eight, and one burnt.

## Provisions found in that fort.

- 704 barrels full of Biscuit.
- 1386 barrels of Pork.
- 712 barrels of Flour.
- 11 barrels of Rice.
- 1 garret full of Vegetables.
- 1 other full of Flour.
- 32 live Oxen.
- 11 Hogs.
- 3 Chests of Specie.

*Conference between M. de Vaudreuil and the Five Nations.*

## CANADA.

In the year One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and on the twenty-eighth day of July, at three o'clock in the afternoon, before us, Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the whole of New France, the territory and countries of Louisiana, in our Castle at Montreal, appeared one hundred and fifty Indians, assisted by Sieur Toussaint le Cavelier, Interpreter of the Iroquois language, who has told us that the Indians at whose head he came, are Onondagas and Oneidas, and are a deputation on the part of the Five Nations; whereupon, we having notice sent to M. Bigot, Councillor of the King in his councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine throughout the whole of New France, the territory and countries of Louisiana, and having summoned M. Dailleboust, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, Lieutenant of the King over the town and government of Montreal, M. Denoyau, likewise, Knight of St. Louis, Lieutenant of the King over the town and government of Three Rivers, at present in this town, Captain de Boucherville, of the troops of the detachment of Marine, M. Douville, seconded Lieutenant in the said troops, who understands and speaks the Iroquois language; who, being immediately come into our Castle, after having explained to them the subject for which we had invited them, and having at the same time taken their seats in the Council chamber according to their rank, Chekouriné, an Onondaga Indian Chief, arose and spoke, according to the explanation given us by said Sieur de Cavelier, the interpreter, as follows:

## On laying down a Belt.

Father. We present ourselves before you authorized by the Belt which you have sent us last fall; we have come in virtue of that Belt, to hear your word.

## On laying down two Belts.

Father. Here are two Belts which we Oneidas and we Onondagas have received on your part this Spring; these, again, are the same Belts which bring us hither to hear your word.

## By two Strings of Wampum.

We are come and we are ready to hear you. (On presenting a Belt.) This Belt which we present you has been given us in your name to prevail on us to remove to a distance from our villages, lest the blows you aim at the English may fall on us.

## By three Strings.

We answer to that Belt, that we find it almost impossible for us to change a village which has been, since so long a time, inhabited by the Five Nations. The bones of our ancestors repose there and we cannot abandon them.

## By eight Strings.

Father. We dry your tears. We have participated in the losses you have experienced.



By six Belts.

We again behold the blood of your warriors flowing on your mat. By these Strings of wampum we wipe it up, in order that your mat may be no longer stained with blood, and that you may employ yourself in good business.

And said Sieur Perthius hath signed with us. Done the day and year above written. Thus signed in the original.

And on the eighth of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, we, the Governor aforesaid, assisted by said Sieur Le Cavelier, their Interpreter, being in the aforesaid Council chamber, have explained, through Sieur Le Cavelier, the Interpreter to the said Indians, our answers to their speech and our address to said Indians, as follows:

Children. I feel a sincere pleasure at seeing you present before me with the Belt I sent you last autumn; you are come to hear my word; you do hear it and you will see that I speak to you with the sincerity I have always felt when I have addressed my Children.

Children, Oneidas and Onondagas. I am charmed to see you present before me with the two Belts I sent you this spring, and that you are likewise disposed to hear my word. I wish that you may not forget it.

By two Strings of Wampum.

I have received your two Strings whereby you assure me that you are ready to listen to me.

Receive the two Strings I present to you, to give you light and to open your ears, in order that none of my words be lost to you.

By three Strings.

By these three Strings I reassure you, and exhort you to remain quiet on your mats. Your village is that of your ancestors; you could not have a better asylum; their bones repose there, and I am delighted that you would not abandon them.

I assure you, likewise, that I have never thought of making the blows I direct against the English recoil on you; when I shall have developed my sentiments, you will see that I seek only your good.

By eight Strings.

Children. You wipe away my tears; by these eight Strings, I, myself, wipe away yours.

By six Strings.

Children. You perceive, you say, the blood of my warriors flowing on my mat; you dry it up, in order that my mat may be bloody no more, and that I may labor in safety at good work.

By these six Strings, I thank you for the interest you take in what concerns me.

Children of the Five Nations, namely, Onondagas and Oneidas here present. I repeat to you the pleasure I feel at seeing you on my mat; we can look on each other in peace; it is the Master of Life who favors us with this interview and procures for us the opportunity of opening our hearts and of concealing nothing.

## By three Strings.

Children. Listen to what I am about to say to you :

I have heard your answers to the messages I have sent you by my children, on divers occasions ; I am very glad that you have returned them to me these days past.

Many of the points are different from what I had stated them, owing either to their having been badly explained or to your not having understood them correctly.

## By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children. I present you with this Belt to reassure and to confirm to you what I intended should have been said to you. All the reasonings which have been communicated to you are reducible to what I am about to say to you.

I tell you, then, by this Message that I never thought of driving you from the lands you inhabit, nor of giving you an axe to strike your brothers, the English. I engage you, on the contrary, to remain quiet. Pay particular attention that your warriors be not, on any pretence whatsoever, with my enemies. I advise you beforehand that my love for my Children, the Five Nations, is so great, that I should be sorry that any accident would befall them. It would be very unfortunate for them and for me ; remember well what I tell you ; you will not have it in your power to reproach me that I have not forewarned you, like a good father. I have an infinite number of children who, in these troublesome times are not accustomed to see you : they might commit a mistake in taking one for the other ; did they begin striking you, it would be no longer possible for me to restrain them, as I have done since last year.

## By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children. You are right in saying that it is I who have invited you here. 'Tis true. Could I act otherwise and have the bowels of a father ? The joy I felt on beholding Nations whom the King has confided to me, and the memory I retain of the friendship my father felt for you, whereof he has so often afforded unquestionable proofs to your ancestors, who, on their side, formed only one heart with him, must convince you that I tell you the truth. Will you say, 'tis false ? Can you forget how deeply your ancestors regretted a father who was so dear to them, and the troubles you have experienced at different times since his death ? This is enough on this point.

Ought I to expect so long a silence on your part, and that you should forget me ; me, who have been born on the same soil with yourselves ? I have not ceased to behold you with pleasure, and during my absence I felt no greater desire than that of returning to you. I supposed that the Five Nations would feel a pleasure in seeing me, but I was mistaken, and I have experienced nothing but ingratitude from you. This makes me regret your ancients, who had sense ; I cannot sufficiently recall them to my mind. This is not the only fault you have committed to the knowledge of all the Nations. You have omitted to come and bewail the death of your son, M. de Longueuil, Senior, who was so attached to you ; your ancestors would not have failed to do so. All that shows me, I repeat to you, that you no longer possess any head to resist the poisoned speeches of the English.

I cannot doubt the attachment many among you, children of the Five Nations, feel for the English. You have afforded me but too many proofs of it, inasmuch as you have been the bearers of their Messages to all my children, the Chaouanons, Delawares, Outaouas, Saulteux, Poulx, Ouias, Missisagues, Hurons, and other Nations, who, especially the Chaouanons, to



prove to me their attachment in sending me these Belts, joined thereto a number of English scalps.

Many persons of the Five Nations, who have discovered the falsehood of the English, have even sent me the Medals received from them. You see them. I wish these persons may give sense to those who havn't any. I know not whether you will be always attached to the English when I shall have told you the reasons which oblige me to strike them. You are aware that the French have been true from all time, and never sought any quarrel with the English. Such has not been the case with the latter. A number of their ships captured two of ours under pretence of speaking them. My brother, De Rigaud, who happened to be on board, was taken prisoner and has suffered all sorts of hardships at the hands of the English.

Can you, Children, deny that the English are deceivers? Why have they built vessels; do they require them to go to Orange? If you desire to speak the truth, you will say that you know they wish to take this country, and because I am defending myself, will you say that I am seeking a quarrel with the English? I am well aware that they make you think so, and that you are simple enough to believe them. None of your nation dare say a word to the English. Colonel Johnson's word makes all your villages tremble.

By six Strings.

Children. Be persuaded that I keep nothing on my mind and that I tell you all I think.

I cannot conceal from you that I know that the majority of my children of the Five Nations would be delighted, were their brother the English our conqueror, and if you speak otherwise 'tis contrary to your true sentiments. You pretend to be friends of the French and of the English, in order to obtain what you want from both sides, which makes you invent lies that an upright man would never think of.

Could you suppose that my children of the Sault and of the Lake, who are incorruptible, would have been capable of abandoning their religion, their father and their lands, to become the slaves of Englishmen? Is that common sense? Yet you have given them a Belt to induce them to do so.

That is not all. By a Message which I have seen, you also invite four of the Chiefs of the Sault and Lake whom you have named, to go with you and sit on your mat to speak of business. You must readily believe that I see that these are tricks which your brother the Englishman has dictated to you. I am too well assured of the attachment of my children of the Sault and the Lake to apprehend their following your advice.

You fear being the victim of the English or French. You have indisputable proofs that I have never betrayed you. The King who loves you has no other view as regards you than to place you among the number of the Christians. This is not the case with the English who have built two forts in your villages and seek to aggrandize themselves only for the purpose of becoming your masters and making you their slaves.

And said Sieur Cavelier, the Interpreter, hath signed with me. Done on the above day and year. Thus signed in the original.

And at three o'clock in the afternoon of the twelfth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we, the Governor aforesaid, being accompanied as before mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said Sieur Le Cavelier, their Interpreter being in the said Council Chamber, have applied to answer our

speech, and immediately said *Sieur Cavelier*, the Interpreter, explained to us their answers, as follows:

We come to answer your speech and to explain to you our determination; in order not to forget any part of what you have said to us, we have caused the Interpreter to repeat it to us.

By three Strings.

We have been so pleased to hear your sentiments that we have lost none of the words which you have uttered. We thank you, and though we are but two nations here, yet we shall answer you in the name of the Five Nations.

By three Strings.

We have received your Belt with pleasure; we are going to communicate to you our reflections on your words.

By a Belt.

You have told us that you did not propose obliging us to abandon our villages. You recommend us not to mingle with the English, as many of our young people did last year; we thank you for your speech.

What we say to you by this Belt was agreed to between us, the Five Nations, before leaving our villages. Our Chiefs have fulfilled your intentions. They, themselves, have given Belts to our young men recommending them to remain in our villages. We in our turn confirm this word. We shall always retain our warriors and we assure you that none of our people will be found among the English; but as we cannot answer of ourselves, and as some foolish fellows may happen to be with the English, we advise you beforehand that such will be without the consent of the Nation.

By a Belt.

We admit the truth of all you have said to us, and that there are no longer any people of sense in our villages.

We pray you to hold this Belt by one end and we shall hold it by the other; we shall never let it go, and shall occupy ourselves only with good business. You, Father, and the English are the cause of our not having been to see you. You likewise are, one and the other, the cause of the troubles. We have been obliged to make a road to reach our villages. A hatchet of yours has made its appearance in our parts; 'twas small, 'tis true; we have concealed it under our armpit.

You told us that Colonel Johnson made us tremble in our villages; we assure you that We, the Five Nations, fear no man on the face of the earth; especially when the point in question will be to labor in good affairs from which we shall never depart; and a proof of that is that we have come in spite of Colonel Johnson, who has done his best to retain us in our villages, and in spite of all the opposition that was offered.

By two Strings.

You told us that we no longer had any people of sense. We present you Tekanesoren, who is the son of a great man; we request you to make him a chief, that he may labor at good affairs.



By two Strings.

Again. You told us that we had not covered the death of M. de Longueuil. We have lost two of our great chiefs, whom you, neither, have covered. By these two strings we cover M. de Longueuil. We would wish to resuscitate, in him whom we present to you, those two chiefs to labor at good business.

By two Strings.

After having arranged our affairs we are content, and desire to return home.

By two other Strings.

We have been told that we do not run any risk, that you will cause us to be conducted to our own country; we thank you for your attention and request you to furnish us canoes and the same persons who came in search of us, to carry us back; also, to give us guns for our protection, being resolved to make use of all our strength to prevent the English encroaching on the lands on which the Master of Life has placed us.

Father. We have no other children than M. de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; we request them to be always aiding unto us near you. We shall regard them always as our children. We expect that you will employ them, on the first occasion, to bring us your orders.

An Onondaga by a Belt.

Father. You know my sentiments. The Master of Life has opened my eyes. I have performed what I formerly promised you; I no longer meddle with the affairs of my village. I have declared to my nation that I would not belong any longer to it, because it has not acted fairly by me. I acknowledge that it is the Master of Life who has prompted me to act thus, in order to be able to occupy myself with Prayer. By this Belt, I enroll myself among the number of Ononthio's children. I wish to die with him, and with this view I fix my residence at La Galette, where I hope to become a good Christian.

And the said *Sieur La Cavelier*, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year above written. Thus signed in the original.

And at nine o'clock in the forenoon of the fourteenth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, We, the Governor aforesaid, accompanied as before mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said *Sieur Le Cavelier*, Interpreter, being in the said Council chamber, have caused said *Sieur Le Cavelier*, Interpreter, to explain to the Indians our reply to their answer, as follows:

Children, Five Nations. I am pleased with the care your chiefs have taken to restrain your young people in your villages; you will do well to pay attention on your return that none of them be found among the English.

I shall always hold one end of your Belt with both hands; be careful to keep it; hold it fast and do not occupy yourself except with good affairs.

It is not I who am the cause of your not coming to see me; confess, yourselves, that it is the English who have kept you back; they also are the authors of the troubles of which you speak, as I have already told you; nothing, my Children, must prevent you coming to see me, whenever you think proper; you have found a very clear path on my lands; it will be always so, and you will be always welcome.

'Tis true you have received a hatchet from me; I had no other design than your own security, and to deliver you from the bondage with which you are menaced; keep it concealed and make use of it whenever occasion will require. Be assured I shall aid you whensoever you will need assistance.

Children, continue not to fear Colonel Johnson; but do not listen to his evil counsels; labor only at good business; you will be always quiet on your mats.

By two Strings.

Children, Onandagas. I cannot but approve the choice you have made of one of the descendants of Tekanesoren to replace that great chief; he was much attached to my father whom he greatly loved; they had but one heart and one will. I recommend to his successor to work like him, only at good affairs; and in order that he may not go astray, let him not listen to the evil minded. I flatter myself that he will prove to me that he has the same sentiments and the same talents as his predecessor.

By two Strings.

Here are two Strings of Wampum whereby I cover the death of your chiefs; meanwhile let us, one and the other, acquit ourselves better of a like ceremony.

By a Belt of 2500 beads.

You have correctly comprehended my words; you know my sentiments; nothing remains for me, Children of the Five Nations, than to confirm your minds and to engage you by this word to do, on your side, your best, always to keep up your union as well as that with your brethren, my children. I ask that we may be united in order that we may have but one mind, one heart, in every respect the same as existed between your ancients and my father. I assure you that I will occupy myself only for your advantage so far as you will deserve it.

Hearken not to the Evil Spirit which oftentimes divorces the best friends. That Evil Spirit is always near us; place not your trust in him; so soon as you will hear anything, come to me; conceal nothing from me; have recourse to this Belt which will always tell truth and afford you consolation at all times; come confidently to explain yourselves; you will find no ambush in your path; the end of your village is at La Galette; the road is always good; fear nothing; it is the same path our ancients traced for the one and the other of us; 'tis shorter than it was at that time. The Master of Life has pity on you; he wishes to draw you closer to Prayer, in order to place you among the number of his children, and to render you happy. Many of your brethren have profited thereby; it depends on yourselves only to imitate them, therefore, my children, the Five Nations, have only one and the same heart, and one and the same mind, and always follow the counsels I, as a good father, shall give you.

I grant you the canoes you ask of me; I expect those who have brought you here will convey you back to your villages, so much the more safely as there is nothing to fear, either for you or for them.

I give you some presents and some guns, as a testimony of my friendship, whilst waiting to do better, if your guns be not in order I shall have them repaired.

Children, I was correct in thinking that you would not have forgotten Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire and La Chauvignerie; they sincerely love you; they will be always ready to go and to come to you whenever occasion requires, for the purpose of bearing my words to you, and I am well assured that in time of war, as well as in seasons of peace, they will have nothing to fear in going to your country; such was the custom among your ancients.



By a Belt of 2000 beads.

I see, my Son, that you are honest; you have performed by me all you have promised. I can only testify to you the joy which I, as well as all your Praying brethren, experienced therefrom. I enroll you among the number of my cherished children, and I am delighted to see you attached to the Religion and to the Service of the King. By this Belt I exhort you to be firm in your sentiments. I assure you that on all occasions I shall prove to you that I am a good father. You have afforded me sufficient proofs of your fidelity that I will bestow on you a mark of distinction. I constitute you a Chief, and decorate you with the Royal Medal. I hope it will assist you not a little to labor successfully in good affairs.

And said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year above mentioned. Thus signed in original.

At three o'clock in the afternoon of the twentieth of the said month of August, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, We, the Governor aforesaid, accompanied as already mentioned, the said one hundred and fifty Onondagas and Oneidas, assisted by the said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, being in the Council Chamber, have caused said Sieur Le Cavelier, Interpreter, to explain to said Indians our words, as follows:

Children. You have expressed to us the joy you feel at the victory I have gained over the English; I think that joy is sincere and thank you for it. The Master of Life has given me that advantage over his enemies and ours.

How many a time have the English not told you that, compared with their power, the French were no better than ciphers. The Master of Life has permitted me to pull down their pride; He wished to humble them and make them acknowledge that the French will be always Victors so long as He will protect their arms.

By a Belt of 2000 beads.

Children, and especially you others here present. I saw with pain the difficulty you experienced in finding a path to return to your villages. He who rules all the Earth blesses my labors, and I have cleared for you a fine road; I have long been desirous of making it smooth.

You will now no longer doubt that the walls of Chouaguen have been unable to resist the intrepidity of the Warriors whom the King has sent into this Colony; they have not left one stone upon another. Not a vestige remains of that fort, nor of any of those establishments which were the source of all the bad affairs. I began at the very commencement of this winter to clear that path for you, but you did not second my efforts; I exhort you not to do the like with this new path.

Children. According to the representation of the English, they had purchased from you the lands on which they were settled at Chouaguen. What a foolish notion! In fine, these lands are no longer either your property nor that of the English. The King, my master, has conquered them. I have had them replaced in the same state that they were in when you or your ancestors were inhabiting them.

I have had no other intention in becoming master of them than to have you use them as did your ancients in the time of my father.

Children. I expect that the fine path I have just leveled for you will afford us, reciprocally, the pleasure of seeing each other oftener than we have done. You will learn the custom of your ancestors who never failed to come and see their father.

Children. I recommend you not to allow yourselves to be corrupted as heretofore, by your brethren, the English. Remember that under pretence of setting a little trap for beaver, at Chouaguen, they insensibly built forts and sloops which have caused so much trouble, as your ancients had wisely foreseen.

I warn you beforehand, that if you suffer the English to make the smallest establishment at Chouaguen, or on the lands you occupy in the vicinity of Lake Ontario, I will go forthwith and drive them thence. You can no more beseech me as formerly, not to stain those lands with blood. I will not listen to you.

Children. Forget not what I say to you as a kind father. Be firm; encourage your warriors to be firm also, for your and my peace sake.

By two Strings.

You are at liberty to leave whenever you please. I recommend you not to carry along with you any of the English who are here our prisoners, nor any of those belonging to the Indians. Children, do not take charge, either, of any of their letters. If they give you any, take them and hand them to me. If they be not suspicious, I will return them to you in order that you may deliver them according to the address.

And said Sieur Le Cavalier, Interpreter, hath signed with us. Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

We, PIERRE RIGAUD, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout the entire of New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana,

Do certify that the foregoing copy is conformable with the original remaining in our Secretary's office. In testimony whereof We have signed these presents, caused the Seal of our Arms to be affixed thereto and had them countersigned by our Secretary.

Done at Montreal, the 15<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

	(Signed),	VAUDREUIL.
By my Lord:	(Signed),	SAINT SAUVEUR.

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*Letter from an Officer, dated*

Camp at Chouaguen, 22nd August, 1756.

I have the honor to transmit you a detail of the campaign we have just made, from our departure from Quebec to Chouaguen where we have gathered laurels which we dared not promise ourselves. We are repaid for the hardships and disagreeable moments experienced in making war in this country, by the complete victory just gained over the English at the siege of this fort.

We left Quebec on the 6<sup>th</sup> of June in canoes, for Montreal, to receive the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. We had two Canadians to steer and ten of our soldiers at the paddles. During that voyage we had all imaginable reverses; we never camped, and in the brief



intervals of repose which we gave the men, in order to prepare the soup, we were devoured by musquitoes. We have, in consequence, several men at the hospital and three or four officers of the regiment have had frightful tumors all over the body from the bites. Throughout the entire passage we never ceased admiring the banks of the river. An extremely handsome forest, a soil adapted to every purpose, most beautiful sites, an abundance of fish and a remarkable quantity of game made us offer up wishes to see it peopled. Little lakes intersect the current of the river; a number of settlements, met with every couple of acres, amuse you; about midway up is the government of Three Rivers, formed of Indian villages, built of the bark of trees which are changed at pleasure and oppose the threatening storm.

We arrived on the 17<sup>th</sup> at Montreal, where the Governor-General was awaiting us, in order to dispatch his army. Montreal is a very large town and much subject to be burnt, all the houses being built of wood. The French tone reigns there; the inclination for marriage is dominant; very pretty persons engage you; we have already five officers married there; the people are proud though poor, and none but the individual who has the superintendence of posts is in a position to keep up with the rate they live.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> we marched over land to form the advance of the Frontenac army, and to resume our bateaux at La Chine and to get canoemen qualified to extricate us from the bad places we had to pass. We made scarcely six leagues when we were obliged to ascend three steep rapids to reach the camp designated for us. We had been wading continually up to the waist in the water and had to travel thirty leagues before we got half way. The soldier, with whom we all have reason to be pleased, did not lose courage; his ardor redoubled at every difficulty, and though repeatedly forced to carry our canoes, landed us at La Presentation where the river assumes its ordinary course.

On the 1st of July, we arrived at the rendezvous, where the regiment of Guyenne was encamped. La Sarra took its right, with its flank under the cannon of the fort. The bad position of the latter, Sir, is inconceivable; all the works our new Engineers are laying out there do not render it defensible. It is commanded on all sides; no magazine protected. At first view it appears to have been constructed only for trade. We were very quiet there, being covered by a considerable party of Canadians and Indians; and although we had only pork to eat, the attention we paid to our good friends the Algonquins, procured for us either fish or game. We expected to be fixed there, when the operations of the campaign changed appearances. M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, who had disposed of the General officers at our departure, was informed of the projects of the English. He had sent Chevalier de Levi, Brigadier, with three French battalions to the point of Lake Saint Sacrament, to oppose 8000 men collected there. Colonel de Bourlamaque, with the other three, to the camp we were occupying; the Marquis de Moncalme was reserved to take post wherever he would be most necessary. Previous to his departure he was at Fort Carillon, where he found the enemy in force. He wrote to that effect to M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, who knew how necessary it was to create a diversion. M. de Moncalme set out again and proceeded to join his army at Montreal, in order to arrange there everything his troops had to do, so as to prevent our being attacked. He issued orders, in consequence, to 1,500 Canadians to follow him; put all the artillery in motion, and had the report spread throughout all the Indian nations that there would be plunder for those who would come and fight with us. The captain of artillery arrived at our camp with an order for the regiment of La Sarre to proceed to the Bay of Niouaré. The Engineer who had reconnoitred Fort Chuagen informed us of its situation.



On the 29<sup>th</sup>, we left to encamp at *Isle aux aillo*,<sup>1</sup> and arrived on the 30<sup>th</sup> at our rendezvous. The scouts reported everything to us, and we rendered a faithful account thereof. The Marquis de Moncalme, who, by his instructions, was at liberty to profit by the favorable moment, if he should perceive any, thought proper to seize it in consequence of the intelligence he received of the enemy. We had orders to send our bateaux back to Frontenac for the regiment of Guyenne and that of Bearn, and the artillery necessary for that expedition. We learn that Colonel Johnson was no longer at Chuagen, and that he had left one of his Aids-de-Camp, named Mer Ler,<sup>2</sup> there in command of 1,500 men. Our army altogether amounted only to a force of 3,000, including French, Canadians and Indians. We labored several days at the construction of ovens, and nothing escaped the vigilance of our Generals in order to provide for the wants of an army that ought always to be accompanied by its supplies, and which any accident might starve.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> the army had arrived at Nioaré, after having experienced rough weather on Lake Ontario. It left on the 9<sup>th</sup>. M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud detached advance parties of Canadians and Indians through the woods; twenty Abenakis constituted our van-guard. M. de Moncalme followed the grenadier company of La Sarre, M. de Bourlamaque, the field hospital was at the head of the Regiment, the four pieces of cannon and of that of Guyenne. We marched the whole night between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> when we overtook M<sup>r</sup> Rigaud at *L'ance aux barraques*. We left Bearn the heavy artillery. The army cooked provisions at the *River aux Sables*, where it halted until the night in order to be able to take up a position at the investment of the fort. M<sup>r</sup> de Moncalme ordered the artillery to be landed in the course of the night, in order to be less exposed in our manœuvres. We disembarked with all imaginable success within three-quarters of a league of the ground without any opposition; bivouacked through the night, after having sent out some grenadiers and pickets in advance, to mark our camp. Two hours before day Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bourlamaque and Senezergue accompanied the two Engineers to reconnoitre the ground suitable for opening the trench and placing the batteries. Decombles, who was chief, was unfortunately killed there by one of our most trusty Indians, who was overpowered by the desire to procure a scalp, and did not recognize the officer until he was killed. This event appeared to throw a damper on our hopes. The willing disposition of our soldiers made up for it; we continued our labors without any interruption; the army was occupied in making gabions; we had not the least knowledge of the enemy, who appeared ignorant of our designs, when we were discovered by a little canoe which they sent out every other day into the lake. It did not suppose that 'twas the army; on the report it made at Chuagen, the Commandant dispatched two large sloops to batter our bateaux on the beach. Our guns did wonderful execution and obliged them to return to their harbor.

On the night of the 12 and 13<sup>th</sup> we opened the trench at a distance of a pistol shot from Fort Ontario. The fire of the besieged was pretty lively, without, however, disturbing our workmen; we lost some men in the course of the morning; they fired astonishingly when evacuating the fort; we discovered their retreat by the trips they were making from the other side of the river. Curiosity got the better of us and we seized the fort without fear of consequences, although we were assured it was mined. Their precipitate retreat made them abandon a quantity of stores, the greatest part of their papers and whatever they could not remove in the first trip. We became that day acquainted with their situation by an express

<sup>1</sup> Sic. *Isle aux Callots*.

<sup>2</sup> Sic. Mercer.



our Indians took, intercepting their letters. They demanded reinforcements, and besought Mr de Johson to send some to them. The feeble resistance they offered determined our Generals to invest Chuagen closely. The soldiers were encouraged; a new trench was opened and it was resolved to discharge all our guns *en Barbet*<sup>1</sup> at the break of day on the 14<sup>th</sup> of November, and the rest on platforms which had been hastily constructed. Our troops distinguished themselves on the occasion by incredible diligence. Those who worked by day were half covered. I entered the trench at three o'clock in the morning, and day had hardly broke when our cannonade began. They answered us with an unparalleled fire, well served, and we could not persuade ourselves that people who had abandoned Fort Ontario would defend that of Chouagen. We persisted in that opinion; our artillery battered their camp, and the very moment we were thinking only of our destruction we arrived at that which witnessed the glorious termination of our labors. In my picket, seven men were either killed or wounded within an hour and a half, and I had yet the entire of the day before me, when we heard the *rappel* beat and saw the White flag waving from the tower of their crenellated building; cries of *Vive le Roi* communicated the tidings to the trench. The loss of their commander and of their artillery officer; the tears of their women; the terror of such as saw their husbands exposed to the same danger, prevailed on the garrison to surrender. We have taken 1,640 prisoners, 120 of whom are women; five standards, 120 pieces of ordnance and six large sloops. Their magazines, provided with everything, supply us wherewith to subsist the army during the next campaign. The King of England's loss is estimated at 20,000,000. Those who are the least superstitious attribute our success to Providence. 'Tis true, Sir, that they could hold out somewhat longer. We have, meanwhile, lost 80 men, and our little army would have been swept away, had the valor so justly attributed to the troops of Old England extended as far as their Colonies. Ours to-day is more flourishing than ever, trade entirely reestablished, Lake Ontario ours, without their being able to oppose it. We are recovering with difficulty from our surprise. The bulwark of New England was at first only a house the Iroquois permitted a private individual to build, which the King seized some years after, to trade in; he had strengthened it with all the works we are demolishing. Their losses are unheard of; the Canadians and Indians have had a very considerable slice of the cake. The latter have supped full of horrors; and have massacred more than 100 persons who were included in the capitulation, without our being able to prevent them or having the right of remonstrating with them. These species of animal, whom I look on as mad dogs, are, when drunk, beyond control. We are waiting orders for our destination; either to go down to the Point, or to occupy the quarters which the Marquis de Moncalme reserves for the three battalions that have formed the siege, and which have exhibited every sort of emulation to follow in the footsteps of Marshal de Richelieu in the Mediterranean. From all these events I conclude that peace will be near, and that it is impossible for England to resist all these checks. We shall be the sooner in France.

<sup>1</sup> When the breastwork of a battery is only three feet high, so that the guns fire over it, they are said to fire "*en Barbet*." *James' Military Dictionary*. — Ed.

*Journal of the Siege of Oswego.*

An Account of the Capture of the Forts of Choueguen, or Oswego; and of what occurred this year in Canada.

The new preparations the English have made to invade Canada, notwithstanding the ill success of their expeditions last year, have been as public in Europe as in America. They were expected there, and independent of the arrangements made in that Colony for its defence, the King sent thither a reinforcement of troops with provisions of all sorts.

From the close of last year's campaign, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, made arrangements for the continual harassing of the English in their own Colonies. He kept, throughout the winter, in the field, detachments of Canadians, soldiers and Indians. These detachments made excursions on all sides. The Indians have killed a great number of people, and a great quantity of cattle have been driven off. A considerable number of houses and stores have been burnt. In divers places on the frontiers of the English Colonies, the settlements have been abandoned, and all these movements have effectually served not only to increase the discontent engendered among them by the injustice of their Governors' projects, but have also created embarrassments and difficulties which have prevented the execution of those projects in the spring.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has not confined himself to this. In taking all the other precautions which appeared to him practicable in order to provide for the security of all the Canadian frontiers, he has formed the project of attacking the English themselves in their establishment at Choueguen on Lake Ontario.

All the world knows that this establishment is an encroachment made by them in a time of profound peace. They contemplated, at first, only a simple trading post. It was with this sole view that they made the proposition in 1728, to the Iroquois Indians, who would not have looked quietly on if they saw, all at once, a fortification erected in the vicinity of their habitations. Their true design in that establishment was, however, perceived at the time in Canada; it was to put them in a position not only to usurp the commerce of the lakes which the French had never shared with any European Nation, but also to cut off, in the very centre of the Colony of Canada, the communication with the posts dependent thereon. Nevertheless, the French Governors contented themselves with protesting against that usurpation. The King caused complaints against it to be made, at the time, to the Court of England, where they have been constantly renewed on all occasions. But the English, not troubling themselves about the justice of these complaints, and always abusing the spirit of peace which has ever regulated the conduct of France, fortified themselves, by degrees, at Chouaguen; so that they had constructed three forts there, to wit:

1<sup>st</sup> Fort Ontario, situate on the right of the river in the centre of a very high plateau of land. It consisted of a square of thirty toises on each side, the faces of which, broken (*brisées*) in the centre, were flanked by a redent placed at the point of the brisure. It was constructed of pickets 18 inches in diameter, hewn on both sides, perfectly well joined the one to the other, and 8 to 9 feet out of the ground. The ditch that surrounded the fort was 18 feet wide and 8 deep. The excavated earth was thrown up as a glacis on the counterscarp, and as a very steep talus on the berm. Loop-holes and embrasures were cut in the pickets on a level with the earth thrown



up on the berm, and a wooden scaffolding ran all around, so as to admit of firing over the top. There were 8 guns and 4 mortars for double grenades.

2<sup>d</sup> Old Fort Choueguen, situate on the left bank of the river, consisting of a house with machicoulis, and perforated on the ground floor and first story, the walls of which were 3 feet thick, and surrounded at a distance of three toises by another wall 4 feet thick and 10 high, perforated and flanked by two large square towers. There was likewise a raised work which protected the fort on the land side. Here the enemy had placed 18 pieces of cannon and 15 mortars and howitzers.

3<sup>d</sup> Fort George, situated 300 toises beyond Fort Chouaguen, on a height by which the latter was commanded. It was of pickets, and very poorly intrenched with earth on two faces.

It was principally by means of the advantages this establishment afforded the English that they flattered themselves to invade Canada. Their design, at first, was to seize Forts Niagara and Frontenac. Masters of these two posts, they would have absolutely cut off the communication not only with the Upper countries, but also with Louisiana; they would have destroyed one of the principal branches of Canadian trade, and by depriving this Colony of a portion of its Indian allies, would be in a position to attack it in its establishments from all sides.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was informed in the beginning of the winter that, in order to execute this project, the enemy were causing troops, with considerable supplies of all sorts of munitions, to be collected in the forts of Choueguen. He at first dispatched a detachment of Canadian troops and of Indians, under the command of *Sieur de Léry*, to attack a fort which was the principal entrepôt of these supplies. This fort was carried by assault in the month of March, and destroyed, with all the buildings dependent thereon; and all the stores, found there in great abundance, were carried off, burnt or thrown into the river. The Marquis de Vaudreuil sent out another detachment of 700 men, under the command of *Sieur de Villiers*, a Provincial Captain, to go and intercept the transports which were to pass by the Choueguen river; this detachment did, in fact, destroy there, in the forepart of July, a convoy of about 200 vessels, in which more than 500 English were killed or taken prisoners.

The success of these expeditions confirmed the Marquis de Vaudreuil in his design against Choueguen. He could succeed therein only so far as it should not be suspected by the enemy, and he would not afford them time to throw into that post the new succors they destined for the attack on the two French forts. Therefore, in the distribution he had made in the beginning of the spring, of the forces of the Colony for the defence of all his frontiers, he directed his principal attention towards Lake Ontario.

Under pretence of necessary reinforcements for the particular defence of Forts Niagara and Frontenac, he concentrated troops there and had conveyed artillery thither, with munitions of war and provisions. He reinforced *Sieur de Villiers'* detachment on the Choueguen river, and, after being assured of the actual condition of the English post and of the reunion of the troops he destined for the expedition, and of everything necessary for its execution, he recalled the Marquis de Montcalm from the frontier of Lake Champlain, for which he had destined him, as being the post where the most interesting operations were to take place, and made him set out immediately for Fort Frontenac, with the orders and instructions necessary for the expedition against Chouaguen, with which he was to be entrusted.

The Marquis de Montcalm, on arriving at Frontenac on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, found all assembled with the exception of *Sieur de Villiers'* detachment, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil had



reinforced, and the command of which had been taken by *Sieur de Rigaud de Vaudreuil*, Governor of Three Rivers. This detachment had already been as far as the *Choueguen* river and the Bay of *Niaouré*, which the *Marquis de Vaudreuil* had designated as the general rendezvous.

The troops destined for the expedition consisted of about 3,000 men, including the detachment commanded by *Sieur de Rigaud*, which was to act as the van-guard.

The *Marquis de Montcalm* did not lose any time in getting ready to set out from *Fort Frontenac*. After having made the necessary provision to secure a retreat, in case a superior force rendered that inevitable, he gave orders to two armed sloops on *Lake Ontario*, one of 12 and the other of 16 guns, to cruise off *Choueguen*; arranged a chain of scouts, Canadians and Indians, on the route between that place and the town of *Albany*, for the purpose of intercepting expresses, and embarked on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August with the first division of his troops, consisting of the battalion of *La Sarre* and that of *Guyenne*, with 4 pieces of cannon, and arrived on the 6<sup>th</sup> at the Bay of *Niaouré*, where the second division, composed of the battalion of *Bearn*, of Militia and the bateaux, with the artillery and provisions, arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup>.

On the same day, the *Marquis de Montcalm* sent off the van-guard, under the command of *Sieur de Rigaud*, to advance to a cove called *L'anse aux cabannes*, within three leagues of *Choueguen*. The first division having reached there at two o'clock of the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup>, the van-guard repaired by land and across the woods, four hours afterwards, to another cove situated within half a league of *Choueguen*, in order to cover the landing of the artillery and troops there. The first division reached this cove at midnight. The *Marquis de Montcalm* succeeded in posting immediately a battery on *Lake Ontario*, and the troops bivouacked during the night at the head of the bateaux.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, at day-break, the Canadians and Indians advanced to within a quarter of a league of *Fort Ontario*, situated, as has been stated, on the right bank of the *River Choueguen*, and invested it. *Sieur de Combes*, the Engineer, who had been sent at three o'clock in the morning to determine this investment and the front of attack, was killed on returning from his scout, by one of our Indians who had escorted him, and who, in the dark, unfortunately mistook him for an Englishman. *Sieur Desandrouins*, another Engineer, laid out across the woods, partly through swamps, a road reconnoitred the evening before, for the passage of the artillery; and this road, begun on the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup>, was pushed on with so much zeal, that it was completed the next day. Meanwhile, the camp was laid out, the right resting on *Lake Ontario*, covered by the battery thrown up on the preceding evening, and which protected the bateaux from insult; the left rested on an impassable swamp.

The march of the French, which had up to that time been concealed from the enemy by the precaution of proceeding only by night, and of entering and halting in the rivers where they were hid, was announced to the English on the same day by the Indians who went up to the foot of the fort to fire. Three armed sloops went out of the *Choueguen* river at noon and came to cruise in front of the camp; they discharged some of their guns, but the fire from our battery forced them to move off.

The 12<sup>th</sup>, at the break of day, the *Bearn* battalion arrived with the bateaux of artillery and provisions, which were landed forthwith in presence of the English sloops that were cruising before the camp. The beach battery was increased; the park of artillery and the provision dépôt were arranged, and *Captain Pouchot*, of the regiment of *Bearn*, received orders to act as Engineer during the siege. Preparations were made to open the trench that very night.



The Marquis de Montcalm committed the superintendence of it to *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, Colonel of Infantry, and ordered out six pickets of workmen, of fifty men each, for that night, with two companies of grenadiers to support them.

The work at that trench, with all the diligence possible, could not be commenced before midnight. It was rather a parallel of about 100 toises front, opened within 90 toises of the ditch of the fort, in ground encumbered with abattis and trunks of trees. This parallel, completed at five o'clock in the morning, was perfected in daylight by the working parties, who constructed the zigzags and began forming batteries. The enemy's fire, which was very brisk since the break of day, ceased about six o'clock in the evening, and it was perceived that the garrison had evacuated Fort Ontario and passed to the other side of the river to Fort Choueguen. It abandoned on retiring eight pieces of artillery and four mortars.

The fort having been immediately occupied by the grenadiers of the trench, pioneers were commanded to continue the communication of the parallel to the river's side, where, at the setting in of night, a grand battery was commenced, so placed as not only to batter Fort Choueguen and the road between the latter and Fort St. George, but also to take in the rear the retrenchments which surrounded the first of these forts. Twenty pieces of cannon were conveyed on men's shoulders during the night, and this labor employed all the troops, with the exception of the pickets and guards of the camp.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, at day-break, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered *Sieur de Rigaud* to wade across to the other side of the river with the Canadians and Indians, to gain the woods and harass the communication to Fort St. George, where the enemy appeared to be making great preparations. *Sieur de Rigaud* executed this order at once. Notwithstanding there was considerable water in that river and the current was very rapid, he plunged in, crossed over with the Canadians and Indians, some swimming, others wading up to the waist or neck, and reached his destination, without the enemy's fire being able to arrest one single Canadian or Indian.

At nine o'clock the besiegers had nine guns in a position to bear, and although the fire of the garrison was, then, superior, the white flag was hoisted at ten o'clock. *Sieur de Rigaud* forwarded to the Marquis de Montcalm two officers whom the Commandant of the fort had sent to him to demand a capitulation, which was concluded on the spot, and the conditions were: that the garrison should be prisoners of war and that the French troops should take immediate possession of the posts. It has been already stated that they had occupied that of Ontario the evening before. *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, appointed Commandant of Forts George and Choueguen, took possession of them with two companies of grenadiers and the pickets of the trench, and he was charged with the demolition of all the posts and the removal of the artillery and munitions of war, and provisions that were there.

The celerity of our works, in ground considered by the enemy impracticable; the rapid construction of our batteries; the idea those works conveyed of the number of the French troops; the death of Colonel Mercer, Commandant of Choueguen, who was killed at eight o'clock in the morning; and, still more than all, *Sieur de Rigaud's* bold manœuvre and the dread of the Canadians and Indians, who were already firing on the fort, doubtless determined the besieged not to make a protracted defence.

They have lost one hundred and fifty-two men, including some soldiers killed by the Indians in attempting to escape into the woods. The number of prisoners exceeded sixteen hundred, eighty of whom were officers. Seven vessels of war have also been taken, of which one

carried fourteen, one ten, one eight guns; the other three carrying swivels; besides two hundred craft for transportation; and the officers and crews of these vessels have been included in the capitulation of the garrison, which consisted of two regiments of Regulars, Shirley's and Pepperel's, and Schuyler's regiment of Militia. The artillery captured consists of fifty-five cannon, fourteen mortars, five howitzers and forty-seven swivels, which have been removed, with a vast quantity of ball, shell, bullets and powder, and a considerable amount of provisions.

The Marquis de Montcalm has lost but three men, namely, one Canadian, one soldier and a gunner, exclusive of Sieur de Combles; and only about twenty have been wounded in the different corps of Regulars under his orders. All those wounds are very slight. Sieur de Bourlamaque, Captains Palmarol of the grenadiers, and Duparquet of the regiment of La Sarre, are of this number.

On the 21st of August, all the forts having been razed, the prisoners, artillery and provisions removed, the Marquis de Montcalm embarked with his troops and proceeded, in three divisions, to the Bay of Niaouré, whence the different corps repaired to the respective destinations indicated to them by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who has caused the four colors of Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments, and that of Schuyler's regiment of Militia to be deposited in the churches of Quebec and Three Rivers with the ordinary ceremonies.

The success of this expedition has diffused universal joy throughout the Colony, where all its advantages are better appreciated than anywhere else. Canada finds itself, thereby, relieved from well founded uneasiness caused by the establishment of Choueguen. It sees the communication with the Upper countries and all the Indian Nations, its allies, protected from the troubles to which such communication was exposed. The Colony has no longer any fear of being attacked from that quarter, at least with the superiority the English possessed by the establishment just wrested from them and which placed them in a position to dominate on the lakes, where they had already organized a navy. It is, henceforth, able to concentrate its forces for the defence of its frontiers, and has the satisfaction of being indebted for this happy change in its situation to the powerful succor the King has had the goodness to send it.

It has given expression to the most touching sentiments of respect and gratitude for these new marks of his Majesty's protection, and seconds, with all the zeal to be expected from a people, the most faithful and attached to their Prince, the indefatigable pains taken for its defence by the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm, and the other officers intrusted therewith under that Governor's orders.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 28<sup>th</sup> August, 1756.

My Lord,

I communicated to you, in my preceding letters, the project of creating a diversion in the direction of Chouaguen, and the whole of the preparations to besiege that place, notwithstanding



all the obstacles which naturally presented themselves. It is, perhaps, the first time that 3000 men and inferior artillery have besieged eighteen hundred who could be promptly reinforced by 2000 and could oppose our landing, having a superior navy on Lake Ontario. The success has been beyond all expectation, as you will see by the Journal I have the honor to transmit to you.<sup>1</sup> I will add, that the necessity of success demanded by the safety of the Colony, the honor of the King's arms and by myself, had determined me, and the principal officers of the two regular regiments concurred in the resolution, to go with all the Canadians and Indians, the grenadier companies and four pickets per battalion, to meet and give battle to the enemy at a portage three leagues from my camp; I had small scouting parties of Canadians and Indians continually out, but I was not put to that trouble. The precaution I had taken, before leaving the Bay of Niaouré, to make my intentions known to my friends, the Indians, with whom no one can stand better, to stop and intercept every letter, procured for me that Colonel Mercer, Commandant of Chouaguen, who had no idea until the 11<sup>th</sup>, that he was about to be besieged, should write on the 12<sup>th</sup>, at four o'clock in the morning, to divers English Generals, and his despatches were handed to me at ten o'clock by some Nepissings. My hopes were increased by the manner in which the Commandant expressed himself. Nevertheless, were it not that this Mercer had been killed, the capture of Chouaguen had been deferred a day or two at most. You will remark by the Journal I transmit to you, that I had thrown the Canadians and Indians across the river; that as early as the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> I had nine guns in battery. My arrangements were made to have thirteen more on the 15<sup>th</sup>, with a battery of mortars and howitzers. I had issued my orders for the regiment of Béarn to proceed at nightfall, with three pieces of cannon, outside by the lake and land above Chouaguen at an anchorage I had had reconnoitred and sounded, for the purpose of making an attack in the direction of Fort George by communicating with M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who was in command of the Canadians and Indians. My whole conduct on that occasion, and the arrangements I had concluded on, in the face of eighteen hundred men, are so utterly at variance with ordinary rules, that the audacity with which that expedition has been executed, must be considered rashness in Europe. Therefore, I beseech you, my Lord, as a particular favor, to assure his Majesty, should he ever, as I hope he will, employ me in his armies, that I shall conduct myself on different principles. You can even assure him that, at all events, I should have secured my retreat, saved his artillery and the honor of his arms, sacrificing, perhaps, two or three hundred men. The nature of the country, the weakness of the English troops, the dread they entertain of the Indians, made me certain of it. It is to be concluded that the English, when transplanted, are no longer like those in Europe. We must look at my Lord Loudon's Scotchmen, for it appears that General has arrived, according to the report of some prisoners from whose representation I should infer that Baron de Dieskaw will be in a sad state during his whole life.

Our land forces acquitted themselves with incredible zeal, of all I required of them. Therefore, my Lord, I beseech you to grant me the favors I ask of you for them. I address you a Memoir on the subject, to which I have annexed a very long letter in order to detail, more fully, the special reasons for each favor.

I have one request to make in favor of Captain le Mercier, of the regiment of the old Marine, and brother of Captain le Mercier, of the Colonial troops, who commands the artillery. If it be possible for you, my Lord, to grant it on my recommendation, it will give me influence

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 457. — Ed.

among the Colonial officers, who will believe that chance may sometimes enable me to procure favors for them. The Marquis de Brancas will present you a special letter on this occasion. I have usefully employed them and the Militia of the country, not, however, at any works exposed to the enemy's fire. 'Tis a troop knowing neither discipline nor subordination. Within six months I would make grenadiers of them, and now I would carefully abstain from placing as much dependence on them as the unfortunate M. de Dieskaw did, by having given too much ear to the confident talk of Canadians, who believe themselves, in all respects, the first nation in the world. And my respectable Governor-General is a native of the country; has married there, and is everywhere surrounded by relatives. To have ordered Canadians to be punished—to have proclamation made by beat of drum, on the day following the capture of Chouaguen, forbidding, on pain of death, the Canadians who brought up the bateaux for me, to return home, appeared very strange to the officers and even to M. de Rigaud. I must do the Marquis de Vaudreuil the justice to say that he approved my proceedings. The tone of firmness, which I knew how to accompany more than once with mildness and patience, has a good effect. The Indian is enraptured of me, and, learning that I return to the camp at Carillon, has induced them to march thither. The Canadians are satisfied with me; their officers esteem me, fear me, and would be well pleased could Frenchmen and their General be dispensed with, which would gratify me also. I have deemed it my duty to express myself pleased to the Keeper of the Seals, with all the Colonial troops, and not to appear dissatisfied with anything. The Missionaries of St. Sulpice, to the number of two, have always accompanied their Indians. Abbé Picquet, who had the honor, some years ago, to present three Indians to the King, came to Chouaguen to erect a cross there, to which has been affixed *In hoc signo vincunt*; and a pole on one side with the King's Arms, and the inscription + *Manibus date lilia plenis*.

I do not give you any description of the forts of Chouaguen. The Engineer's letter and plan supply that.

As for the rest, my Lord, the success of this expedition is decisive for the Colony. Chouaguen has been the apple of discord. Its position on Lake Ontario—the manner in which the English were fortifying themselves—the facility the Indians experienced at that place, to dispose of their peltries to much better advantage than in our forts; all these reasons created the apprehension that, sooner or later, England would possess the superiority in the trade of the Upper countries. The capture of Chouaguen destroys their projects in this regard. It is a loss to them of fifteen millions. The greatest joy I experience at having succeeded in this expedition, emanates from the circumstance that such success is due to a general officer, whose selection you alone have determined.

The Account I transmit to you has been submitted to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. He is of opinion, as I have mentioned to the Keeper of the Seals, that it would be proper for the government to have it printed, as it has done that of the events of the last campaign, in order to afford publicity in Europe to an event of the greatest brilliancy and most important consequences in North America, and for which the Marquis de Vaudreuil has deemed it a duty to order a *Te Deum* and public rejoicings.

I annex to this despatch copy of the articles of capitulation granted to M. de Lithleales, Shirley's Lieutenant-Colonel, who commanded on the death of Colonel Mercer. I beg you to observe that no inventory of the artillery has been made, which, at all events, will dispense



with any restitution on our part. No capitulation will ever be so difficult to enforce. The Indians wished to violate it. I have put an end to that affair. It will cost the King from eight to ten thousand *livres*, which will preserve to us the affection of the Indian Nations more strongly than ever; and there is nothing that I would not have done rather than commit an act contrary to French good faith.

You will also find a return of the artillery, ammunition and provisions. I shall not conceal from you that there has been a little plunder, which it was even necessary to tolerate. We are not in Europe, and it is very difficult to prevent 300 Indians and 1500 Canadians regaling themselves (*faire une curée*). Moreover, this is the custom in the Colonies, on one side and the other, but the property of the English officers, as well as the munitions of war and provisions, have been saved.

M. Bigot, who concurred with the best grace in all I had proposed to him for the good of the service, had made arrangements for the payment, on my order, of all the extraordinary expenses I should deem proper. He had advanced me thirty thousand *livres* for that. As it was necessary to stimulate my little army, every sort of labor, either for the siege or for the demolition of the works, has been paid higher than in Europe, and this, joined to gratuities and considerable sums given to the Indians, amounts to eleven thousand eight hundred and sixty-two *livres*. The military chest captured at Chouaguen, and delivered, with a minute, to the Treasurer, contained the sum of eighteen thousand and some *livres*.

As soon as the evacuation of Chouaguen was completed, I hastened the march of the troops. I left nothing behind but Lieutenant-Colonel de l'hôpital, of the regiment of Bearn, whom I ordered to Frontenac with some pickets as a guard over six hundred prisoners removed thither in the sloops until they can be forwarded down here with a portion of our artillery.

The regiment of La Sarre is still at Niaouré, through want of bateaux, and for the purpose of evacuating the dépôt of provisions I had formed there under the supposition of a longer sojourn. Béarn is in full march hence to Carillon. Guyenne will leave in two days and I follow with the grenadier company and a picket of La Sarre. This will make an addition of nine hundred men for the defence of that frontier, which appears to be threatened; but the whole of this reinforcement cannot arrive there before the 12 to the 15<sup>th</sup> September, on account of difficulties in the matter of provisions, roads and transportation. All the Canadians are busy with their harvest. I make a halt here for a few days to expedite this movement, and desire the end of the campaign as much as any other person. My health no longer bears up against excessive fatigues and traveling three hundred leagues in two months.

Chevalier de Levis has rendered me a very precise report. He neglects nothing on his part. He is hastening the fortifications of Carillon; has detachments out continually against the enemy and they are making prisoners. His order of battle, in case of attack, ought to parry every expedition, so far as his force, which is inferior to that of the enemy, may permit, and facilitate my expedition just made. He has not neglected anything which could persuade the enemy that it was the camp of Carillon which would act offensively; [has sent out] scouts to discover any advanced march; and in order to consult them on his offensive project, held Councils with his Indians, among whom are always some who are sold to the English interest.

As soon as Chouaguen was taken, I communicated this intelligence to the Upper Nations and to the Five Iroquois Nations who entertain greater fear than love for us. It is more convenient for them to derive their supplies from the English. They sent the Marquis de Vaudreuil some ambassadors whom I met at La Présentation, as I was on my way to Frontenac. They were

as much English spies as ambassadors. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, therefore, detained them, on divers pretexts, until the news of the capture of Chouaguen. The English, it must be expected, will make every effort to recover that place and build a better fort there than the one we have destroyed, and I expect to go there again early in the spring.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. Désandrouins, Engineer, to ———.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Letter from M. Désandrouins respecting an expedition against Fort Ontario,  
with a Narrative of the Campaign of 1756 in New France.

Montreal, 28<sup>th</sup> of August, 1756.

Sir,

We just return from an expedition still more successful and extraordinary than that of General Braddock last year.

M. Lombart decombes, Engineer, has been first to reconnoitre, in company with M. de Villiers, the forts and approaches of Chouaguen, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of July, and on the report he made of them the 29<sup>th</sup> to M. de Montcalm at Frontenac, operations were determined on and the necessary dispositions taken to lay siege to it at all events. The whole of the army arrived at 11 o'clock at night, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, at the place of landing which M. Mercier and I, with M. de Villiers, had been to select. M. de Combes and I were ordered to reconnoitre, at day-break, Fort Ontario, the place to be attacked, and the roads necessary to be cut across the woods to reach the rear of the traverse. For an escort we were furnished with the grenadier company of La Sarre, several Canadian officers, and some twenty trusty Indians, as guides and flankers to the right and left, to discover scouting parties from the garrison, which we had to fear. We advanced, across stumps of trees, to within 80 toises of the place; I was to the left, within twenty paces of M. de Combes, having left the grenadiers within a gun-shot in the rear. He had completed his reconnoissance before me, and as he was returning between three Colonial officers, a Nipissing Indian, who happened to be eight or ten paces behind, mistook him, in the twilight, for an English officer; his first intention was to take him prisoner, but as he saw him accompanied by others, he discharged a gun, loaded with a ball and a handful of buckshot at him, which prostrated him. The sentries of the fort, supposing themselves fired at, discharged their pieces at us, so that I thought a patrol had discovered M. de Combes, and I retired immediately through fear of being surprised. I was overwhelmed with grief on seeing this admirable officer speechless and insensible, and on learning the mistake. He expired half an hour afterwards in his tent. He was deeply regretted by



the entire army. M. de Pouchot, fourth Captain<sup>1</sup> of the regiment of Bearn, an officer acknowledged to possess much taste for fortifications, and known by those he had had constructed at Niagara, received orders from the General to act as Engineer, and our success proves that he did not disappoint those who confided in him.

We have suffered considerably during this expedition, from at half-past four in the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup> up to 7 o'clock of the evening of the 14<sup>th</sup>, continually in such quick movement and dispatching such an amount of work, that the enemy was under the impression that we were six thousand effective Regulars, and we had not thirteen hundred.

I believe we are going to the Point, *alias* Fort St. Frederic to terminate the campaign. The English are, it must be confessed, a people that understand war very imperfectly; they surrendered themselves prisoners the very moment they were slaughtering us with their artillery. They did not offer even a show of opposition to M. de Rigaut's passage of the river; neither did they take the least precaution to traverse themselves in their intrenched camp, nor to properly turn their platform, inasmuch as we took them *de revers*; they were firing their cannon almost in an opposite direction, and were exposed down to their feet. Nothing remains for them but correctly to adjust balls and shells, and to keep up a brisk fire.

I do not make any mention of the horrors and cruelties of the Indians. The idea entertained thereof in France is very correct. It is a misfortune to make war with such people, especially when they are drunk—a condition in which nothing stays their fury. Nevertheless, the Indian who killed poor de Combes, was so afflicted that he urged his comrades to rid him of his existence, which, he said, was a burthen to him since he had the misfortune to kill a French chief of such great importance.

Adieu. I leave in a few days, with M. de Montcalm, for Lake St. Sacrament.

I am, &c.,

(Signed), DE SANDROÜINS.

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*Campaign of 1756 in Canada.*

Particulars of the Campaign of 1756 in New France, transmitted on the 29<sup>th</sup> of August of the same year.

The Marquis de Montcalm having safely arrived at Quebec in the month of May, with the convoy of troops and munitions sent from France, found the forces of the Colony already very judiciously distributed for its defence, viz: the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, with a number of Canadians and Indians, forming a camp at Carillon, the most distant of our frontier forts in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament; Guienne at Frontenac and Bearn at Niagara. M. Dumas, Commandant at Fort du Quesne, had collected six or seven hundred Indians; M. de Villiers, with four hundred Indians, was posted at the Bay de Niaouré and seriously harassed the enemy's convoys to Chouagen, an important post, the reduction of which was meditated, and, finally, M. de Boishebert had gathered the few Acadians the English could not entrap and disperse in their Colonies like the rest, after the capture of Fort Beauséjour, and was maintaining himself with the Indians in the woods and making frequent incursions against the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Premier factionnaire du regiment de Bearn. — Ed.

On news that the enemy were making extensive preparations at Albany and at Forts Lydius and William Henry, the last of which places is situated at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, and that they were concentrating the greatest part of their forces, it was apprehended that they designed making an attempt on our frontier at Lake Champlain, for which reason the battalion of the Royal Rousillon, together with a reinforcement of Canadians and Regulars, was sent to the camp at Carillon shortly after our arrival, and Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier, proceeded to take command of that army, which amounted to three thousand and some hundred men.

From the other point, intelligence had been received that the enemy were building sloops at Chouaguen, in sufficient number to assume a decided superiority in Lake Ontario; that they were collecting a prodigious quantity of provisions there, and that, in fine, the strong garrison they had at that place could, in a short time, become an army capable of attacking Frontenac or Niagara, whenever they should think fit. La Sarre proceeded, in consequence, to join Guienne at Frontenac, under the orders of M. Bourlamaque, and the two French Engineers were likewise sent thither to fortify them there. Béarn received orders, at the same time, to complete the fortifications of Niagara, which were commenced last year by Sieur Pouchot, one of the fourth Captains (*premiers factionnaires*) of that regiment.

These measures being adopted, the Marquis de Montcalm repaired to the camp at Carillon in the month of June, and after assuring himself of the dispositions of the enemy, who might number eight thousand men, arranged with Chevalier de Levis the principal manœuvres of an effective defence, and immediately left for Montreal with the design of trying to cut off the enemy in the direction of Chouaguen, unless they opposed some too serious obstacles thereto, by reducing their army at Lake St. Sacrament, in order to counteract our undertaking; this they could not effect without relieving Chevalier de Levis from uneasiness and embarrassment.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil highly approved of the Chouaguen expedition, which he and the Colony had much at heart, in consequence of the importance of that post, by means whereof the English were trading in every direction with the Indians, whom they attracted by rum, and the high price they have always paid for peltries. In addition to this, its situation at the mouth of the Odondaga river afforded them an easy communication with the Five Nations and with New-York, by means of the Hudson river, and placed them in a position to attack Frontenac and Niagara, by Lake Ontario.

The Intendant, coinciding with the Marquis de Vaudreuil's views and the Marquis de Montcalm's designs, issued effectual orders for supplying munitions of war and provisions. M. de Rigaud brought a reinforcement of seven to eight hundred Canadians to M. de Villiers' camp, the command of which he assumed. This officer had, some days before, thrown in great disorder a convoy of five hundred of the enemy's bateaux, which were returning from Chouaguen to Fort Bull, killed between fifty and sixty of their men, wounded a great number and took some prisoners, without any loss than one officer and three militiamen. He had been several times even under their cannon to kill their people and to make some prisoners, and afforded the means of reconnoitring them quite near.

The regiment of Béarn was ordered to return from Niagara, to leave only one picket there and to repair to Frontenac, where the Marquis de Montcalm, who arrived at that post on the 29<sup>th</sup> July, had just given the finishing stroke to the expeditious dispatch of provisions and warlike stores. At length, all being in readiness for the 5<sup>th</sup> of August, when the first division of the army took its departure with four pieces of cannon, the rest of the artillery, provisions



and stores remained for the second division, which, escorted by Bearn, departed on the 7<sup>th</sup>. The two largest of our sloops were sent on the lake to protect our expedition.

The first division arrived before Chouaguen on the night of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of August, without having been discovered by the enemy, owing to the precaution taken to advance only by night and to retire into the woods by day, drawing the bateaux ashore and covering them with thick foliage.

That very night the Marquis de Montcalm had his four pieces of cannon posted on the bank; they served, in fact, the next day, to keep off the sloops which the enemy sent to reconnoitre. At the dawn of day Fort Ontario, situated on this side of the river, was examined to determine the attack thereon. This reconnoissance cost the life of Sieur Lombard de Combes, chief of the two French Engineers. The whole of the army was deeply affected by this loss, in consequence of the confidence reposed in his capacity. Sieur de Pouchot received orders, next day, to act as Engineer.

12<sup>th</sup> Bearn arrived in the morning with its convoy. It was calculated that the army then amounted to 3,100 men; namely, 1,350 regular infantry; 1,500 Canadians or Colonial troops, and 250 Indians.

On the night of the 12<sup>th</sup>, everything being ready for opening the trench, 300 pioneers were detailed for that duty, and a parallel of 100 toises long was made, during the night, within 90 toises of Fort Ontario. This was a star fort of eight angles, which was certainly protected from all surprise by a grooved and tongued palisade composed of posts eighteen inches thick, a good ditch, cannon and a garrison of two or three hundred men, but the slope of the elevated plateau, in the middle of which it stood, afforded the facility of approaching it unseen to within 90 toises. At five o'clock of the evening of the 13<sup>th</sup> the enemy abandoned it and retired to Fort Chouaguen, on the other side of the river, whilst we were engaged in erecting a battery of six guns.

The night of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> was employed in extending the lines [to the river side] and in constructing a barbet battery of nine guns, which was erected on the edge of the declivity at this side of the river; it commanded with considerable advantage, and took *de revers*, all the enemy's retrenchments around Fort Chouaguen. They had no idea of being thus taken in the rear and had not dreamed of traversing themselves, nor of changing their platforms which were turned in a contrary direction. Therefore, as soon as they discovered, on the morning on the 14<sup>th</sup>, that M. de Rigaud had crossed the river with the Canadians and Indians in order to surround them, and that there was no part of their camp where they were not exposed, even to the buckle of their shoe, they hoisted the white flag and surrendered prisoners of war. They had abandoned, during the morning, a miserable little fort called Fort George, which they had on a hill beyond Chouaguen.

This siege has not cost us more than thirty men killed or wounded. They lost about one hundred and fifty men, among whom was Colonel Mercer, their Commander, who was killed by a cannon ball three hours before the capitulation.

The French troops served at this siege with so much zeal, and dispatched so much business in a brief space of time, that the enemy judged us to exceed six thousand men. The Canadians, likewise, evinced much good will and applied themselves with ardor to whatever was ordered them.

We found, in Chouagen, 1,658 prisoners, 7 brass cannon, 48 of iron, 14 mortars, 5 howitzers, 47 swivels, a quantity of warlike stores, provisions for two or three years, and in the port a

bark of 18 guns, a brigantine of 14, a schooner of 8 guns, a sloop of 10, another of 4, and a boat of 12 swivels.

As soon as the enemy had left, we proceeded to evacuate the place, to raze its fortifications, to burn its stores and houses. The whole was finished by the 21<sup>st</sup> of August, when the three battalions took their departure. Guienne and Bearn had orders to proceed, with dispatch, to the camp at Carillon, where they arrived, as well as the Marquis de Montcalm, in the beginning of 7<sup>bre</sup>. La Sarre remained behind until the entire evacuation of the Bay of Niaouré, the principal depôt of the effects captured at Chouaguen; the Canadians went to save their harvests and the Indians returned to their villages, as is their custom when they have struck a blow.

The Marquis de Montcalm found things in a very good condition at the camp at Carillon; the English did not make even a show of coming to attack Chevalier de Levis, and operations were confined, on the one side and the other, to some Indian forays. We had just recently lost Mess<sup>rs</sup> Biville and de Torsac, a Lieutenant in the regiment of La Reine, whom the Mohawks, an Indian Nation, had scalped whilst hunting, in fancied security, within a quarter of a league of the camp. We had ample revenge a few days afterwards; a large party of Canadians and Indians going to see whether the enemy was not forming a post in the islands of St. Sacrament, a hundred or a hundred and ten of the best and most alert among them were detached to strike a blow in the neighborhood of the enemy's camp. They met a detachment of fifty men, all of whom they either took or killed, with the exception of one or two who are supposed to have escaped. We lost two Indians on that occasion.

The season is now too far advanced for anything to occur for the remainder of the campaign except some unimportant forays. Besides, it appears that the number of enemies on one side and the other, the dread they entertain of us and our good arrangement, form obstacles to all expeditions whatsoever. It therefore remains for both sides to make, for the next campaign, the utmost efforts to gain advantage of each other's opponents.

The news from Fort Duquesne and Beautiful river are very favorable. M. Dumas has laid waste, with his Indians, a good part of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. In vain did these Provinces, which have no Indians to aid them, levy and pay a thousand men, at the opening of this campaign, who dressed and painted themselves in the Indian fashion; in vain did they send these to scour the woods; they have not been the less constrained to abandon more than sixty leagues of country together with the crops and cattle. The English have not abandoned Fort Cumberland, but communication with it has been attended with a thousand difficulties, and Chevalier Villiers, on the 2d of August, has been very successful in burning another called Fort Grandville,<sup>1</sup> sixty miles from Philadelphia.

Letters from that quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup>, mention that the prisoners state that the Province of Pennsylvania is making a levy of two thousand men, and Virginia and Maryland another of three thousand, to facilitate the saving of the harvest by the settlers. General Hauke is expected to command them. These preparations have not deterred the Delawares (*Loups*), Chanousanons and Illinois going in a body to burn the grain. M. Dumas, the same letters add, has formed the design of going to set fire to Fort Cumberland, with which view he has sent to have it reconnoitred. Finally, it does not appear that this news, whether true or false, excites much uneasiness at Fort Duquesne, and we learn, from all points, that the suffering

<sup>1</sup> On the north bank of the Juniata, about a mile west of Lewiston, Mifflin county, Pa. *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII, 366. — Ed.



throughout the whole of the English Colonies cannot be greater. The immense subsidies they have been forced to pay to maintain a force much more numerous than ours, far from having enabled them, up to the present time, to make any attack on us, has not even saved them from all the horrors of a cruel war, and the loss of the *Port Mahon* of North America ; I mean Chouagen.

One observation on the position of the camp of Carillon, five leagues above Fort St. Frederic or Crown Point, on the left shore of Lake Champlain. Our army is encamped on a Point called Carillon, at the junction of the two bays from which Lake Champlain derives its source. The largest of the two, which flows towards the southeast, is about seven to eight leagues deep. It was by this bay that Mr. Dieskaw passed last year, in going to the enemy. It receives Wood creek, with which the English can communicate from Fort Lydius by a road of three leagues.

The smallest of the two bays is only three-quarters of a league in depth towards the southwest. It receives at its head the Fall of Lake St. Sacrament. This fall is full half a league in length, and it is a very easy portage. Lake St. Sacrament lies nearly north and south, and is about twelve to thirteen leagues in length, by one at its widest part.

At the head of this Lake the English have a fort called Williams Henry, or Fort George, where their army has been encamped up to the present time. Another fort, called Lydius, is situated six or seven leagues from Williams Henry, and about ten from the head of the large bay. M. Dieskaw was proceeding against the latter fort, which he supposed to be still open on one side, but having learned from some prisoners that it was beyond insult, and that Colonel Johnson was beginning another at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, he altered his plan and marched against the latter, where he found the enemy in force and fortified. There is a highway between Fort Lydius and Fort Williams Henry, and the communication between Lydius and Albany is by way of the River Orange or Hudson, on which still stands Fort Sarasto.

The enemy was content, this year, with employing his army in perfecting Fort Williams Henry, having merely some strong guards and advanced posts along the shores and in the adjoining islands of Lake St. Sacrament. Our men have likewise been occupied, under the superintendence of our Engineer belonging to the country, in completing a fort commenced at Carillon last year, after the affair of M. Dieskaw, and in advancing two little intrenched camps at the head of the portage, and another camp, also intrenched, beyond the other two. These camps had strong guards and bivouacks in advance, in order to be seasonably advised of the enemy's march. Our design was to give them battle or to stop them at the portage of the Fall. The immense quantity of timber with which the whole of this country is covered, affords the Canadians and Indians the means of fighting with advantage. This circumstance would allow us to hazard a general engagement with the enemy, although in greater strength, had they come against us.

*M. de Vaudreuil to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, the 20<sup>th</sup> August, 1756.

My Lord,

You are pleased that I leave everything relating to the incorporation of the recruits destined to complete the troops of the line, to the reports the Marquis de Montcalm and M. Doreil have the honor to make to you, regard being had to the number of the effective companies of each battalion. I have concurred in all the arrangements they have thought proper, and such incorporation has been in accordance with the King's intentions.

Therefore, my Lord, I might have referred to the special reports transmitted to you by the Marquis de Montcalm, of the different movements in which I have employed the land forces, but I could not refuse myself the satisfaction I feel in having the honor to address you on the subject.

I had the honor, in my letter of the 8<sup>th</sup> June, to advise you in advance of my views against Chouaguen, but that I would not decide upon putting them in execution unless circumstances would be so much in my favor as not to risk compromising the King's arms.

The detachment, consisting of about 900 Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians, which I had the honor to mention to you, stationed itself in a place adapted for continually sending parties out against Chouaguen. This detachment has made several successful expeditions. On the 3d July it attacked a convoy of 300 bateaux, defeated about 500 English, wounded several others and brought in a considerable number prisoners. Chevalier de Gannes was wounded in this action, and died of his wounds on the 6<sup>th</sup>. As for the rest, we had but two men killed and some wounded.

The Marquis de Montcalm was then at Carillon; I had given him the command of the army covering that frontier, as the English were disposed to direct thither forces against that quarter. I had two objects in view; first, to enable the Marquis de Montcalm to add an examination of the locality to the information I had given him of those parts; secondly, to mask my design against Chouaguen from the enemy, and for that purpose Chevalier de Levis followed in the same direction.

My preparations and arrangements at Frontenac were completed as far as related to provisions, warlike stores, troops and Militia to be employed in this expedition. The Marquis de Montcalm had asked of me only a force of 3,000 men, but I increased it to about 4,000.

He wrote me from Carillon, on the strength of the information he as well as I possessed of the situation of the enemy, that it was his opinion they would not be soon ready to appear in those parts. I sent an order to Chevalier de Levis to assume the command, agreeably to the instructions I had given the Marquis de Montcalm, whom I authorized to add a supplement thereto if the case required it. He thought that place would be safe with about 3,000 men, and I exceeded that number.

M. de Montcalm returned to this town on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July. I furnished him, on his arrival, with his instructions for the siege of the forts at Chouaguen and some reliable English deserters who volunteered to make the campaign and promised me to be very useful.

During that time M. de Combes, the Engineer, was, in consequence of an order I had given him, engaged, with four pickets of Regulars, a detachment of Canadians and Indians on



the enemy's territory, in making a reconnoissance of the forts of Chouaguen and his observations on the siege of that place.

M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who had proceeded to assume the command of the Camp of Observation in the vicinity of Chouaguen, in order to sustain the Indian tribes who did nothing but appear and disappear, arrived nearly about the same time as the Engineer at that camp, and although I was assured that the enemy would try in vain to dislodge us, I dispatched the battalion of La Sarre thither.

The Indians of the 5 Nations, whom I had justly suspected and with whom I had opened divers negotiations, left their village, not for the purpose of going to the English, whom they believed to be impregnable at Chouaguen, but of answering my messages. Some of these Nations were at Niagara; some came to Montreal. The latter having joined M. de Rigaud thought I had some object in view and would accompany him; but agreeably to my orders he closed that path on them and opened for them that of Montreal. The Five Nations were divided and in my power; the one at Niagara, the other at Montreal. By this policy I made sure that the remainder of the Nation would not join the English, whilst their people would be at my disposal.

Things were in this position when M. de Montcalm arrived at Frontenac. M. de Combles, the Engineer, first made a report to him of the reconnoissance of the forts at Chouaguen, and M. de Rigaud of the frequent scouts he had sent out to penetrate the situation of the enemy; of the information he had acquired as to the environs of Chouaguen, and of everything relating to the landing of the army and artillery.

M. de Montcalm, besides, found everything ready. It was not long before he was joined by the battalion of Bearn which I had ordered to Niagara in the double view of completing the works of that fort, and convincing the enemy that I had no other design than to act on the defensive.

The Marquis de Montcalm left Frontenac on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August and joined M. de Rigaud on the 6<sup>th</sup>. I will not follow, with minuteness, his march and manœuvre; the report thereof, which he has the honor to make you, will furnish you perfect information on those points. He cannot but be satisfied with the reports made him by M. de Rigaud and the confidence evinced in his expedition by the officers of the Colony, the Canadians and even the Indians. They removed all the obstacles which were created every instant.

In fine, my Lord, in spite of all the opposition offered to our landing by the English cruisers, we were, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, ready to place 6 guns in battery to bear against Fort Ontario. But the 300 men who were guarding it did not think proper to await their effect. They feared that their communication with the old fort would be cut off in the night by the Canadians and Indians, by whom they were invested, and that they would be precipitated into the river, which was unprovided with any bridge. Their retreat was first discovered by our Canadians. The Regulars did not find it out until near 5 o'clock in the evening by the cessation of the firing. An officer of the troops, detached from the Marine with some Canadians and Indians belonging to my brother's command, first entered that fort. They found only two sick men whom the English had not the courage to remove. The Infantry afterwards took possession of the place.

It was easy to infer, from this precipitate retreat, that the enemy's defence at the old fort would not be obstinate. Meanwhile, on the 14<sup>th</sup>, we had 9 pieces of cannon in readiness to bear, but my brother having offered to M. de Montcalm to cross the river with the Canadians

and Indians, in order to complete the investment of the enemy, achieved that manœuvre with decisive boldness. There was considerable water in the river; he plunged in and crossed over with his detachment under the guns of the fort—some swimming, others in the water up to the waist or neck, and reached his destination.

Colonel Mercer had just been killed; this, joined to the fear of falling into the hands of our Indians, determined his successor to send a request to my brother to stop the fire of the Canadians and Indians; he had the two English deputies conducted to the Marquis de Montcalm, who had the Commandant informed that he could not receive them, except as prisoners of war, with the privilege of retaining only the property belonging to the officers, and gave them but one hour. The cries, threats and hideous howlings of our Canadians and Indians made them promptly decide. Nothing could exceed their haste to return to M. de Montcalm articles agreeable to the capitulation granted them, copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

The officers of each regiment also made their declaration not to serve directly nor indirectly until exchanged.

The prisoners number about 1,600 men.

The enemy's loss consists of 45 men killed; of these, 12 lost their lives in action; the remainder were killed in the woods by our Indians whilst trying to escape.

On our side, we have lost only 3 men in action, and two by accident, namely, M. de Combles, the Engineer, and a Canadian. We have also had some slightly wounded—Colonel de Bourlamaque, Captain de Palmarol of the grenadiers of the regiment of La Sarre, Captain du Parquet, of the same regiment, and 6 Canadians.

We have taken 6 fine cruizers, 121 pieces of artillery, with ammunition, utensils, &c., and a considerable quantity of provisions.

Chouaguen and all its magazines have been destroyed at a small expense. The land forces have displayed their wonted zeal, but the enemy did not afford them an opportunity for operating. The Marquis de Montcalm had, besides, made the most favorable arrangements for his expedition.

Our troops, the Canadians and Indians, fought with the courage natural to them. They have all signalized themselves. The good disposition of my brother and of the Colonial officers supplied them with resources to surmount, as I have had the honor to observe to you, all obstacles; they have contributed in no small degree to the most brilliant victory which we have achieved.

This fortunate event places the Colony at its ease. All that remains for me now is to cover the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, which is menaced by an army of 10,000 men, under the command of General Loudon. The Marquis de Montcalm is to proceed thither in a few days. I supply him with the means of preventing the enemy making any progress, and if circumstances favor me, shall have them attacked. In this case I will provide for every contingency, so as not to run the risk of compromising the King's arms. Until then he will have it in his power seriously to annoy them. Exclusive of the 6 battalions and the greater portion of the Colonial troops, he will have with him 600 Indians and a considerable number of Canadians.

Although the reputation of Chevalier de Levis, at present in command of the army at Carillon, be the best established, I cannot deny him the justice he deserves in every regard. He is full of zeal, and has afforded me proofs of most consummate prudence and experience in the service.



In respect to Forts Frontenac and Niagara, they have nothing further to apprehend, and, instead of my being obliged to keep in each of these forts a body of Regulars, Canadians and Indians, which, in the whole, would equal the number that I employed to reduce the forts of Chouaguen, I will be able to provide for their security with 300 men and less.

Meanwhile, I have designed M. Pouchot to return to Niagara, in order to complete the fortifications of that place, which have been prodigiously forwarded since the last despatch I had the honor to write you. He is one of the best officers I know among the troops of the line. He rendered himself very useful, and particularly distinguished himself at Chouaguen. You will permit me, my Lord, in another despatch, to beg of you to procure for him the favors I shall have the honor to ask of you, in justice to him.

Had I deferred the Chouaguen expedition and permitted myself to be stopped by all the inconsiderate talk held on that subject, I should have been obliged to abandon it. The enemy managed matters in such a way as to make sure of the superiority on Lake Ontario, where they dictated the law to us from the beginning of last fall. They probably would have been less slow another year than this to profit by the advantage they possess over this Colony by the earliness of their navigation, and when I would be able to dispatch aid to Frontenac and Niagara, the former fort might be in their hands, after which that of Niagara, deprived of all succor, could not offer them any resistance; they would be masters of the Beautiful river, by degrees of Detroit and of all our posts in the Upper country.

The Indian Nations would then have been as anxious to carry out their views as they are now to mar them.

Such, my Lord, were the ambitious projects of the English, wherewith the Court of England hath, for some years, been occupying itself, but the utter failure of which it is now contemplating.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

Articles of Capitulation granted to the English troops under the command of John Littlehales, Commander of said troops and of the forts of Chouaguen, by the Marquis de Montcalm, Marshal of the camps and of the armies of the King, General of his troops in New France.

#### ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>.

It has been agreed that the English troops will surrender themselves prisoners of war; that the officers and soldiers will be allowed to retain their effects.

That said fort will be delivered up at two o'clock of the afternoon, with, generally, all the property, munitions of war and provisions, barks, rigging and other articles in general whatsoever, without any injury being done to them by their troops.

#### ARTICLE 2<sup>nd</sup>.

That all their arms be placed in a store at the moment one-half the troops are embarked, to be conveyed across the river, and in the return boats a number of French troops are to be sent over to take possession of the fort when the remainder of the troops shall vacate the same.

The colors and drums will be likewise deposited in said stores, with the officers' arms.

There shall be made out a new verification of the effects in the stores and of the artillery, powder, ball, provisions, barks and rigging, agreeable to the returns which have been furnished to me.

The officers will, in passing, each remove his own property.

The 14<sup>th</sup>, at 11 o'clock in the morning.

(Signed), JOHN LITTLEHALES,  
L' Colonel and Commandant.

Said Articles are granted in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, pursuant to the power I derive from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, his Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France.

(Signed), MONTCALM.

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*Abstract of Despatches from America.*

From Ile Royale, 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 1756.

About the middle of the month of June, the enemy appearing to direct all their forces towards Lake St. Sacrament, the Marquis de Montcalm proposed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to change our defensive into offensive by making a diversion in the direction of Chouaguen, which might relieve the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, where Chevalier de Levis commanded, and at the same time to lay siege to that place if the enemy's inactivity or mistakes permitted. This project has been executed with so much celerity and success on our side that the Marquis de Montcalm, who left Montreal on the 21<sup>st</sup> July, arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> at Frontenac, where Colonel de Bourlamaque was in command. This officer had already received orders to make preparations for the siege. The Marquis de Montcalm proceeded thence on the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> [of August] with Guyenne, La Sarre and the Militia. He reached the Bay of Niaouré on the 6<sup>th</sup> and dispatched thence, M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil composing the van-guard with Militia and Indians. We arrived on the 10<sup>th</sup>, at midnight, within half a league of Chouegen without being discovered. The landing was executed in order, and in the course of the night a battery of 4 twelve-pounders was erected on the beach, from which, next day, the English barks were cannonaded. The 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> were employed in constructing half a league of road through the woods, which was considered impracticable by the enemy; in making fascines, gabions and saucissons. In the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, Bearn arrived with 80 bateaux loaded with artillery and ammunition. That night the trench was opened 80 toises from Fort Ontario. The enemy's fire was brisk, on the 13<sup>th</sup>, until 4 o'clock. At 5 o'clock 'twas perceived that the enemy had abandoned the fort, which was capable of holding out several days. The timidity of this manœuvre emboldened the Marquis de Montcalm to make his little army work through the whole night in constructing a battery and a road; in bringing cannon on men's shoulders in order to place 20 guns in battery, whereof 9 only were ready to fire on the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup>. At the break of day he caused M. Rigaud to cross the river under Chouegen, with the Canadians and Indians. The Marquis de Montcalm had sent to the anchorage ground to land, the following night, above Fort George, the regiment of Bearn, with 3 pieces of cannon, in order to deceive the enemy, an easy manœuvre in a wooded



country. But this trouble was spared, the enemy having capitulated at noon, on the same day, the 14<sup>th</sup>. They surrendered prisoners of war to the number of 1,700, whereof 80 were officers, 2 regiments from Old England, with 5 standards, three military chests, 121 pieces of ordnance, including 45 swivels, a heap of provisions for 3,000 men for a year, six barks, armed and pierced, from 4 to 20 guns. These have been highly serviceable for the general clearing out; and as it was necessary to use the greatest diligence in this expedition to send the Canadians to save the harvest and to convey the troops back to another frontier.

From the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup>, the Marquis de Montcalm caused the 3 forts and their storehouses to be razed or burnt, their artillery to be brought away, together with their barks, provisions and prisoners. The capture of Chouegen is an affair of 15 millions lost to England, and the most important that could be made in this Colony.

The Marquis de Montcalm has been prodigiously occupied since the 26<sup>th</sup>, having repaired, successively, to the two principal frontiers of Canada. The enemy have had 150 men killed or wounded, including those who, wishing to escape during the capitulation, have been massacred by the Indians. We have had 30 killed or wounded. Among the prisoners<sup>1</sup> is M. de Combles, the Engineer, who has been killed by one of our own Indians, who mistook him for an Englishman on coming to reconnoitre the ground. M. de Bourlamaque has been slightly wounded. Nothing can be added to the zeal with which the troops have equally exerted themselves to hasten the success of this expedition; the incredible diligence in the works; the demonstration of our troops in forming two attacks deceived the enemy and made them believe that we numbered 6,000 men whilst we had hardly 3,000. This, conjoined to the dread of the cruelties of the Indians and to the loss of the Commander, Colonel Mercer, has, doubtless, hastened the surrender of the forts much sooner than we ought to expect.

A squadron of 4 English ships, two of 64 guns and 2 of 40 @ 50, a frigate and a snow cruize off Scatari.

'Tis stated that *L'arc-en-ciel*, attacked by these vessels, has been captured, after an engagement of 8 hours.

M. de Beaussier sailed in the beginning of July with two ships, two frigates and 3 good merchantmen, well armed. He is to attack the English, who are blockading our ships in St. Anne.

#### From Mr de Villiers' camp at the Bay of Niaouré.

As a trial, he went from his camp to make some feints in the vicinity of Fort Ontario, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of June, in order to endeavor to attract the enemy into some ambush. The Indians had promised him not to fire until they should see the enemy making a sortie and engaged; but they could not look at 8 men making a round without having a desire to scalp them; these were killed, and the English did not go out any more.

The parties sent from this camp to the portage where M. de Lery blew up Fort Bull, report that the English were constructing another and much stronger fort.

An English sloop with 8 barges, designed to make discoveries in the direction of Fort Frontenac, was perceived by some Indians landing at Ile au Galop, where they were to remain six days, who informed M. de Villiers, whose camp was opposite, but not known to the enemy. He immediately caused some people to embark, who attacked them as they were floating along

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* killed. — Eb.

the island on the opposite shore; 15 English were killed or captured; many were wounded who escaped to the sloop. The Captain of the party was taken prisoner.

M. de Villiers, who did not miss any opportunity to annoy the enemy, being encamped for that purpose at the Bay of Niaouré, which he left on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July, having learned from his scouts that the Chouaguen river, within the reach of which he was posted, was covered with bateaux, designed to wait for the enemy at a portage, which was the best place to prepare an ambush for and to defeat them; but a party of Indians did not give him time to do so; they fired; on seeing which, M. de Villiers ordered his Canadians to do the like. The enemy threw themselves with their bateaux on the opposite side of the river. So great was the impetuosity of the Indians, that 11 of them flung themselves in, swimming; they were on an island where they found themselves surrounded by the English. On learning this, M. de Villiers waded across with 50 men and some officers, and released the Indians. He sent word to the English to surrender, who preferred to throw themselves into their bateaux; our Indians and Frenchmen rushed into the water and each made prisoners. In this affair we have lost one officer and only one man, and have taken two prisoners.

The loss of the enemy, from data in our possession, amounts to 26 scalps and 30 prisoners. Deserters and prisoners report that we have defeated more than 400 of their men. That may allow of a margin, but they have lost a great many people; their detachment consisted of 12 @ 1,300 men on their return from victualing Chouaguen, and our detachment amounted to 400, including Canadians and Indians.

All these different advantages, joined to those of the Indians, who, during the winter, took many scalps from them, confined the English, of a necessity, to their fort.

#### From Frontenac.

Our little navy on Lake Ontario had distinguished itself in returning from Niagara, whither it had conveyed the battalion of Bearn. It met on the way the 5 English vessels which were waiting for it, but the confident air assumed by our mariues (in accordance with what they considered their duty), who made towards the enemy with all sail set, made the latter lose their courage and take to flight. Being faster sailers they outstripped our vessels, that were able to overtake only one craft, carrying 12 swivels, which they captured.

Both the Engineers who arrived from France were sent to this fort, where the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne were stationed. M. de Bourlamaque went to take the command, and had commenced to fortify this place, or had begun rather an intrenched camp, which was to cover it.

#### From Montreal.

The camp at the Bay of Niaouré [was] designed only to cut off the convoys of provisions which the enemy was receiving from Orangé at Chouaguen. The report, by prisoners, of the condition of the latter place, which did not, in other respects, seem strongly fortified, determined M. de Vaudreuil to lay siege to it. Meanwhile, as all the intelligence which reached him from every quarter, advised him that a large body of troops was marching against The Point, he dispatched M. de Montcalm [with orders] to put everything in a state of defence; if the enemy was not making any considerable movement in that direction, to leave the command to M. de Levis with 3,000 men and to return in order to attempt the taking of Chouaguen. He returned to Montreal on the 19<sup>th</sup> of July and started on the 21<sup>st</sup>; arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> at Frontenac, to which place the battalion, then at Niagara, had orders to repair.



After completing all the preparations for the siege, which is not a trifling business in that country, where one has never been made, M. de Montcalm left on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August with the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne, and 4 pieces of artillery. He arrived, on the 6<sup>th</sup>, at the camp in the Bay of Niaouré, which, since a few days, M. de Rigaud commanded; this was the general rendezvous, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> division, composed of the battalion of Bearn, of the Militia, of the 80 artillery bateaux, and of those with provisions, arrived there on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The number of troops destined for the expedition was nearly 3,000 men; 1,300 of the three battalions and the remainder Canadians or Indians.

M. de Rigaud's corps, destined to compose the van-guard, marched the same day towards Chouaguen, and repaired to a cove within  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league of that place in order to favor the landing of the artillery and troops.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, at break of day, the Canadians and Indians had advanced within a quarter of a league of Fort Ontario, which they invested. Sieur de Combles, the Engineer, who went there to regulate that investment and the front of attack, was killed by one of our Indians, who mistook him, in the twilight, for an Englishman; a misfortune which left only one Engineer. Fortunately, Sieur Pouchot performed these duties during the siege.

The road was made with surprising promptitude; each lent himself with zeal; a battery was set up in less than 36 hours, and the enemy had no knowledge of being besieged until the following day, the 12<sup>th</sup>, from the Indians who were going out to shoot; 3 armed barks sailed, at noon, from the River Chouaguen; they came cruising before the camp, fired some of their guns, but were obliged, by our fire, to retire to a distance.

12<sup>th</sup> The battalion of Béarn brought the bulk of the artillery in the bateaux, which were unloaded in presence of the English vessels. At midnight, that same night, the trench, which was rather a parallel of about 100 toises, was opened within 90 of the fort; 300 pioneers were employed on it. This parallel was finished at 5 o'clock in the morning. The enemy's fire, which had been very brisk during the whole day, slackened towards 6 o'clock in the evening, and it was perceived that the garrison had evacuated Fort Ontario and crossed over the river into that of Chouaguen. They abandoned, on retiring, 8 pieces of cannon and 4 mortars. The place was immediately seized, and that very night a grand battery was commenced; it was so located as to be able to batter Fort Chouaguen and to take the intrenched camp in the rear; 20 pieces of cannon were carried on men's shoulders.

14<sup>th</sup> At daylight the Marquis de Montcalm ordered Sieur de Rigaud to wade to the other side of the river with the Canadians and Indians in order to get into the woods and annoy the enemy in the direction of Fort George. At 6 o'clock 9 guns were ready to bear, although the enemy's fire had been superior to ours. At 10 o'clock the white flag was hoisted and two officers sent to ask a capitulation. The dread of the Canadians and Indians who crossed the river; the celerity of the works, which created the belief that the number of troops was large; the death of Colonel Mercer, the Commander, who was killed at 2 o'clock in the morning, determined the besieged to adopt this course, which could hardly be anticipated.

The Marquis de Montcalm sent Sieur de Bougainville, one of his Aids-de-Camp, to serve as a hostage and to propose the articles of capitulation, which were: that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war, and that the French troops would immediately proceed to take possession of the forts. These articles having been accepted by the Commander and returned to the Marquis de Montcalm, he sent 2 companies of grenadiers and the pickets of the trench with M. de Bourlamaque to take possession of the forts, who was instructed to raze said fort and to remove the artillery and warlike stores, and whatever was found there.

On our side we had only about 30 men killed or wounded, and the English, on theirs, about 150, including several soldiers, who, wishing to escape through the woods, fell under the hands of the Indians. The number of prisoners has been nearly 1,700 men, namely, Schirley and Peperell's regiments, which came from Old England, a detachment of Schuyller's regiment of Militia, about 80 officers, 2 of whom belong to the artillery, 2 engineers, 12 naval officers. We have likewise captured 7 vessels of war—1 of 18, 1 of 14, 1 of 10, 1 of 8 guns, 3 armed with swivels, 400 barges or bateaux, 7 brass pieces, 48 of iron, 14 mortars, 5 howitzers, 47 swivels, 1,800 muskets, ball, shell, bullets and powder in proportion, and a quantity of provisions, with the military chest, which contained 15,594<sup>l</sup>.

21<sup>st</sup> All the forts being razed, the prisoners, artillery and provisions removed, the army was reëmbarked, in order to repair to the vicinity of Montreal; the 3 battalions are designed for Fort Carillon, with a view to oppose the progress of the English.

So vast an amount of warlike stores and provisions discovered at Chouaguen—the fleet which secured the English in the superiority of Lake Ontario—the new convoys they were expecting from day to day—all announced the approaching execution on their part of their designs against Forts Frontenac and Niagara, the prevention whereof is very fortunate for the Colony.

The Indians of the Five Nations whom M. de Vaudreuil had had invited to come to see him, arrived directly, whilst preparations were going on for the siege of Chouaguen. They were retained at Montreal all the time it lasted, and were greatly surprised at its surrender and destruction, which they did not expect. M. de Vaudreuil spoke to them in all the Councils much to the purpose, told them: By right of conquest, Chouaguen, which you have given to the English, belongs to me, but I will not invade your territory like the English; I give it back to you, but neither shall you suffer them to establish themselves again there, and you shall notify me if they desire to do so. I do not enage you to take up the hatchet against them, as the English persuade you to do against me. Remain quiet on your mats and do not meddle with anything.

The Indians of the Upper Countries appear glad that Chouaguen has fallen, but, at the bottom of their hearts, they are not satisfied. It was a place where they found as much Rum as they pleased, goods much cheaper than with us, and I am persuaded that the high prices of our merchandise will drive them to Orange to trade their peltries, which is a serious injury to the trade of this Colony. It would be an advantage necessary for one reason, were the Indians supplied with our goods at the same price as they are supplied by the English.

#### From Carillon.

The enemy have formed divers parties, Canadian fashion, in these parts, and have killed several and taken some prisoners. All intelligence from every quarter, from the Beautiful river, Acadia, &c., seems to agree in announcing to us that a powerful army is assembling to cut its way by this place. The report is 12 to 15,000 men, under the command of Lord Loudon, who has Regulars and Scotch Highlanders.

The fall of Chouaguen leaves us at liberty to direct our entire force against the enemy's enterprises.

#### From the Beautiful river.

The Indians of this quarter continue to make incursions into the Provinces of Pensilvania, Virginia and Mariland with considerable success; they attack small forts, which they reduce.



They have ravaged in those Provinces, 'tis asserted, more than 100 leagues of country by 50 in breadth. The Cherakis, or Flatheads, appear decided on waging vigorous war against the English.

From Montreal, the 12 September, 1756.

We have learned that a party of English Indians, having been discovered at Point Squesonton,<sup>1</sup> in Lake Champlain, was pursued; two Englishmen have been taken and conveyed to Carillon; the others escaped.

By the same opportunity we learn that two officers of the regiment of La Reine, being fishing on the other side of the river, opposite Carillon, have been killed. Their names are Lieutenant de Biville and Ensign Tersaque.

15<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Ciloron, arrived from Fort Duquesne, informs us that Chevalier de Villiers, Captain at the Illinois, having gone from Fort Duquesne with 23 Frenchmen and 30 Indians, had, on the 14<sup>th</sup> August, made an attack on a fort<sup>2</sup> on the confines of Pennsylvania, in which were 2 cannon, 37 persons, including some women and children. The Commander of the place had left it some days previously with 40 men; that he summoned this fort to surrender, which having been refused he had spent 2 days firing musketry, whilst half his men were constructing faggots with which he had set fire to this fort an hour before day, and that part of the garrison had been put to the sword and the remainder taken prisoners. It contained six months' provisions for one hundred men, about 600 pounds of powder, some ball and bullets. We had one man slightly wounded.

200 Indians or French had left Fort Duquesne to burn 400 dwellings situate in a country belonging to Pennsylvania, which Province had suffered but little in consequence of the intrigues of the 5 Nations with the Taskororins, who are on its lands and allies of the 5 Nations, but who have now declared that they would aid the French and their brethren, the Delawares and Chaouanons; and many, in consequence, have taken sides with these, so that Pennsylvania will be ruined like Virginia and Carolina.

Our 6 regiments are at present arrived at Carillon with 1,000 to 1,200 Colonial troops, 300 Canadians and nearly 700 Indians, and should the enemy set out to attack us, 2,000 Regulars and Canadians will, on the first signal, be commanded to repair to St. John, where bateaux will be in readiness to transport them. Remark, that from St. John to Carillon will be 3 days' march; from St. John to Laprairie de la Madelaine is 5 leagues, and from this last to Montreal 3 leagues.

The transport of provisions, by the River Chambly, is not discontinued. 5 sloops left Montreal within 8 days fully laden, and it is calculated that Fort Chambly contains all that is requisite. From Fort Chambly the portage is made with carts about 30 *arpents*, and thence in bateaux to St. John, where there is a sloop and 40 bateaux, which carry 6,000 weight, and do nothing since spring but make voyages to and from Forts Frederic and Carillon, to supply them with stores so as to place them beyond the fear of falling short before July next.

Fort Carillon is completed; it is represented as a great affair and capable of being rendered bomb-proof; 'tis provided with 30 pieces of cannon and a year's provisions for a garrison of 1,000 men.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Cumberland Head, Clinton county, New-York. *Belin's Map of Lake Champlain*, 1744; *Brazier's Map of Lake Champlain*, 1762. The name in the text is derived from the Mohawk word *Oughscanoontoo*, a Deer. *Transactions of American Antiquarian Society*, II., 840. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Fort Granville. *Supra*, p. 469, note.

Niaraga<sup>1</sup> is also well fortified. It had only 6 guns, but Chouaguen has furnished 24 of the largest calibre which are now mounted. People are busy supplying Forts Duquesne, on the Beautiful river, Niaraga<sup>1</sup> and Frontenac, with provisions, in order to be no longer obliged to employ the best men at such work when they may be required elsewhere.

The greatest point is that the English keep on the defensive and do not come to attack us. M. de Montcalm writes that they will never be able to come at a more favorable time for us, holding, as we do, all the important posts.

The harvest in New England is said to be very bad, and all the prisoners assure us that if the English do not take Carillon and St. Frederic, this year, New England is swamped and unable, henceforth, to contribute anything.

'Tis likewise reported that sickness prevails at the English forts St. George, de Dieu,<sup>2</sup> etc.

From Louisbourg we learn that the English fort of Chibictou, and others in Acadia, are short of provisions.

M<sup>r</sup> de Léry, who left Montreal in the last days of February, with three thousand French and Indians, arrived on the 27<sup>th</sup> at noon, at an English fort situated on the portage between the Mohawk river and that of Chouaguin, and ten or twelve leagues distant from Fort Chouaguin, on Lake Ontario. On his arrival the garrison was summoned to surrender, and refusing, the place was carried by storm, and the garrison put to the sword. It consisted of sixty men and thirty-six prisoners; part of the latter were taken the preceding evening, whilst conveying provisions to Chouaguin in wagons and bateaux. The French lost only two men, and had three slightly wounded.

The stores consisted of three thousand weight of powder, clothing for six hundred men, one thousand blankets, supplies of pork, flour and biscuit; several wagons and bateaux have been burnt; three hundred balls have been thrown into the water in a swamp. One hundred horses have been killed, besides. During this expedition, different parties of our domiciliated Indians have brought in forty prisoners and ninety scalps.

#### From Fort Duquesne.

Letters of the 23<sup>rd</sup> March assure us that the French and Indians have, since Admiral Braddock's defeat, put *hors du combat* more than seven hundred persons, including the killed and prisoners, in the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina.

The Delawares and Chaouanons, Indian Nations on the Beautiful river, are in exceeding great rage, some of their Chiefs, who went on a sort of Embassy to the English, having been cruelly put to death by the latter. Were it not that the Commandants keep continually recommending them to commit as few murders as possible, not a prisoner would they take. Besides this, these two nations have not discontinued, since the close of the summer and since autumn, sending Belts to all the Tribes, inviting them to come and assist them in avenging the insult committed by the English. This invitation has been accepted, and occasioned the War song to be sung by all those nations during the entire of last winter. There were in April, throughout those territories, twenty parties of Delawares and Chaouanons, among whom were sixty Indians belonging to the Five Nations of Iroquois. Horrible ravages have been committed by these parties. As a last resource, the settlers have abandoned their dwellings and retired to the sea coast. Three forts have been burnt; among the rest, one with a garrison of forty-

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Lydia. — Ed.



seven men, to which a party of forty Indians, commanded by M<sup>r</sup> Douville, a Colonial Cadet, laid siege. The garrison was summoned to surrender, and on refusing, the fort was fired during the night, and the garrison, attempting to escape, received no quarter from the Indians. Sieur Douville lost his life on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

We have at present on the continent one thousand French, seven hundred Delawares and Chaouanons; besides that, a number of Illinois, as many as three hundred French and Indians, under the command of Chevalier de Villiers; about two hundred and fifty Miamis and Ouatanons, under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Bellestre; three hundred from Detroit and seven hundred from Michelimakina, commanded by Chevalier de Repentigny, Danglade and Hébert, Junior, all amounting to three thousand two hundred and fifty men. People are waiting to learn whether M<sup>r</sup> Beaubassin, Commandant at La Pointe, will have brought the Sauteurs of his post; we shall learn before long the exploits of these Nations.

M. Dumas, a Colonial Captain, and Commandant of Fort Duquesne, was entertaining views against Fort Cumberland, which is a large entrepôt of the English to facilitate their approach to the Beautiful river; it lies at the foot of the mountains, about seventy leagues from the coast and eighty from Fort Duquesne.

#### From Lake St. Sacrament.

Divers small parties of French and Indians have brought us, up to the close of June, from the direction of Orange and Lake St. Sacrament, twenty-five prisoners and forty-five scalps; two of these were of officers.

In May, an English scouting party at the Lake St. Sacrament portage, killed a Frenchman and took Cadet Frontenelle, of this Colony, prisoner.

An English party at Otter Creek, six leagues this side of Fort St. Frederic, has destroyed on us two armed bateaux, having six men each, whom they have surprised.<sup>2</sup> Though these were destitute of powder and ball, the English were in such haste that they abandoned their own provisions, and did not lay a finger on the cargoes of these two bateaux, which consisted of oats, bran and meal. All the letters were found in a bag, and the appearance was, that only one man had been killed. We have learned from some English prisoners that eight prisoners had been carried to Orange.

#### Return of our Naval force on Lake Ontario.

*La M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil*, Laforce, Commander, carrying eight eight-pounders, eight sixes and eight swivels of two pounds, a crew of thirty men, fifty marines and one officer.

*Le Huron*, Labroquerie, Commander, carrying eight sixes, four fours, and six swivels, a crew of eighty men, forty marines and one officer.

One schooner, carrying six four and three-pounders, with four swivels, a crew of six men, twenty-five marines and two sergeants.

1756. 30<sup>th</sup> June. These vessels, returning from Niagara, on their third voyage, met two English schooners, carrying each six guns, and another small craft carrying six swivels, which they chased to within view of Chouaguen without being able to overtake any but the small one, on board which were a crew of fifteen sailors, and one Captain to command a snow of eighteen guns on the stocks at Fort Chouaguen. The two first mentioned vessels escaped by dint of rowing, after having thrown overboard their boats and part of their baggage.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *New-York Documentary History*, 8vo., IV., 286. — Ed.

On the same day a boat arrived at Fort Frontenac with fifteen English deserters.

Some days previous, Captain de Villiers, having discovered an English bark and eight boats, with twenty men each, had his bateaux drawn into the woods ready for launching as soon as a favorable opportunity presented; the bark being out in the lake saw four of our bateaux coming, under sail, from Frontenac, which caused the Captain to signal his boats to return on board; on discovering which, M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers had eight bateaux immediately launched, and, notwithstanding all his precautions, succeeded in overtaking only one of those boats after having killed thirteen of its hands and taken the remainder prisoners.

1756. 2<sup>d</sup> July. M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers is now, with a flying camp of seven hundred men, at the Bay, distant fifteen or eighteen leagues from Frontenac, and fifteen from Chouaguin, to intercept the provisions of this last fort.

Sieur de Villiers being, on the second July, at the head of four hundred Frenchmen and some Indians, and M<sup>r</sup> Marin, Commandant at the Bay, with sixty Indians of his post, fell in with about five hundred bateaux and thirteen hundred English, on their return from carrying provisions to Chouaguin, whom he attacked so vigorously that he left four hundred and fifty of them dead and took forty prisoners; the remainder (the number wounded not known) threw themselves on the opposite side of the river, after having abandoned their bateaux, which have been burnt. We have lost six men and had two wounded in this affair.

14<sup>th</sup> July. M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil de Rigaud, Governor of Three Rivers, left to-day for M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers' flying camp, of which he will take the command. That camp will consist of two thousand men to serve for observation should the siege of Chouaguin be attempted.

21<sup>st</sup> ditto. M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm went to Carillon on the 3<sup>d</sup> instant to hasten the fortifications of that post. Chevalier Lacorne and M. Contrecoeur have taken their departure at the head of a flying camp of 500 Canadians and two hundred Indians, to observe the enemy's movements whilst transporting their supplies from Orange to Fort Lidius and that of Lake St. Sacrament, called George.

This camp is about ten leagues from the Fort of Lake St. Sacrament and within fifteen or 16 from that of Lidius, and five leagues from Carillon. This last is five leagues from Fort St. Frederic. In addition, we have many other parties in the field, whereby the English are obliged to keep themselves so close that not a solitary person has been seen, for three weeks, around their forts. Attempts have been made to lure them out, but they were unwilling to expose themselves.

M<sup>r</sup> de Lévy has remained Commander-in-Chief at Carillon, where we have the regiments of La Reine, Languedoc and Royal Rousillon and some Colonial troops, amounting, it is computed, to five thousand men, including Canadians and Indians.

M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm, who arrived at Montreal on the 18<sup>th</sup>, left to-day for Frontenac and thence for Chouaguin to lay siege to the latter place; the provisions, warlike stores and artillery have reached Frontenac with the regiments of Bearn, Guyenne and La Sarre, and about four hundred Colonial troops.

22<sup>nd</sup> ditto. The courier from Carillon informs us that M. St. Martin, an officer of the Colonial troops, who was in command of a party of Frenchmen and Indians, has killed fifty to sixty Englishmen and taken four prisoners in the vicinity of Fort George.

6<sup>th</sup> of August. The courier from Carillon has likewise informed us that Captain de la Colombière, at the head of sixty men, French and Indians, killed about twenty to twenty-five men and made four prisoners at the gate of Fort George. He was pursued for half an hour by a strong detachment, which he got rid of, without the loss of a man.



Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> of August, 1756. About three o'clock in the afternoon a most violent northeast squall, mingled with hail, struck this island, commencing at the Saut au Récolet, and terminating at the Côte des Neiges, which makes two leagues, by about a league and a quarter in width, causing much damage on the upper part of Isle Jesus; the grain, peas and oats in St. Laurent, Vertu, St. Catharine and Côte des Neiges (which places are in the vicinity of Montreal), are entirely destroyed, and several houses and barns thrown down; the hail lay on the ground half a foot deep.

The last news from Fort Duquesne assure us of the destruction of Virginia, Carolina and part of New Georgia. The settlers of Pennsylvania, of the Quaker denomination, withdrew last year towards the coast. All these provinces are laid waste for forty leagues from the foot of the mountains, in the direction of the sea. The number of prisoners in these territories since last April, is estimated at about three thousand—men, women and children, in addition to thirteen hundred horses carried off to the River Oyo, or the Beautiful river; the houses and barns that have been burnt, and the oxen and cows which have been killed wherever found, have not been counted.

#### Siege of Fort Chouaguin.

On the fifth of August, M<sup>r</sup> de Moncalm, the General of our armies, set out from Frontenac with six brass pieces, taken from Admiral Braddock, for the Bay of Niaouré, to join the regiments of La Sarre and Guyenne, which left for that place a few days previous. M<sup>r</sup> de Rigaud, who has assumed the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers' camp, was also there with some Canadians and Indians.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, the regiment of Bearn left Frontenac with twenty-two pieces of cannon and two mortars, and on the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> and morning of the 12<sup>th</sup>, the entire army reached within half a league of Fort Chouaguin, where the artillery was disembarked on the same day, the Canadians and Indians being then ashore, to cover our troops that were in bateaux.

At nine o'clock at night, the trench was opened before Fort Ontario, which is a star work, having a ditch twenty feet wide, by seventeen to eighteen deep, and the river between it and old Chouaguin. The trench was run two hundred paces.

On the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup>, the platforms were ready for the reception of guns to batter that fort, which was then found to be abandoned by four hundred men, who crossed the river to the old fort, after having kept up, during twenty-four hours, a brisk fire with their musketry and six pieces of cannon, which they spiked. They killed three, and wounded two, of our men.

As soon as this evacuation was perceived, a battery was raised in advance of that fort, which was ready at five o'clock of the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup>, to open a fire on the old fort, whilst on the other hand, the Canadians were crossing the river, to take up a position and prepare another battery there; nothing could be more surprising than to behold, on the instant, the white flag hoisted, in order to capitulate. On the morning of the 15<sup>th</sup>, the capitulation was signed, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. It consisted of two battalions of Sirrhey's and Peperelle's regiments, which numbered eleven hundred men and six hundred Militia, workmen and sailors—in all, seventeen hundred. There were, besides, eighty-two women and girls, three of whom were wives of officers, and three or four of mechanics and soldiers; moreover, two Lieutenants of the navy, and two Captains of flyboats.

There have been killed, the English Commandant, by a cannon ball; also forty soldiers, exclusive of those scalped by Indians, who are estimated at about eighty.

In this action we have lost six men ; among others, M<sup>r</sup> de Comble, the Engineer-in-Chief, who has unfortunately been killed by one of our Epissingue Indians, having been mistaken for an Englishman, whilst occupied in drawing a plan of Fort Chouaguin.

Return of the effects found in the forts of Chouaguin, and forwarded to Frontenac by the sloops and bateaux, exclusive of the pillage, viz :

- 7 brass cannon, 19, 14 and 12-pounders.
- 48 iron cannon, 9, 6, 5, 3 and 2-pounders.
- 1 brass mortar, 9 inches, 4 lines.
- 13 brass mortars, of 6 and 3 inches.
- 5 brass howitzers, of 6 and 3 inches.
- 47 patereros.
- 23 thousand weight of powder.
- 8 thousand weight of lead in bullets and shot.
- 2950 balls.
- 150 9 inch shells.
- 300 6 inch ditto.
- 1476 grenades.
- 340 grapeshot.
- 12 pairs of iron wheels for marine carriages.

#### Vessels.

- 1 snow pierced for 18 guns.
- 1 brigantine pierced for 16 guns.
- 1 schooner pierced for 10 guns.
- 1 bateau pierced for 10 guns.
- 1 bateau pierced for 8 guns and two swivels.
- 1 skiff, carrying 8 swivels.
- 1 skiff on the stocks, which has burnt.
- 200 barges and bateaux.

#### Provisions.

- 352 two barrel casks, full of biscuit.
- 1386 tierces of salt pork and beef.
- 712 barrels of flour.
- 200 sacks of flour.
- 11 tierces of rice.
- 7 barrels of salt.
- 1 garret full of peas.
- 1 garret full of flour, piled in bags.
- 32 live oxen.
- 15 hogs.

A quantity of rum and Madeira wine, which the officers who made the capitulation were recommended to have staved, on account of the Indians, whom it was impossible to control.



The military chest and three boxes, containing only 18,000<sup>l</sup>, the troops having received nine months' pay eight days before the capture; besides, there is every appearance that the gold has been distributed among the English officers, each of whom was well supplied with it.

The five flags taken from them have been sent, viz: two to Quebec, one to Three Rivers, and the other two to Montreal.

27<sup>th</sup> August. After having razed Fort Chouaguin from cellar to rafter, and removed all the property found in it, the regiments which served at the siege proceeded direct to Laprairie de la Madelaine, to march, overland, to St. John, and to go thence in bateaux to Carillon, in order to obviate the attack meditated by the enemy, whom the English prisoners estimate at least at ten thousand men, divided between Fort George and Fort Lidius, exclusive of two flying camps, within three or six leagues of Orange. We are, at present, prepared to meet them and even to go and attack them.

It has been found necessary to send some men back from Frontenac to the Bay of Niaouré for the provisions we had forwarded thither for our army, as well as to get those brought in bateaux from Chouaguin. A portion of our army has been obliged to march by land as far as that bay; the barges and bateaux have been burnt, as those could only partially accommodate us for want of men to man them.

By letters of the 29<sup>th</sup> April, from M. Bellaître, at the Beautiful river, we have learned that, having gone into the interior one hundred and fifty leagues below Fort Duquesne, with twenty Franchmen, one hundred and fifty Miamis, Ouïas and some Chaouanons as guides, he arrived at Carolina and marched about sixty leagues through settlements that have been abandoned, at the end of which time he fell in with a village of thirty or forty houses, which were taken and burnt; close by was a small wooden fort, that was summoned to surrender; on its refusing to comply, it was carried by assault and the garrison put to the sword. The killed and prisoners amounted to about three hundred; all the oxen and cows having been collected together were killed; a hundred and twenty horses, which they found, served to carry the large quantity of plunder the Indians got, and in returning they set fire to all the settlements they had left.

M<sup>r</sup> de Bellaître has been slightly wounded in one arm and in the shoulder. We have lost five men and had five or six wounded.

The Flatheads, to the number of seventy villages, inhabiting Carolina and New Georgia, are coming, with the consent of all the interior tribes, to settle on the Beautiful river, on condition that they will make war on the English, which they have accepted and promised to do this fall after saving their harvests.

Several other parties from the Beautiful river, who have returned with English prisoners and a quantity of scalps, assure that, for sixty leagues below Fort Cumberland, towards the sea coast, the settlements have been abandoned and burnt, and that the greater part of the country remains unsown.

According to the report of the English prisoners from Chouaguin, they have lost twelve hundred men by disease, between the month of August, 1755, and the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1756, the date of the capture of that fort. Add to this the capture of the fort by M<sup>r</sup> de Léry, the blow struck by M<sup>r</sup> de Villiers and divers small parties, exclusive of the dead and prisoners at Fort Chouaguin.

12<sup>th</sup> September. We have learned that a party of Englishmen and Indians, having been discovered at Point a Squénonton,<sup>1</sup> in Lake Champlain, has been pursued; two of the English have been taken and carried to Carillon; the remainder escaped.

The same opportunity informs us that two officers belonging to La Reine, being fishing on the other side of the river, opposite Carillon, have been killed. Their names are de Biville and de Tersaqué, an Ensign.

15<sup>th</sup> September. Chevalier de Celoron, an officer, has arrived with a letter from Captain Dumas, commanding at Fort Duquesne, informing us that Captain de Villiers, of the Illinois, having left Fort Duquesne with twenty-three Frenchmen and thirty Indians, had, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, attacked a fort on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, in which were two pieces of cannon, thirty-three persons, including some women and children, the Commandant having left some days before with forty men as an escort, for a port near the sea, distant about thirty leagues; he had this fort summoned, and as it refused to surrender, he kept up a fire of musketry during two days, whilst one-half his men were making faggots of dry wood with which he set fire to that fort. An hour before day one part of the garrison was put to the sword and the other taken prisoners. This fort contained six months' provisions for one hundred men.

Two hundred Indians and French left Fort Duquesne to set fire to four hundred houses in a part of Pennsylvania. That Province has suffered but little in consequence of the intrigues of the Five Nations with the Taskarosins, a tribe on the lands of that Province and in alliance with the Five Nations. But, now, they have declared that they will assist their brethren, the Delawares and Chouanons, and consequently several have sided with them, so that the above Province will be laid waste the same as Virginia and Carolina.

This extract contains many clerical errors, both of diction and orthography; but he who sent it me, has assured me, in his letter which accompanied it, that it was substantially very correct.

Many accounts differ so much the one from the other, that 'tis impossible to determine which to credit. The main facts cannot be questioned, because all the officers who were in the various actions that have taken place, agree therein.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Carillon, 22 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1756.

My Lord,

In reporting to you in my last, all that concerned the expedition against Chouaguen, I had the honor to inform you of my return to the camp at Carillon, with the regiments of Guienne, Bearn and one hundred men belonging to that of La Sarre. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was justified in fearing the superiority of the enemy's forces in this quarter, has collected 600 Indians. As it is impossible to retain them as long as would be desirable, the season especially

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 480, note. — Ed.



being so much advanced, I dispatched, a few days after my arrival, agreeably to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's instruction, a considerable detachment of our Indians, under the orders of Captain de la Perriere, of the Marine.

This detachment has accomplished many objects the Marquis de Vaudreuil had at heart; the mere movement of it has made the enemy precipitately abandon some islands in Lake St. Sacrament, where it was feared they would establish themselves. M. Mercier, Commander of the artillery, M. Desandrouins, Engineer, and M. de Bougainville, one of my Aids, have taken advantage of the circumstance of this detachment to push farther than we had yet done, our reconnoissances of the enemy's position and the different soundings of that lake.

Lieutenant Marin, of the Marine, having been detached with one hundred men to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, could induce only a party of 52 men, including 3 officers, to come out. One man of the party only escaped, to carry to my Lord Loudon the news of their defeat. We had but two Indians killed and three wounded. I had there, in addition to a number of Colonial officers, M. de la Roche Beaucourt, one of my Aids-de-Camp.

The majority of the Indians left me, according to their custom, after this expedition, but the Marquis de Vaudreuil is about to send me some others. It appears to me that we are about to remain on both sides on the defensive, and if the uniform report of prisoners is to be credited, the English, notwithstanding superior numbers, are thinking only of terminating their campaign without receiving any check. As for our part, with all the zeal possible, we can only occupy ourselves for the next month in hastening the fort commenced last year, which, without being completely finished, will be in a state of defence, and expediting the convoys which are victualing this frontier. I will, as much as lies in my power, keep up small parties to scatter consternation and the miseries of the war throughout the enemy's country. Previous to this detachment, the enemy were so bold as to send out some parties against us to take some of our scalps. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Biville and de Tarsac, who had wandered away hunting, notwithstanding Chevalier de Levis' reiterated prohibitions, had the misfortune to be killed some days before my arrival.

For the defence of this quarter and the distribution of the troops which I have brought along, I cannot do better than follow up Chevalier de Levis' arrangements. He has reported them to you, my Lord, and it appears to me that they need no addition.

I am, with respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp at Carillon, 26<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1756.

My Lord,

I had the honor to write you on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, reporting my arrival at Carillon with the regiments of Guienne, Bearn, and one hundred men of La Sarre. The remainder of this regiment has

remained in the vicinity of Frontenac, to bring away the artillery and prisoners, and will conclude its campaign by working at the road between Laprairie and St. John—a road in our rear, of the greatest consequence for our communications. In the same despatch I had the honor to report to you the deaths of Lieutenants de Bivelle and de Torsac of the regiment of La Reine, who have been killed before my arrival by the Indians attached to the English, in consequence of having gone out to hunt, notwithstanding Chevalier de Levis' reiterated prohibitions. I had likewise the honor of informing you of a strong detachment of Canadians and Indians which I had formed a few days after my arrival, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position and intimidating his outposts. On this movement, he abandoned the islands in Lake St. Sacrament, where he seemed desirous to take up a position, and a detachment of fifty-two men, including three officers sent to reconnoitre us, has been entirely defeated. One man only will have carried the news to my Lord Loudon. And I do not believe that this General will expose himself at the end of the campaign with us, although able to concentrate ten thousand men in twenty-four hours. I calculate to keep the field fully a month yet.

From letters written at Fort Duquesne the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, [I learn] that we continue to lay waste Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Chaouanons and Delawares have forced all the settlements to be abandoned. To make any forays they must go thirty leagues into the interior. Chevalier de Villiers, Lieutenant of the Colonial troops, with a detachment of 55 men, captured Fort Granville,<sup>1</sup> within 60 miles of Philadelphia. It was garrisoned by 35 men and provisioned for six months, and had two swivels. All have been burnt, killed or taken prisoners.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot have communicated to me an order they have received from the Keeper of the Seals, whereby all the allowances granted to the officers for subsistence, even the wine, is to be cut off in the next campaign, and they are to be reduced, the same as the soldier, to the simple ration, leaving them at liberty to provide themselves with the surplus as they think proper. This article interests equally the officers of the Line and of the Marine. It is possible that they received too much last year, and that too much is to be deducted for the next. I have transmitted to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendant a Memoir on this subject, and shall concert with them respecting the representations they will consider it their duty to make to the Keeper of the Seals, and I shall act with as much circumspection as zeal for the King's interests.

You perceive, my Lord, that I have nothing very important to communicate in this letter; but I wish to inform you of everything relative to the troops, the command of which you have confided to me, and not allow a ship to sail without having the honor to write to you.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 460. — Ed.



*M. de Montcalm to ———.*

Camp at Carillon, 26<sup>th</sup> September, 1756.

I have returned to the camp at Carillon on the 10<sup>th</sup> with Guienne, Bearn and 100 men of La Sarre. Fears were seemingly entertained, in the Colony, that Lord Lowdon would collect all his forces together to attack us. Some small parties were so bold as to come around our camp; Lieutenants de Biville and de Torsac, of the regiment of La Reine, had been scalped in consequence of having gone hunting in spite of Chevalier de Levis' repeated interdictions. Some days after my arrival I formed a strong detachment of Canadians and Indians. Its movement caused the enemy to abandon some islands in Lake St. Sacrament, where they seemed desirous to establish themselves. Following this detachment I sent out Chevalier Mercier, Commander of the artillery, Sieur Desandrouins, Engineer, and Sieur de Bougainville, one of my Aids-de-Camp, to acquire information of that quarter, without compromising themselves. This detachment could not, by sending a small party close to the enemy's intrenchments, draw out more than a detachment of 52 men, including 3 officers, of which only one man escaped.

I intend to make my reviews for the close of the campaign about the 15<sup>th</sup>; to take back the 100 men belonging to La Sarre and to reach Montreal about the 20<sup>th</sup> in order to send off my last despatches. Chevalier de Levis, who is well acquainted with this frontier and who has made the best arrangements in the world, which I have followed, will call in the troops at the end of October or forepart of November. Lord Lowdon appears to me to be able to concentrate 10 thousand men on this frontier within 24 hours.

Our last news from the Beautiful river, of the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, are excellent. M. Dumas, a Colonial Captain, who commands there, continues to devastate Pennsylvania. Chevalier de Villiers, a Lieutenant, brother of M. de Jumonville, who was assassinated by the English, and of a Captain de Villiers, who made a most brilliant campaign this year in the direction of Lake Ontario; Chevalier de Villiers, I say, has, with 55 men, just burnt Fort Grandville,<sup>1</sup> in Pennsylvania, 60 miles from Philadelphia. It had two swivels, 6 months' provisions, and a garrison of 30 men, with Lieutenant Brafort, who has been killed.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1756.

My Lord,

I had the honor, since the reduction of Chouaguen, of writing to you on the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 26<sup>th</sup> of September, and now transmit duplicates of my despatches. Nothing of interest has occurred since the strong detachment, whereof I have rendered you an account, which caused the enemy to abandon the advanced posts they had established in the Islands of Lake St. Sacrament, and

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 469. — Ed.

killed three officers and fifty-two men they had sent out to fight. Neither side has done anything more than to send out small scouting parties. We have had two soldiers of Bearn killed. The enemy have lost some scalps and prisoners, whose report informs me that Lord Loudon has concentrated all his troops on my arrival, and after my detachment had marched. I considered this movement, on his part, rather defensive than offensive.

I quitted the army on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October, in consequence of being obliged to come to confer with the Marquis de Vaudreuil before the last fleet sailed. To Chevalier de Levis is left the duty of making the army file off to its different quarters, the return of which I have the honor to transmit you. He will not decamp with the battalions forming the rear-guard until between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>, when it is to be hoped that Fort Carillon, which was begun last year, will be safe from every insult and capable of receiving a garrison of three hundred and fifty men.

The arrangement of our quarters has been subjected to great variations. *'M. de Vaudreuil allowed me the choice of the battalions. After I left, he changed four battalions, either through ignorance, or to cause me disgust.*

Chevalier de Levis has made himself very acceptable to the troops. He has a decidedly military tone in the routine of commanding; he is not surprised, and knows how to come to a decision; to be firm; to deviate from orders issued sixty leagues away, when he considers them contrary to what's right, in consequence of circumstances a General at a distance has not been able to foresee. He has made a good selection in Sieur de Fonbrune, a Lieutenant in the Marine grenadiers, whom you permitted him to bring over and have appointed a Seconded Captain. He is a soldier, possesses good sense, is laborious and very useful to Chev. de Levis.

The latter was destined to pass his winter at Quebec, but he will arrive too late to reach that place. I am very glad of it, for I shall spend my winter with him at Montreal, where our staff will be quartered.

M. de Bourlamaque, who was to leave the army with the first division yesterday, will repair to Quebec. *He even wished it, on account of his bad health. There need be no fear on this point, which is not believed. He desired that I should write to you of him to prepare for the application of his* . *He does not as yet possess the tone of command; is too much addicted to minutiae, follows too literally orders issued eighty leagues off, by a General who knows not how to speak of war.*

*Chevalier de Levy, like me, receives orders and despatches written with inexcusable duplicity, yet exposing us to blame in case of failure. This is not by way of complaint, for I write nothing about it to M. de Machault, but communicate to you my critical position, which Chev. de Levis has mentioned particularly to his relatives.*

I have the honor to transmit to you a plan of Fort Carillon, drawn by Captain Germain, of the regiment of La Reine, to be presented to you with his respects. *That fort, full of defects, serves to enrich the Colonial Engineer, one of M. de Vaudreuil's relations. The enemy has always the advantage of a month in the field, during which we cannot afford it any assistance.*

*Our situation is critical; provisions are needed; the harvest has failed, and people are compelled to mix oats with the wheat. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Bigot have written to M. Machault, reproaching him strongly for not having sent the provisions demanded last winter. Should supplies not be received early, it will be impossible to effect anything against the enemy.*

I have drawn up with attention the review of our six battalions. I annex an extract thereof to this despatch, which will show you, my Lord, the number of recruits required. The

<sup>1</sup> The passages in Italic are in cipher in the original. — Ed.



Marquis de Vaudreuil demands an augmentation of the troops of the Line, and as he is as yet undecided as to the number and form, I shall write you separately on these points.

*He is very urgent, at the same time, for wherewith to feed them, and (states) that he is in want of provisions. He sends back six vessels; a number of the prisoners are conveyed to England and France on that account.*

*I have been pretty well satisfied with the steadiness of our six battalions; La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn are in the best order; the Languedoc battalion in the worst; its staff is good. The Royal Rousillon battalion is good; that of La Sarre better in Canada than in France. Its Commander pays attention to it.*

*M. de Montreuil is a brave man without any detail or talent for the position of Major-General.*

M. de Bougainville regards you as his protector in war and his Mæcenæ in the republic of letters; occupying himself considerably with his profession, he does not forget L'Academie des Sciences. He has seen, by the public news, that there was a vacancy in the place of Geometrician, to which he would have supposed he could aspire through your favor and his work, had he remained in France. Is his being in America temporarily and on the King's service to exclude him from it? Could it not be kept for him by leaving it vacant as you have the goodness to do in the case of the Lieutenant Colonels? I should be personally much obliged to you for so doing.

*The English will possibly think of reëstablishing themselves at Fort Chouaguen. I had made a proposition to employ, in the spring, a xebec with four hundred Canadians, a great many Indians and our armed sloops. The Marquis de Vaudreuil says, that the English have burnt Fort Bull, which is of no account in that quarter on one side or the other.*

*Towards Fort Duquesne the English will not be as strong as we, in consequence of the Indians. The English all turned to one point—Lake St. Sacrament. M. de Vaudreuil wishes to besiege Fort George; difficult; that of Fort Lidius, impossible. An attempt has been made at Quebec to place cannon on two bateaux joined together.*

*My plan would be an attempt on Acadia, were France willing to send a fleet with some troops; but provisions are needed most of all. A thousand picked Indians could be furnished here; we have also fifteen hundred Acadians. That would create a diversion. I would take charge of it even though a General officer would be sent with troops from France.*

*The English may make an expedition at Gaspé and cut off all reinforcements. France ought to reflect on sending a fleet. The English have ships that winter at Halifax.*

Should peace be concluded this winter, the Marquis de Vaudreuil asks, I believe, that two battalions be left to labor on the roads and public works. Should this be determined on, 'twould, no doubt, be the two last arrived, the Commanders of which would, it appears to me, suffice. 'Twould be an affair of a year or eighteen months.

We have here the hostages given for the execution of the capitulation of Fort Necessity. You have seen, by the papers taken from General Braddock, that Captain Robert Stobo, one of the two, was sending plans. Preparations are making for their trial by the King's order; execution of the judgment will be suspended. M. de Vaudreuil, with some of the Colonial officers, will hold the court by which they are to be tried.

Should a little live Beaver, that I have intrusted to Chevalier de la Rigaudiere, Lieutenant in the Navy, commanding the frigate *La Licorne*, arrive alive, it will be presented to you from me, with a letter.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

I have the honor to address you a copy of the Memoir I transmit to the Keeper of the Seals on the retrenchment which M. Bigot had ordered for the officers during the course of the campaign.

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*M. de Lotbinière to the Minister.*

My Lord,

I sent you, last year, a tolerably succinct detail of the operations of the campaign, which has been much more flattering to us than appearances promised, since, without entertaining the least suspicion of such a thing, the enemy was preparing to invade all our frontiers; it terminated, on our side, in the loss of Beausejour, on the frontier of Acadia, which we could never preserve for the reasons I have had the honor to detail to you in 1754, and which, sooner or later, will be the ruin of Canada if people are as infatuated about it as in times gone by; in the defeat of General Braddock, with his entire army, whilst approaching Fort Duquesne to lay siege to it, and which he would have undoubtedly reduced had he reached it, as 'tis very feebly defended; in attacking the enemy, who was beginning a post on the border of Lake Saint Sacrament, wherein our only disadvantage was the loss of our General; in other respects, less real losses, by half, than the enemy; and this march, although a piece of bravado, made sufficient impression on the enemy to arrest his progress, which, according to his plans, was to be directed against St. Frederic and induced us to build a fort at Carillon, situate, as I have observed to you, at the head of the navigation of Lake St. Sacrament, and is the surest place to check the enemy, whether he make his appearance from Lake St. Sacrament or approach by Wood creek, or the head of South bay, as all these waters unite at Carillon point. The fort is, at present, in a very good condition and capable of sustaining a siege. Next campaign will render it respectable, in consequence of the augmentations to be made to it; and after a serious and very deliberate examination I fear not to assert, that it is, for us, the post the most essential to be preserved in order to prevent the enemy penetrating, by this frontier, which is, in reality, the easiest and most certain route to enter into the interior of the country. I remained there up to the 10<sup>th</sup> of February in order to place it beyond a *coup de main*, and came, at the end of April, to resume this work in order to conduct it to the point which it has now reached. I have long intended sending you, my Lord, a particular map of the country which would have demonstrated to you all the advantage of this place, but I have been so much occupied by details pushed to minuteness here, where, despite of



himself, a man must work at all trades, possessing no means of relief, that I have found it impossible for me to execute my observations. As I shall, according to every appearance, have the winter to myself, I will make it my first business.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil had projected the siege of Chouaguen as early as the beginning of last year. He was diverted from his design by the dangers menacing this frontier, to which he had conveyed the reinforcements necessary for its protection. He contented himself, at that time, with covering Niagara and Frontenac by aid of two battalions.

In execution of his original plan, he dispatched, in the month of February, Lieutenant de Lery, of the Marines, at the head of a detachment of 300 and odd men, to reduce a fort which served as an entrepôt for Chouaguen. After inexpressible difficulties, having marched, overland, more than 120 leagues through the woods to reach the place, that detachment succeeded in reducing it. They found in the fort more than twenty bateau loads of provisions, nearly forty thousand weight of powder and a quantity of ball, shell and grenades, which were thrown into the river; and whilst the powder was being carried there also, a barrack in the fort caught fire which communicated, in a very short time, to the powder magazine. This catching, blew up everything in the fort, which also was demolished by the shock. Within three-quarters of a league of this fort was another entrepôt, but 'twas impossible to attack it, as it was garrisoned by more than 200 men, who were very well advised of all that was going on. Wherefore, the detachment set out on its return to Montreal, where it arrived somewhat late in April.

On the opening of spring, M. de Vaudreuil sent a detachment of 4 to 500 Canadians to hang around Chouaguen in order to cut off the communication between the entrepôts and that fort. This detachment has had occasion to harass the enemy, who, at the close of June, were attacked on their way by water, though numbering nearly 2 thousand. They lost 400 men and we not more than 4 or 5; one an officer of our Regulars. This affair decided the siege of Chouaguen. M. de Vaudreuil, in consequence, wrote to Mr. de Montcalm, who was, at the time, in this fort, which, 'twas reported, would be attacked, but had already begun to assume a somewhat promising appearance. That General, with three battalions, and others amounting to 3,000 and odd men, including Marines and Canadians, succeeded, in three days, in obliging the enemy, numbering nearly 1,800, to surrender prisoners of war. This appears fabulous, yet the thing is exactly so. 'Tis true that the landing was easy in consequence of our detachment of Canadians and Indians, who had been, for some time preceding, masters of the field. Besides, we considered this position much stronger than it really was. Old Chouaguen was nothing more than a house 60 feet long by 24 in width, with loop-holes and machicoulises, and some pieces of cannon in that story. It was surrounded by an enceinte, having the form of a country church flanked by two chapels; last year an addition was made to it of a raised earth-work having one of the two chapels on one corner and the lake on the other; but as all that ground was sloping and [commanded] by an adjoining hill on the right bank of the river, whence the rear of the raised work was visible, they had erected on this hill a star fort having strong oak stockades and a ditch, six to eight feet wide all around; all who have been at that siege agree that this work was the best of all those at Chouaguen. The trench was opened before this fort which the enemy abandoned on the evening of the following day, before a single gun could be discharged against it. Some officers of our troops, perceiving that the fire of this fort had wholly ceased, concluded, with reason, that the enemy had abandoned it; they approached and finally scaled it and gave notice that no one was in it. The guns were brought



nearer in the course of the night; batteries were prepared which, at day light, were only knee high. They were made use of in that state to batter old Chouaguen. The commander was killed which caused trouble in the garrison. In the evening the Canadian troop was ordered to cross towards the fort with the Canadians and Indians, which so terrified the enemy that he that very instant beat a parley. Thus you perceive, my Lord, that this siege has not cost us much. We found some vessels there, one of which is a frigate of 20 @ 24 guns; in all, a hundred and I know not how many more pieces of ordnance, a quantity of provisions and munitions of war, a military chest. As soon as the place was surrendered, Fort Ontario (that with stockades) was demolished. The house was filled with condemned pork and afterwards set on fire, and then the troops retired with the artillery and ships. 'Tis a pity that they had not filled-in the harbor before they withdrew. By that means the enemy, who needs a navy to sustain himself on Lake Ontario, would have been obliged to think of getting out some other way; he would require to have new entrepôts; to cut new roads, and whatever movement he might make in that direction next year was not to be feared, and we should have then but a single point of view, which is this quarter, whilst having left the port open, the enemy is free to bethink himself of occupying it; the entrepôts already established will be of use to him, and if we see him take that route in the spring, we shall be obliged to divide our force to prevent Chouaguen being reestablished; consequently we shall be unable to attack, and obliged to confine ourselves to the defensive. Besides, I think it had been better to leave a battalion that would have destroyed the entire establishment from top to bottom, and we should be much more certain of the demolition than by leaving to the flames the work of reducing all the stores of the building to powder, so as to render them unserviceable hereafter. It is pretty doubtful that the fire had kept long enough in all those pork barrels. Moreover, it is well established that the fire, after having consumed everything, reduces the walls to the point of being no longer serviceable, or at least, that the materials cannot be used. I fear new sprouts in that quarter.

Many persons thought that it would have been better to fortify it well and garrison it, saying that were Chouaguen ours, we might dispense with Niagara and Frontenac. A false conclusion, and I prove it thus: If the enemy had no other outlet than the Chouaguen river, to make his appearance on Lake Ontario, 'tis certain that, by holding the mouth of that river, we should block his passage, and then Niagara and Frontenac ought not be regarded, except as entrepôts, without thinking of fortifying them with much care; but as he can penetrate by the Bay of the Cayugas, or the river Kaskonchiagon<sup>1</sup> and even elsewhere, it follows that Chouaguen would be of no use to us, should the enemy decide on the one or the other. I will say more, which is that the enemy, I think, would have reason to demand it back at the peace; for although it be on our soil, it has been left to him long enough to authorize him to say that such possession on his part was never questioned; consequently, that the place was regarded as belonging to him. Therefore, in every point of view, nothing better could be done than to destroy it; but the question was to effect that in such a way as to deprive the enemy of all desire to come and establish himself there. Had he then attempted it, or any other establishment, he could be opposed from Niagara or Frontenac, as our navy, which is increased more than half on the lake, furnishes us sure means of conveying artillery and men to resist his efforts.

I am much deceived if the reduction of Acadia has not been proposed to the Court. Should forces be sent from France in sufficient number, well; but I should consider it dangerous to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 326.—Ed.



divide the forces in Canada for the purpose of transporting them so far in a time when it appears that the enemy is directing his efforts against the upper part of the country. Besides, attention is to be directed to the fact, that the absolute conquest of this country is meditated; and not to Beausejour which will be always a burthen to us, and which we shall never be able to retain so long as we shall possess it alone. The English have deprived us of a great advantage by removing the French families that were settled there on their different plantations; thus we would have to make new settlements.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will be pleased out of consideration for the little leisure I have at my disposal, to excuse the want of connection in my letter. As I am aware that you take an interest in the country, I endeavor to pass in review before you the different objects which have appeared to me deserving of attention, and thereby I believe I do my country an essential service.

We have this year lost M. de Lery, Engineer-in-Chief of the Colony. I might hope to succeed him were I to rely on what has been promised me when I was in France. If I dared flatter myself that you would condescend to interest yourself to procure me that situation, as well as the company which I, as it were, touch by the seniority of my rank, it would be an obligation I should unite to those I already owe you, for which I will retain an eternal gratitude.

I am with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Carillon, this 2 November, 1756.

(Signed), LOTBINIÈRE.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

My Lord,

Montreal, 6 November.

I have had the honor of rendering you a very exact account of every occurrence of interest in this Colony. I shall be much flattered, my Lord, if my conduct deserve the King's and your approbation. I hope his Majesty will not refuse it me, if you, my Lord, will have the goodness to remind him:

- 1st. In what Condition the Colony was turned over to me.
- 2nd. Of the obstacles I had to surmount in consequence of the unfortunate events of Baron de Dieskaw's campaign.
- 3rd. The breaking out of the small-pox, which made terrible ravages.
- 4th. The scarcity of provisions and the unsteadiness of the winter season.
- 5th. My expedition against the English fort at the Choueguen carrying place which was the enemy's principal depôt of provisions and ammunitions, and which I had carried by assault.
- 6th. My activity in taking the field and anticipating the enemy.
- 7th. My policy in having sent the Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis to Carillon in order to make the enemy believe that my principal object was to offer resistance at that point.
- 8th. My manœuvre to harass the English at Chouaguen, and the gradual establishment of a camp within reach of intercepting all their supplies.

9th. My success in the expedition against these three forts, notwithstanding the difficulties that existed.

10th. The prompt reunion of my forces at Carillon where I kept General Loudon in check, though he had at his disposal an army of about 20,000 men.

11th. The two forts I caused to be taken from the enemy in the direction of Virginia and Pennsylvania by small detachments of our Canadians and Indians; their incursions into the settlements of these two Provinces, and those of Maryland and Philadelphia.

12th. The district of Acadia, where I have constantly maintained myself, and where the enemy has been constantly harassed by my attention to setting the Acadians and Indians in motion.

13th. My foresight for the safety of Gaspé where the enemy made two fruitless attempts to land for the purpose of establishing himself there.

14th. The three remaining forts belonging to the enemy at the Choueguen portage, which I made him abandon and burn without striking a blow, by making use of the 5 Nations, and getting them to act in correspondence with my views.

It appears from all this, my Lord, that I not only kept the English in check, but seriously humbled them at the moment they justly imagined themselves best able to satisfy their ambitious designs, without it being possible for me to offer any proper resistance, in consequence of the superiority of their forces on Lake Ontario, as well as on Lake St. Sacrament.

I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased to assure his Majesty that I am employing every means at this moment, to be in a position to gratify, during the ensuing campaign, the zeal which has ever animated me for his service.

I am morally certain that all the forces of New England will be directed against Carillon. I shall oppose to General Loudon all those at my disposal; but whether I confine myself to the defensive, or whether circumstances will permit me to decide on the offensive, I shall not be able to undertake anything, my Lord, unless you have the goodness to order the supplies we require to be forwarded to us in season.

The 1,500 barrels of flour Mr. Bigot requires of you by way of Rochefort, are, I assure you my Lord, absolutely necessary to enable us to take the field; it is even proper that this first shipment be 2,000 barrels; which will be by no means too much. You will be pleased, my Lord, to facilitate the privateers that are to have the provisions on board, so that they may sail in February.

We are thus reduced to such straits that M. Bigot will not be able to avoid mixing oats in the bread, and ordering the wheat to be threshed whilst green. This, added to its bad quality, will be the cause of our losing more than the half of it; but 'tis our only remaining resource.

This will enable you, my Lord, to judge whether 'twill be possible for me to make any movement this winter. I was, nevertheless, disposed to overwhelm the enemy by blows from our Indians, so as to afford myself more facilities in my spring operations.

Had we received the eight thousand barrels of flour Mr. Bigot had had the honor to request of you, I should not be straitened.

What could I have done, had it not been for the success of my expedition against the three Chouaguen forts and the small quantity of provisions that fortunate event procured me? Could I have furnished subsistence to a corps of troops at Frontenac and Niagara, and victualled the posts on the Beautiful river? Our critical situation proves but too conclusively, that I



would not have been able to do so, and in such a conjuncture, what would have become of Frontenac, Niagara and the Beautiful river?

I rely, my Lord, on your having the goodness to respect my representations and to issue your orders for the despatch of the provisions. There cannot be too much of them, and it would be very unfortunate were the Colony endangered for want of that foresight. All my operations are subordinate to the condition I shall find myself in, as regards provisions, and should these fail, I shall not be able to undertake anything.

Should we not receive supplies early, so far from being able to offer any resistance to the enemy, I shall, on the contrary, be obliged to distribute the troops throughout the rural districts to get them supported as well as may be, and if, unfortunately, I am reduced to this hard necessity, will any situation be more favorable than that of General Loudon? It would be very difficult for me to avoid his knowing ours, and what will he not do then?

But at the same time, if these provisions reach us I shall unite to the Colonial forces all the Indian Nations, who will consume a large quantity of provisions, but we shall be compensated therefor by the ravages in the enemy's country.

It is equally essential, my Lord, that the munitions of war reach me at the same time as the provisions; for, should circumstances permit, I shall proceed offensively.

The article of goods requires not less attention. We cannot have too large a supply of them in the King's stores in order to be able to provide for the wants of the Indians, principally the 5 Nations, whom I must treat well to prevent any of them joining the English.

It only remains for me, my Lord, to propose to you :

1<sup>st</sup> To form the eight companies which have been taken from the regiments of La Reine and Languedoc, without affecting those within reach of the enemy. By such augmentation these two battalions would be equal to the other four, and we might organize a grenadier company in each.

2<sup>o</sup> To put the 72 ordinary companies of the six battalions at 45 men, like those of the grenadiers.

3<sup>o</sup> To increase each ordinary company, and those of grenadiers, five men, whereby the battalions would be each 650 men. The three augmentations form an object of 1,080 men and are equal to two battalions, without obliging his Majesty to risk entire corps or to send too large a number of officers, who increase expenses and are a charge on the Colony for lodgings and provisions.

4<sup>o</sup> To send 300 men to complete the French battalions, having regard to the number wanting in each, and to the probable number of deaths this winter, in order that these soldiers may be in a condition to enter the field on the moment of their arrival and to support the fatigue. The King might direct one man to be taken per each infantry battalion in France.

5<sup>o</sup> To order to the Colony 200 Highland (*de Montagne*) Rousillon Fuzileers. They will be very useful, if it were only to respond to the dispatch of the Scotch Highlanders by the English, and to excite the vanity of our Indians, who certainly will do their utmost to prove to these Fuzileers that no light infantry can equal them.

6<sup>th</sup> To increase the company of Bombardiers according to the proposal I have had the honor to submit to you on the subject in my private despatch of same date.

7<sup>o</sup> Two able and experienced Engineers.

8<sup>o</sup> The augmentation of the ten companies in the detached troops of the Marine, at the rate of 65 men per company, is the most essential object.

9<sup>o</sup> Provisions in proportion to this increase of troops.

I suppose, in these propositions, that the Court of England will not send over additional forces to New England. Should it decide upon sending any, you will no doubt know it, and in such case I beg you to be pleased to add to my requisitions a second complement of troops in proportion to that which will be sent by the English.

If all these reinforcements, my Lord, reach me as safely and as early as I desire, I have the honor to assure you that the English will not make any progress in the next campaign.

I am with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

---

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 10 November, 1756.

My Lord,

In conforming myself to his Majesty's intentions, I have made arrangements to proceed with the trial of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Stobo and Wambrant, English officers, who were delivered up to M. de Villiers as security for the articles of capitulation he granted to Major Wachenston.

I have the honor to annex hereunto copy in form of the judgment of the court martial and of the procedure whereupon it has been rendered. You will perceive, my Lord, that Mr. Stobo has been charged and convicted of the crime of High Treason, and that he has been accordingly condemned to be beheaded. In regard to Mr. Wambrant, he has been acquitted. You will, also, observe, my Lord, by the proceedings, that Mr. Stobo, at first, would not admit any fact, but when in presence of the court, he acknowledged his letter and avowed his crime. I suspend the execution of this sentence agreeably to the King's orders.

I hope, my Lord, that you will find this trial regular. I omitted nothing in that regard. I have consulted all the authorities which treat of similar crimes, and do not believe that I have omitted any of the formalities prescribed by the ordinances.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Conferences between M. de Vaudreuil and the Indians.*

In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, and on the thirteenth of December, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, before us Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-



General for the King in all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, appeared in our Castle of Montreal, one hundred Indians accompanied by Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter of the Iroquois language, who stated to us that the Indians at whose head he is, are Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuskarorins, Canaoneuska, Totierono,<sup>1</sup> Senecas, Skaniatarationo,<sup>2</sup> who come as a deputation in the name of their Nation; whereupon we have sent notice to M. Bigot, Councillor of the King in his councils, Intendant of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine throughout all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, and having sent for Chevalier de Lévy, Brigadier of the King's armies, Mr. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of the town and district of Three Rivers, at present in this city, Mr. Dailleboust, Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, the King's Lieutenant in the town and government of Montreal, Mr. de Noyan, also Knight of St. Louis, the King's Lieutenant of the said town and government of Three Rivers, likewise present in this city of Montreal, Mr. Duplessy Fabert, likewise Knight of St. Louis, Major of the troops and town of Montreal, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Valterie, de Sabrevois, de Contrecœur and Dumas, also Knights of St. Louis, Captains of a company of the troops belonging to the detachment of the Marine; and also having invited the principal Indians, chiefs of the Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, Sieur Le Cavalier, Interpreter of the Iroquois language, the principal Indian chiefs and men of influence among the Nepissingues and Algonkins of the Lake of the Two Mountains, Sieur de Lacorne St. Luc, Captain of the troops of the detachment of the Marine, speaking the language of said Algonkins and Nepissingues, whom we have requested to act as their Interpreters, the principal chiefs and men of influence of the Outaouacs of Detroit and of the Pouteouatamis of Missilimakinac and Sieur St. Jean, Interpreter of their tongue, all which Indians are now in this town.

Which above named gentlemen and said Indians having forthwith appeared, after having explained to them, and caused to be explained to the Indians by their Interpreters, the subject for which we have made them come, and each having at the same time taken his place in the Council Chamber according to rank, Chinoniata, an Onondaga chief, rose up and, according as said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, hath explained the same, said to us:

By two Belts of Wampum.

Father. Here are the Five Nations who are about to express their sentiments and to testify to you the difficulty they experienced to quit the darkness in order to come to you.

We shall begin with the most serious affair. We request you, Father, to hear us, as well as our relatives, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire, Lachauvignerie, and all the chiefs here present. We have covered Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Senior and Junior at Niagara, and in your presence, but we did it imperfectly. The troubles that have occurred have been the sole cause of our not having acquitted ourselves of that ceremony as we ought.

As we could not sufficiently cover the death of Mr. de Longueuil, Senior, who was our child, eight Nations cover it by one of the two Belts. The Onondagas, particularly, cover the death of Mr. de Longueuil, Junior, who watched the Tree of Peace, and who was killed last year. We are delighted that all his relatives hear us. The other Belt is from the Taskarorins for the same purpose.

<sup>1</sup> For these Indians, compare V., 491, 660, 673; VI., 441. They seem to have been originally from North Carolina (*Gallatin's Synopsis, in Transactions of American Antiquarian Society*, II., 85), and eventually settled at the head of Cayuga lake, New-York. *Guy Johnson's Map of the Country of the VI Nations.* — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Skaniadaradichroones (VI., 964, 977.)

By a Belt.

Father. Here is a message which comes from the Onondagas, though on the behalf of the Five Nations. By this Belt we collect together the bones of all your warriors, which we cover, in order that you may hear us without having anything to trouble you.

We love all your children belonging to the Nations near you. We cover the dead of all those who have been in like manner killed.

By a Belt.

Father. By half this Belt we kindle a new fire to work at good business ; by the other half, we request Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil and Noyan to forget the losses they have met and to assist us in laboring at good business.

By a Belt.

Father. We will say to you by half this Belt, that Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan and others, our children, raise up again Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, their brothers ; and by the other half, we request you, when we shall speak to you on business, to assist us the same as those of the Sault and all your other children.

By a Belt.

Father. By half this Belt we drive away the clouds that conceal the Sun from us ; by the other half, we set up another Sun in order that all your children may have light and may labor at good business.

We have not as much sense as our ancients. You can see in their messages the speeches they made you. We, from our hearts, say the same thing to you.

By a Belt.

Father. This Belt is a phial of liquor which we present you in order that you may reject whatever badness may be in your heart, so that you may speak plainly to us. This is a custom of the Five Nations which we shall always observe.

By a Belt and some Strings.

Father. This Belt is a tobacco pouch of which our Fathers made use when they perceived anything bad ; they placed it on the shoulder and labored at good business. We renew the tobacco pouch. As we are short of Wampum we add to it some strings, in order that this tobacco pouch may be always full of tobacco.

By a Belt.

Father. 'Tis not [improbable] that there is some filth in this hall since we have not come to Council ; by this Belt we clean it ; we have cleaned our cabins, they contain no more dirt ; we request you to believe that we speak to you from our hearts.

By some Strings.

Father. You told us last year that you desired the renewal of the ancient Councils. We are come for that purpose.

Our ancestors, in your Father's time, pulled up a Pine and made a hole to bury bad business therein ; we have renewed that pit, and cast into it all that is past, in order that it be no more mentioned.



By a Belt.

Father. We are eight Nations who speak to you by this Belt. You wish to renew the ancient Councils. Here is the Tree of Peace; it begins to be old; we renew the three roots that sustain it, which shoot out towards the North, the South and West. It is beneath this Tree that we shall retire when any business arises.

The Delawares have united in this Belt. We speak for them and they will not delay to speak themselves.

By a Belt.

Father. The leaves of the Tree of Peace whereof we have just spoken, are dry; we were not at liberty to speak to you. Brethren, listen. By this Belt we restore the leaves to this Tree, in order that we may talk in the shade on good business.

By three Strings.

Father. Here are three strings of Wampum which have been given us by your late Father to unite all his children in one dish, wherein he put a beaver's tail with a small plug of tobacco for each, so that from friends we have become brethren, by the marriage of several women, Outaouacs, Pouteoutamis, etc. We renew this message in order that we might all work anew at good business.

By a Belt.

Father. Here is a Belt which has been given us by your late Father when he arranged all the Councils.

As he saw we could not remain at peace, by half this Belt he told us to go and make war and gave us a rod to strike the Flatheads and the Chicachas, whom he did not know.

By the other half of the Belt, he placed roots on the Tree of Peace; he said whoso would touch these roots, all the Nations should reunite. A Frenchman and an Indian having been killed on the Ohio river by the Chicachas and Flatheads, we made use of that rod to punish them.

We ask your permission to strike all those Nations; a portion of them desires to make peace, but as regards the others, we still strike them.

By a Belt.

Father. When we perceived that the English were threatening you, it made an impression on us; he has come near unto our village, we have been astonished at his scowling look; we turned towards you and saw you disposed to resist him; but always hold fast to your end of the Belt of peace; we have done likewise.

You have invited us to work at good business; we have been equally balanced, we could not take any side. Listen to us, Brethren here present; that is the sole cause of our inactivity.

Father. Had it been possible for us to make representations to you respecting your contest with the English, we should have done it.

We are very glad that you are quiet on your mat.

By a Belt.

Father. Permit us to express to you how glad we are to see the son of Mr. de Vaudreuil who gave us the messages of which we make use. By this Belt we request you to work as he did at good business and to engage all your children to unite with you.

We are very much obliged to you for having removed the barrier at Chouaguen which prevented our coming to see you in order to work at good business and to supply our wants. Leave that communication always open to us ; we thank you for having left that path free.

By some Strings.

By these two Strings we inform you that Catarakouis was formerly a post to work at good business and to supply our wants ; by one String we confirm that fort, and by the other we request you to have our necessities supplied there at a cheap rate, for the English will not furnish us the smallest article.

By the other two strings we also beg you to have our wants supplied at Niagara.

Formerly, when we were coming from war we had the Niagara portage ; 'twas promised us that we should always possess it ; 'tis now made by horses ; we beg you to preserve that resource to us.

Father. This is what we have to say to you ; we have nothing more at present ; we request you to work at good business and we recommend Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire, Lachauvignerie and others, our relations, to unite with you for that purpose.

We tell our brethren of the Sault and of the Lake to report to their people, on returning home, everything we have just said to you.

And the said M. Perthuis, the Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year above mentioned. Thus signed in the original.

And on the fourteenth of the said month of December, at three o'clock in the afternoon, We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied, as before stated ; the said Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Tuscarora, Canaoneuska, Totierono, Seneca, Skanatiarationo, assisted by said Sr Perthuis, Interpreter, being in said Council chamber, the chief, Chinoniata, arose, and, according as Sieur Perthuis hath explained to us, said :

Father. We have received all the messages you have sent us ; we have kept them most carefully ; to remove all your doubts we present them to you, and here is all that you were so good as to say to us.

[ They repeat the words of each Belt or of each String of Wampum.]

We complied as best we could with everything you have asked of us.

By a Belt.

Father. When we Oneidas learned that you crossed the seas to come and govern this country, we felt a thrill of joy to see again the son of Mr. de Vaudreuil, our Father, who ruled over us with so much wisdom and kindness, but when we were assured of your sentiments by the conduct you have observed towards all your children, we have not hesitated any longer to come and greet you, in order to learn of ourselves whether everything that had been represented to us was true, and we are so pleased at it, that we promise you by this Belt never to estrange ourselves from your pleasure, requesting you to regard us as true children, who never refuse the obedience which is due you.

'Tis true, Father, that since the death of Tharca, one of our chiefs, who was wisely directing us, we have found ourselves in darkness, whereby we went astray, but we assure you that henceforth we shall do nothing capable of displeasing you, and we beg you to be so assured.

We seem to behold your late Father who, although in time of war, received with the same kindness as you do, two of our chiefs who came to speak to him.



By some Strings.

Father. Whilst we Oneidas were deliberating on coming to see you, the Taskarorins, who were attending the council, said to us: Brethren, we agree with you in sentiment; add this little message to your Belt, meanwhile we shall accompany you down to Montreal to assure our Father, from our own lips, that we will always be his faithful children.

And said Mr. Perthuis, the Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And on the twenty-first of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied, as above stated; the said Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Taskarorins, Canaoneuska, Totierono, Seneca, Skaniatarationo Deputies, assisted by the said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, being in the Council chamber; caused said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, to explain to those Indians our answer to their speeches, and our address to those Indians, as follows:

By two Belts of Wampum.

Children. I am pleased to see you, the Five Nations, and the other three nations who have joined you.

I have heard all you have said; the chiefs and your relations here present have also paid attention to it.

I am aware that at Niagara and also in my presence, you have covered the deaths of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, father and son; I thank you for ratifying that ceremony by the Belt you have given me in the name of the eight Nations, and by another Belt from the Taskarorins; you could not acquit yourself of that duty too well in regard to Mr. de Longueuil, Junior, of whose [death] you must admit yourselves to be the authors; by this Belt I thank you, children of the eight Nations, and by this other Belt I thank you also, in particular, my Taskarorin children.

By a Belt.

You have gathered up and covered the bones of my warriors as well as those of my children of all the Nations which have been afflicted. By this Belt I collect also the bones of all the chiefs and warriors whom you have lost, and cover them in like manner.

By a Belt.

Children. I am delighted that you are kindling a new fire to work at good business. You know I have always occupied myself thereat. By half this Belt I assure you that I shall continue to assist you to feed this new fire, and by the other half that I shall always receive whatever Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, and your other children will advise me for your good.

By a Belt.

You could not do better than to nominate Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan and others to replace Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, and to request them and those of the Sault and all my other children, to assist you when you will have to address me on business. By this Belt I signify to you the satisfaction that affords me.

By a Belt.

By this Belt I perform the like ceremony to yours. I set up a new Sun to give you light and enable you to labor at good business. 'Twould be too long to relate exactly to you what your ancients were accustomed to say on this subject ; sufficient for me that you have retained some of that word.

By a Belt.

I have received the medicine you have given me, though you have experienced more than once that I have no need of it and that my heart is sound. By this Belt I administer a medicine to you to cleanse your breast of whatever badness it may now contain, and that your words may be true and not false as they have hitherto been.

By some Belts and Strings.

Children. You have been very tardy in renewing the tobacco pouch of which your ancients made use. By this Belt I exhort you not to abandon it and to make use of it to work at good business. I attach to it some strings of Wampum, in order that it may be always full of tobacco.

By a Belt.

I wish to believe that you have swept all filth from your cabins, and hope that there will be no more of it. By this Belt I assure you that this chamber is and always will be clean, and that I shall never cease to speak honestly to you.

By some Strings.

You cannot afford me greater pleasure than by renewing ancient Councils.

You have done well to reopen the pit your ancients had made in my late Father's time and to hurl all bad business into it. By these strings I cast into that pit whatever of bad has occurred, in order not to think any more about it.

By a Belt.

You do very well to renew the roots of the Tree of Peace ; 'twas under it your ancients retired and I exhort you to do so likewise whenever something occurs to you.

I doubt not but the Delawares have already requested you to incorporate them among your number. They have already had a talk at Fort Duquêne and Niagara. I am advised of their good dispositions and have recently learned that they were coming with the Iroquois on an embassy to Niagara.

By a Belt.

The leaves of the Tree of Peace could not but be dry ; you had neglected it too much ; 'twas time you clothed it with other foliage. By this Belt I recommend you to take greater care of it in order that you and your brethren may always speak with me, under its shade, of good affairs.

By three Strings.

I see, with pleasure, that you have preserved the three strings of Wampum my late Father gave you ; receive those I present you to reunite all my children before the same dish, into which I throw a beaver's tail and a small plug of tobacco for each of you, in order that you



may have only one heart and one mind with your brethren, my other children, who are your allies, and that you may work always with them and like them, at good business.

By a Belt.

Children. You have brought me back a Belt which was given you by my late Father.

By half this Belt he told you to go and wage war against the Flatheads and Chicachas, because you could not remain at peace, and they were not then at war.

By the other half of this Belt he fixed roots to the Tree of Peace and you agreed with him that the Nations would unite together to punish whoever would touch those roots.

I might have a great deal to say to you on all that you have done since that time, but I forget it. We reopened the pit your ancients had dug, and have thrown everything into it, so as to think no more about them.

You may be aware that the Flatheads have sent a request to me by the Chaouannons and Hurons, to consent to their alliance with me and all my children. No sooner did they learn that I was willing to receive them than, following the example of my faithful children, they have, of their own accord, struck the English and killed many of them. By that brave act they become from enemies, brethren of all my children, and oblige themselves to aid each other mutually; this induces me to invite you to live with them as true brethren, provided they always act with the same zeal.

As for the Chicachas, they are our enemies; I am not opposed to your waging war against them.

By a Belt.

Children. You could not but be aware that the English were threatening me, inasmuch as you have been witnesses of their preparations to surprise, in time of peace, Forts Duquêne, Niagara, Catarakouy and La Pointe, and as many among you had facilitated and even aided the transportation of their provisions and munitions of war.

Had any impression been made on you by the conduct of the English, so contrary to the union I wished to maintain with them, at least you would have come to notify me thereof; but you have observed silence, which would, with reason, make you suspected by me and all my children.

Are you aware that I prepared to defend myself only at the moment the English fancied they would certainly accomplish their ambitious designs?

The territory on which the English were making all their movements, belongs to the King, my master; I loved it, because there you have your abode; therefore, I have constantly held on to my end of the Belt of peace, and exhorted you to imitate me; I will readily believe that you, and to speak more correctly, many among you have done so, in order not to recall to my mind bad affairs.

You congratulate me on the tranquillity I enjoy on my mat; by this Belt I thank you, and assure you that I will always hold on to my end of the Belt of peace, but with more reliance and firmness in your sentiments than in times past.

By a Belt.

Children. I am quite sensible of the joy you feel at seeing me; mine is no less great.

I am highly flattered by your remembrance of my late Father, since you no longer have your ancients among you, you have forgotten the kindness and friendship he felt towards you;

therefore, have you not been at peace. By this Belt I assure you that I will follow in his trail, and, like him, will labor at good business and to make you happy.

I am disposed to believe that there are among you some who are well pleased that Chouaguen is no more, but I know there are others who are in secret sorry for it. I have already told you that communication between us would always be open. I repeat to you that it is for you to see to it and to prevent the forming any establishment at the upper or lower end of the Chouaguen river or even elsewhere, within reach of your villages.

By some Strings.

Catarakoui has been from all time an entrepôt for good business. You know that the Commandant of that post has been ever ready to receive you, yet have you beheld the English marching to take it, and, far from preserving it, you did not make your appearance there, except to report to the English its situation and what was doing there; some among you, whom I am acquainted with, have even embarked to pilot their vessels. I tell you this without any anger. By these two Strings of Wampum you will find what you require at Catarakoui, and by the other two, that the same will be the case at Niagara.

Children. I admit that your ancients formerly made the portage of Niagara,<sup>1</sup> by order of my Father. But you ought to recollect that that portage has often occasioned much derangement in consequence both of drunkenness and theft; that even the English came to trade there, accompanied by Mohawks. These are the sole reasons which led my predecessors to cause that portage to be made by teams, which has not prevented the employment of such of your people as were willing to make it. I have always feared that that portage would cause some quarrel between my warriors and you. Children, I shall be delighted if it be a benefit to you, and such is my intention provided that you will have some chiefs there to restrain your young men and to prevent any disorder or robbery.

Children. These are my answers to your speech. You perceive that I entertain towards you the sentiments of a father who is full of kindness. I recommend you to labor always, like me, at good business. You should not doubt but Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, Joncaire, Lachauvignerie and your other relatives, will unite with me when your interests are in question. I shall employ them whenever 'twill be necessary to communicate my intentions to you. I reckon on your receiving them as you would receive me, and that at all times the path will be open to them.

Your brethren of the Sault will not fail to communicate to their people everything you have said to me. I am well assured they will also carry back to them the answers I have just given you, and all that I am about to say to you.

Children. You afford me pleasure by repeating the messages you have received from me at different times. I had confided them to too trusty hands to admit of their punctual delivery to you being endangered. To the bearers of them I repeat my gratitude for their exactitude.

You must have remarked in those messages that past occurrences have not been capable of lessening my tenderness towards you. I am glad you have profited by the good advice I have given you for your sole good. I shall never give you any other, and you can hope to be happy only in as far as you will put them in practice.

<sup>1</sup> That is, were the carriers of goods at that point. — Ed.



By a Belt.

Children of the Oneidas. I am much flattered by the joy you feel at seeing me.

I will follow in the trail of my Father and, like him, will always work at good business.

I am particularly pleased with you, Oneidas; you have recently furnished me proofs of the correctness of your sentiments, and I cannot sufficiently testify to you the satisfaction they afford me.

I forget all that has occurred since the death of Tharia. I hope that whosoever will replace him will do as well as he.

You must have recognized in me the same goodness as in my late Father, since by his example I have received, in time of war, four Mohawks, who reported they had come to work at good business. Through the kindness natural to me, I looked on them as my children, although I saw clearly that they were talking to me only with the tips of their lips and not from their hearts. They remained here as long as they pleased; when they departed I clothed them and gave them whatever they asked.

Could I afford you a stronger proof of my following in the trail of my late Father? By this Belt I assure you that I shall never stray from it.

By some Strings.

I entertain towards the Taskarorins the same sentiments and the same kindness as for you, my children of the Oneidas. I always knew them to be at a distance from bad business; they have done well to unite with you. By these three Strings of Wampum I assure them I shall never cease to love them and to treat them as my true friends.

By a Belt.

Children. You ought to be satisfied with my answers to your speech and to have recognized in it the same kindness that my late Father entertained for you. Nothing can change my sentiments towards you, therefore do I feel assured that my answers will have penetrated, and renewed in, your hearts, the attachment of your ancestors for my late Father.

Here is a word I give you to tell you naturally all I think.

Listen, then, Children, the Eight Nations, and let my word be indelible in your memory and in that of your children. I invite your brethren here present, my other children, to give it also their attention.

The only question now is to work at good business; to adopt this day good measures among us, so that everything bad that has occurred be eternally buried in the pit.

As a good father I must speak to you of your backsliding. You know that I have followed your trail and that I have been present at all your actions. I check myself; I should say too much on that subject. Those who are capable ought here to acknowledge their fault and seriously reflect. It is for their own interest to observe better behavior in future.

Let those who have strayed from their attachment to the French, recollect the tricks to which the English have had recourse to estrange you from me; were it not for those intrigues I readily believe, Children, that you would have come to hear my word.

Children. Consider, on the one hand, the promises of the English to induce you to steep your hands in French blood; their lies, to persuade you that they would become master of Forts Duquène, Niagara, Catarakoui and the Point.

Children. Consider, also, on the other hand, my kindness in exhorting you to remain quiet on your mats, lest my blows should fall on you as on the English, and for fear of seeing your

blood spilt. How many English have been humbled last year at the Beautiful river by the massacre of General Braddock's army and of that at Chouaguen, which place I reduced to ashes. Add to that, the immediate advantages of the warriors of the King, my master, and of my children of every Nation.

Children. Let you, yourselves, now decide whether the English or the French be the more reliable and on which ought you to rely.

The English have built several forts in the most of your villages; you ought not to forget that to shut you up and to prevent all communication with your Father, they began by building a little beaver trap at Chouaguen.

Depend upon it, the English have no other object than to surround you and keep you in irons.

As you wish to occupy yourself with good business only, you ought not to nourish a serpent in your bosom. I would easily destroy those forts, but 'tis for you, children, to determine on the part you have to adopt to be rid of the English. The Master of Life has been kindly pleased to make use of me to remove the bandage from your eyes. I hope he will give you light.

You must have observed nothing but deceit and treachery in the conduct of the English.

What have they not done to the Delawares, your nephews? Have you not been, yourselves, to Niagara, saying that they inhumanly surprised and destroyed a Delaware village? Have they treated yourselves any better? Did you not inform me that they lately put one of your brethren to death and were detaining another in prison?

Do not these instances convince you that the English are your enemies? you ought to have perceived it long ago.

Wherefore have they as heretofore, scattered messages and belts by your warriors among all the Nations, my children, to induce them to side neither with the English nor French, if not in order to estrange these Nations from your interests and that the English should see themselves in a position to look on you as their slaves.

Wherefore did you, yourselves, send around secretly and <sup>1</sup>a message and a tomahawk among all the Nations, if not to swell your party? did you then desire to work at good business?

My children are too strongly attached to me to retain these messages, which they have sovereignly despised, and, in brief, sent down to me.

I content myself with furnishing you a single proof of this, by exhibiting to you the Belts you have carried throughout all the Nations with the little sticks you yourselves attached thereto, for the purpose of debauching those of Detroit.

My domiciliated children and those of the different tribes are incorruptible; they proved themselves such at the Beautiful river, at Chouaguen and in my other expeditions where they signalized themselves. They wait not my call; they fly to my assistance, and were it not through fear of the small-pox, would have guarded all the rivers by which the English pass, thoroughly resolved to give no quarter to any found among them. They will be all here at the breaking up of the ice; they wish to serve as a rampart to their Father.

I shall always remember that the Senecas have, of their own good will, taken up my hatchet at the Beautiful river and killed a great many of the English; they also fought

<sup>1</sup> Blank in the French text. — Ed.



successfully on Lake St. Sacrament, and many of them are still at Carillon. In fine, recently, at Niagara, they have agreed with the Delawares to go together to fight the English. This is the most convincing proof children can give their father of their attachment, since they strike his enemies; let those who love me follow the example of the Senecas; I shall then ever acknowledge them my true children.

Children. I'm certain the majority of you speak sincerely to me, but it may be that among you there are some who have come here only with a design to see and to listen in order to report the matter immediately to your brethren, the English; but I fear nothing, as I'm honest.

You do not see me puffed up by the advantages I possess over the English; I thank the Master of Life for them; he is aware of the justice of our cause and protects it.

I recommend you not to be afraid of the English, however they may threaten you; remain on your mats; I shall maintain you thereon, and all my children of the Nations will if necessary unite with you, to assist you in ridding yourselves of the English.

All my Praying children are enjoying peace; you may possess the same repose. The Master of Life has created you like us; many among you, perhaps, would make good Christians, like a number of your ancestors who, in my Father's time, embraced the true religion; they had a Missionary who wrote in most flattering terms of those ancients. I remember, also, having seen some of them. It will depend on your good conduct only for me to send you some missionaries to instruct you; you cannot expect so great an advantage from your brethren, the English.

You have, on the contrary, experienced that they have never made any effort, save to render you as unfortunate as themselves.

Children. I wish to afford you a more complete proof of my goodness.

The ill conduct of your brethren, the Mohawks, affects me; they are of the same blood as you, and I always regard them as my children; they have dwindled down to a small number, and 'tis certain that there will not, in a short time, be a solitary one of them remaining on the face of the earth, if they continue with the English. Go, tell them that we have buried, in the pit, all the bad business, so as not to talk of it any more; assure them that I am a good father; that I have arms open to receive them on the lands they will be willing to occupy, and that if they will return to me in good faith, and coöperate with me in the good work, they shall experience my kindness. I exhort you, even to oblige them, absolutely to abandon the English; you are not ignorant that they have already debauched your young men; this might happen again, and from children you would become your Father's enemies.

Children. I give you this Belt to confirm all I have just said to you; open, then, your eyes; defer no longer to follow the good advice of a Father who loves you tenderly. My father had your interests ever at heart; 'tis his son who addresses you. I have traversed the ocean to come to the aid of my children who have gone astray, and to gather them under my wings.

I give you warning, that should we ever quarrel, 'twill not be I who shall commence. But at the same time, be careful that your young people do not commit any bad acts. 'Twill be a pity to see our blood shed on both sides.

Children. By this same Belt I wish to provide against all the difficulties that might arise between us. For that purpose you must promise me, sincerely, to inform me, exactly, of the movements of the English, either in your neighborhood or elsewhere, as soon as you will learn them. 'Tis your interest as well as mine.

I notify you, also, that I will hit the English wherever they be, and I require of you, that in case my warriors and Indian children are obliged to pass through your villages, that you aid them every way in your power, to accomplish my intentions.

And said *Sieur Perthuis*, Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And, at the same instant, the Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis and of the Lake of the Two Mountains, the *Nepissingues* and *Algonkins* of said Lake of the Two Mountains, the *Outaouacs* of Detroit, and the *Pouteouatamis* of *Michillimakinac* have spoken to the said Deputies of the Eight Nations, as the same has been explained by the Interpreters named above, and in like manner by the said *Sieur Perthuis*, Interpreter to the said Deputies of the Eight Nations, as follows :

By a Belt.

Brethren. We are much rejoiced to see you working at good affairs. You have done well to recollect our Father, the late *Mr. de Vaudreuil's* words to your ancients. Remember how wise he was; it depends on yourselves alone to revive his words by listening to the address of our Father who is *Mr. de Vaudreuil's* son. No nation will forget the love he bore his children. Brethren, you perceive he is not less benevolent than his Father; therefore, follow his advice. We say this to you for your own advantage.

We are ever ready to sacrifice ourselves in our Father's defence; we constitute only the smallest portion of his children; he has a great many more whom you know in the Upper countries, whose numbers increase daily by a vast many Nations whom you do not know.

You have observed with what kindness our Father has spoken to us; engrave, then, his last speech in your memory and in your hearts; imitate us; labor at good business.

Lose no time in withdrawing the *Mohawks* from the English; let them remember the bloody battle fought last year on Lake Saint Sacrament; the manner in which they and we were treated, ought to induce you to make every effort to induce them to abandon the English. Warn them that if they persist in their obstinacy, they will no longer be able to be restored to favor, because not a single one of them will escape us. You are right in thinking that blood will be spilled next spring. Let them take care not to be in our path. We, Iroquois and all our Father's children, will be united together and serve him as ramparts.

The *Nepissings* and *Algonkins*.

By a Belt.

Brethren. There are no orators in our village; nevertheless, I address you in the name of the *Nepissings* and *Algonkins*.

We are the first who have inhabited this land; we saw a White—he was a Frenchman; we ran to him; he caressed us, and we have adopted him as a Father. You, the Five Nations, came afterwards; the French welcomed you also, and you declared yourselves their children.

As your seniors, we are obliged to exhort you to follow the advice and will of our Father; do not depart from it, for we shall hit all those who will not follow his good counsels.

His other children will be of the same sentiments as we, and we will perish before the least evil overtake him.



Brethren. Believe what we say ; take pity on your wives and children if you can feel none for yourselves ; on the least word from our Father, we shall sacrifice our lives.

This Nepissing chanted the war song and said : Father, I hate the English ; I wish to strike them.

Brethren. I have another word to say to you from my nephews, the Outaouacs here present ; they are young ; they have engaged me to address you.

Take care that none of your people be in the neighborhood of the Point, and do not think of ever going to scout in any direction for the English. You might meet us, and we should kill each other.

#### The Outaouacs and Poutéouatamis.

Have each by a Belt expressed the same words as the Iroquois and the Nepissings ; they, too, have chanted the war song, saying : Father, we are famished ; give us fresh meat ; we wish to eat the English ; dispatch us quickly.

And said Sieurs Lacorne St. Luc, Lecavelier, St. Jean and Perthuis, Interpreters, have signed with us.

Done on the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And at the same moment the Deputies of the Eight Nations already have answered the speech of the Iroquois, Nepissings, Algonkins, Outaouacs and Poutéouatamis, as explained by said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, and also by Sieur de Saint Luc, Lecavelier and Saint Jean, Interpreters to the Iroquois, Nepissings, Algonkins, Outaouacs and Poutéouatamis, as follows :

#### By a Belt for each Nation.

Brethren. You have been witnesses of our address to our Father ; you have been also present when we answered the speech he delivered by his last Belt ; you consequently know our sentiments.

By the Belts we present you, we assure you that our sentiments will ever be the same, and that we appreciate truly the good advice you give us.

You Outaouacs, you say that you are young, yet you look far ahead ; we thank you for your advice ; we shall attend to it, but remember what you recommend to us, and conform thereunto yourselves.

And the said Sieurs Perthuis, de La Corne St Luc, Lecavelier and Saint Jean, Interpreters, have signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And on the three and twentieth of the said month of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at three o'clock in the forenoon, We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied as already stated ; the Deputies of the before named Eight Nations, assisted by the said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, being in the said Council Chamber, Koués, an Oneida chief, arose and, according to the explanation of Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, said to us :

Father. We have listened attentively to your answers to our address ; we are very grateful for it and thank you.

We are also much obliged for the talk you have made us by your last Belt ; we have not lost a single word of it ; we are ready to repeat to you all that you said to us ; 'tis the very truth, and we have nothing to reply thereto. We assure you that we will always conform ourselves to your good advice and counsels.

We shall not permit the English to forestall the territory we inhabit ; we shall not afford him any assistance and will always hold ourselves ready to defend ourselves against him. 'Twill not be very hard for us to stop him because he does not know how to travel in the woods.

We shall not lose any time in communicating to the Mohawk that you are willing to pardon him. We shall show him your Belt and will add a word from ourselves to it in order to give him sense and to invite him to withdraw from the English. We shall even do our best to oblige him to work at good business.

Father. We conclude by telling you that we grow young on experiencing, at your hands, the same kindness and the same heart as your late Father, Mr. de Vaudreuil, evinced towards us. We shall occupy ourselves henceforth only with good business and shall never depart from your will.

And said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And at the same moment Kouée, an Oneida chief, rose up and, according to the explanation of Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, said to us :

By a Belt.

Father. We have listened attentively to your answer to our address ; all that you have said by your last Belt has made great impression on us ; we have no reply to offer to the reproaches you have made us ; every word you said to us is true ; our heart is penetrated and we thank you therefor. By this Belt we assure you that we shall never have any will but yours, and that we will always work at good business.

In delivering up the two English medals :

Father. We cannot retain two medals which we have formerly had the folly to accept from our brethren, the English, as a mark of distinction.

We acknowledge that these medals have been the true cause of our error and that they have plunged us into bad business.

We strip ourselves of them ; we cast them from us, in order not to think any more of the English.

By a Belt.

Father. We inform you of a message given us by a Nation which is neither French nor English, nor Indian, and inhabits the lands round about us. Some of those people were at Chouaguen when it was razed by your warriors.

We tell you by this Belt that that Nation has informed us that it would no longer support the continual vexations of the English, who not only ravage their lands and destroy their animals, but also incessantly maltreat themselves.

That Nation has proposed to annex us to itself in order to afford each other mutual help and defence against the English. We have not given our answer.



As we have not any other will than yours, we request you, Father, to tell us what you think is proper for us to do.

And the said *Sieur Perthuis*, the Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And on the twenty-fourth of the said month of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, We, the Governor General aforesaid, accompanied as already stated; the Deputies of the Eight beforenamed Nations, assisted by *Sieur Perthuis*, the Interpreter, being in the said Council Chamber, have caused said *Sieur Perthuis*, Interpreter, to explain to the *Oneidas* our answer to their speech as follows:

By a Belt.

Children. I am delighted that my answer to your address, and what I have said by my last Belt have made an impression on you. I have spoken to you as a good father, and told you nothing but what was true.

My domiciliated children, and those of the Upper countries, must have fortified you in your good sentiments by their talk. I wish you to imitate them, and let your Brethren, the *Mohawks*, profit by the pardon I have granted them.

By this Belt I repeat to you, that so long as you will work, in earnest, at good business, I shall take care of you and render you happy.

Children. I perceive, with pleasure, that you admit, yourselves, that the English have plunged you into all sorts of bad business that the torrent has brought along.

You strip yourselves of the medal; you could not retain it and work at good business.

I doubt not but those among you who may possess marks of distinction from the English will follow your example and cast them away. I shall thereby know that they are really willing to work at good affairs.

I am greatly disposed to reward those of my children of the Eight Nations who will signalize their zeal for good business.

By a Belt.

Children. You have afforded me pleasure in communicating to me the message sent you by a Nation which is neither French, nor English, nor Indians, whose settlements are round about you. I think I know that Nation. There is reason to believe that they are *Palatines*, a branch of a Nation belonging to the other side of the Great Lake, at present in alliance with the great *Onontio*.

I am not surprised that they could not accustom themselves to the harsh government of the English, and that they are grievously ill treated by it.

I have no doubt even that there are many malcontents in New England who would desire a favorable occasion of coming over to the French.

The proposal which that Nation made you, to unite with, and to afford, you mutual aid to defend you against the English, ought to teach you that 'tis time for you to declare against them and drive him from the territory inhabited by you and that Nation.

If the message of that Nation be sincere, I consent that you sustain it, and as soon as it will join you, Children, I shall protect it the same as you, and guard it against all insults; if it will retire close to me, I shall receive it and furnish it with lands.

But notify that Nation that in case it has given you this message with a view only to guarantee its settlements and itself against the incursions of my warriors and children, its trick will avail it nothing; for whensoever I shall think proper, I will dispatch my warriors to Corlac and wherever else any English will be found.

And said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, has signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And on the twenty-ninth of the said month of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at eight o'clock in the forenoon, We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied as already stated; the said Deputies of the beforenamed Eight Nations, assisted by said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, being in the said Council Chamber, Chinoniata, chief of the Onondagas, rose up and, according to the explanation of said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, said to us:

By a Belt.

Father. We have agreed not to keep anything secret. We yet have this word to speak to you.

We wish not to have any other will than yours, nor to form but one mind and one heart with you.

You have leveled the path from our villages to you; we do not wish it to present the least obstruction, and in order that the road which our children, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, etc., have been accustomed to travel, may be always open, we have resolved to burn the forts the English have erected in our villages, should they be not thrown down before our arrival.

We shall repeat to you that we will not permit the English to come among us, and that we will always be faithful to our Father, Mr. de Vaudreuil.

Father. Catarakouy will be the place to which we shall repair to communicate to you whatever bad news we shall learn.

We are well disposed to assist, by all means in our power, your warriors and children of the Nations, whenever they will pass through the country we inhabit on their way to strike the English.

By some Strings of Wampum.

Father. We pray you by these Strings of Wampum to be so good as to give us our son, Mr. de Noyan, as Commander of Fort Frontenac. He loves us; we, therefore, prefer applying to him rather than to any other, to supply our wants. We shall also be glad to address him whenever we shall have anything of interest to communicate to you.

And said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied as before stated, immediately caused Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, to explain to the Deputies of the Eight beforenamed Nations our answer to their address this day, as follows:

By a Belt.

Children. I am delighted that you observe the promise you have given me, not to keep anything secret; and assure me that you would have no other will than mine, and form but one mind and one heart with me.



Your resolution to burn the posts erected by the English in your villages affords me pleasure. I recommend you to put it in execution as soon as you reach home, should these forts not be razed by the English. You admit, yourselves, that they would be an obstruction in the path our children, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Longueuil, Noyan, etc., have been in the habit of traveling to reach your villages.

Children. Adhere to your present resolution never to permit the English to come among you, and be always faithful to me.

You will do very well to go, according to the custom of your ancients, to Catarakoui to communicate to me whatever bad news you learn. Never forget your promise to me to aid in every way possible my warriors and my children of the Nations, whenever they will pass through the country you inhabit on their way to strike the English. 'Tis for your own interest.

By some Strings of Wampum.

The confidence you place in your child, Mr. de Noyan, affords me pleasure ; he loves you, and you could not have a better friend near me. By these Belts of Wampum, I assure you that the officer whom I shall send to command at Fort Frontenac, will be known and loved by you ; he will watch over your interests, and the friendship you will feel for him will induce you even to inform him exactly of every matter of interest which may come to your ears.

And said Sieur Perthuis hath signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And on the thirtieth of the said month of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, at three o'clock in the afternoon, We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied as before stated ; the said Deputies of the Eight beforenamed Nations, assisted by said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, being in the said Council Chamber, Koé, an Oneida chief, arose, and, according to the explanation of said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, said to us :

Father. 'Twas I, who am nobody, that you employed to convey your message to the Five Nations, to whom I have made three journeys to gain over to you your children, particularly the Oneidas. God, who rules all things, has accorded you complete success. To effect that, required nothing less than you, Father, who are generally known and beloved by all the Nations, out of respect for that great man, M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, your Father, who came to this country to rescue the Five Nations from their error.

Father. You see the Five Nations disposed to do whatever you please. I speak not for myself ; the Nations approve with all their hearts what I say to you on their behalf.

Father. Courage ; comfort the children who wish not to be separated from you, and to form but one with you so long as they live ; they are in hopes of eventually professing the same religion.

By a Belt.

Father: Devourer of villages. We have learned that you leave to-morrow for Quebec. We wish you a safe and prosperous voyage.

Six Oneidas of us are here, who wish to tell you our sentiments.

We are penetrated by the goodness with which you have received us ; your words make all the impression you can desire ; we shall never depart from them.

All our brethren who, like us, have heard your words, cease not to say that you have told truth ; have asserted nothing which cannot be proved. None of the Five Nations could make any reply to it, and all of one common accord say, that there is nothing better for them to do than to labor, like us, at good business. Such, Father, are the promises which we have jointly made.

Father. The Oneidas speak to you, and by this Belt assure you that they seriously and inviolably adhere to their Father, Mr. de Vaudreuil, and renounce the English from this day forward.

We do not utter vain words ; we beg you to accept the proof we offer of our sincerity. For this purpose, we leave seventeen of our people to pass the winter with you ; six of these are warriors, and will do their utmost whenever the opportunity occurs, to show you what they can do, and hope that the conduct which they will observe will render them distinguished among the number of your most attached children.

And said Sieur Perthuis, the Interpreter, has signed with us.

Done the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.

And thereupon We, the Governor-General aforesaid, accompanied as above mentioned, have caused said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, to explain to the Deputies of the beforenamed Eight Nations our answer to their speech this day, as follows :

Son. I repeat the satisfaction I entertain for your zeal and the proofs you have afforded me of your attachment. I thank the Master of Life for having been pleased to crown with success my efforts to bring closer to me my children of the Five Nations, who, up to this time, have been intractable. This success affords me the more joy, inasmuch as I am fully persuaded that the recollection they possess of my late Father's kindnesses, has not a little contributed to that event. I am confident the Five Nations sincerely desire to do my will, and that they will perform their promises.

I shall ever love my children, the Five Nations ; let them take courage themselves ; let them be inseparable from me, and, by their good conduct, render themselves worthy the happiness enjoyed by my Praying children. I shall spare no pains to procure for them the like advantage.

By a Belt.

Children. It affords me much pleasure to see you before I leave for Quebec. I am much obliged for the wishes you make for my safe voyage.

I am delighted to hear your last sentiments ; my words could not fail to make an impression on your minds. Be firm in your resolution to conform yourselves thereto. I am pleased to see that the Five Nations have no reply to make to my words ; I shall always speak the truth, and whilst the Five Nations will work, like you, at good business, they will be happy.

I am well assured of your sentiments ; you are, from this very moment, among the number of my most faithful children. By this Belt I exhort you to persevere and to totally forget the English.

You leave seventeen of your people here ; I shall take care of them and profit by the good disposition of your warriors. I know them to be brave, and am well assured that they will distinguish themselves on the first opportunity.

And the said Sieur Perthuis, Interpreter, hath signed with us.

Done on the day and year aforesaid. Thus signed in the original.



We, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commander of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King throughout all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana,

Do certify that this present copy agrees with the original remaining in our Secretary's office.

In testimony whereof have We signed these presents, caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereunto and our Secretary to countersign the same.

Done at Montreal, the fifteenth of February, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

By my Lord:

(Signed), SAINT SAUVEUR.



*Abstract of Despatches received from Canada.*

Besides the letters M. de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, has written respecting the Choueguen expedition, he has sent, by the same opportunity, an account of what transpired on the other frontiers of the Colony, since reporting particulars in the beginning of June.

Nothing very interesting occurred in the direction of Fort Duquesne. Sieur Dumas, who is in command there, has contrived to send out detachments of soldiers, Canadians and Indians to the frontiers of the English Colonies, both to harass them and to obtain information of any movements against him. All these detachments have been successful, notwithstanding they found the English frontiers pretty bare. According to their reports, the English do not appear disposed to make any attempt this year against Fort Duquesne. Their preparations had no other object than to protect their frontiers and their farm work. Several months even had passed at the close of June, without a wagon or bateau having arrived at Fort Cumberland, whose garrison had been greatly diminished by sickness, and was complaining that it had not been paid; and Sieur Dumas had remarked to M. de Vaudreuil that the place would probably be abandoned. That officer, however, kept always on his guard, and was preparing to proceed against the enemy on the supposition that the latter might march against him; Sieur de Vaudreuil observes that Sieur Dumas will, in that case, be in a condition to offer an effectual resistance, the more especially as, in consequence of the destruction of Chouaguen, a detachment of Indians can be sent towards the Beautiful river who, otherwise must have been reserved for the defence of Forts Frontenac and Niagara.

M. de Vaudreuil was equally easy as regards the River St. John. Sieur Boishébert, commanding at that quarter, continued to maintain himself, and even to send out detachments to harass the English towards Acadia; he was well seconded by the Indians of those parts.

Despite the precautions unceasingly taken by the English to prevent the ancient French inhabitants of Acadia retiring to French territory, some families always escaped whom Sieur Boishébert sent to the most convenient places, agreeably to the orders he had received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. His Majesty has been informed that the English government had, at the commencement of last winter, caused a somewhat considerable number of those ancient families to be seized, in order to be expatriated and distributed throughout the interior of Carolina. That cruel treatment has been very badly received even in that Colony, where the

people have been much affected by the desolation of those wretched families, and have sent back several of them who have returned to the River St. John. Facilities have likewise been afforded for the embarkation of some others for the Windward Islands, whence they were to proceed to Canada. For the rest, all these migrations of the ancient French of Acadia occasion very considerable expense; but independent of motives of charity, which do not admit of their being abandoned in the poverty to which they are reduced solely in consequence of attachment to his Majesty's domination, 'tis of the greatest importance to preserve them for the purpose of strengthening the frontiers of Canada, Ile Royale, and the Island of St. John where they are settled. 'Twill be also in our power to employ them usefully, should circumstances permit anything to be undertaken against Acadia.

M. de Vaudreuil, then, was occupied since the success of the Chouaguen expedition, exclusively with the defence of Fort St. Frederic on Lake Champlain. The English seemed to be concentrating all their forces for an attack on that place. According to intelligence received in Canada, and which agrees with the news from England, Lord Loudon had, early in August, repaired to Orange to concert, with the other officers, the execution of that attack. The English had sent forward divers corps of Regulars towards Lake St. Sacrament; had caused different routes, both by land and water, to be reconnoitred; had even established various entrepôts and some forts, and everything was announcing, on their side, an early advance, with a considerable force. M. de Vaudreuil, on his side, was in a condition to direct against them the principal strength of the Colony, which embraced an army of three thousand men, including Regulars and Colonial troops, under the command of Chevalier de Levis, and Canadians and Indians, who were reinforced since the Choueguen expedition; so that there ought to be, in the fore part of September, more than six thousand men, whereof the six battalions of Regulars formed a part. Fort St. Frederic, and Fort Carillon which has been erected four leagues in advance towards Lake St. Sacrament, were both well provided. Flying camps were around the outlets of the latter lake. Messrs. de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm had agreed on all the arrangements which seemed to them the most suitable, not only to oppose a good defence to the enemy, but even for marching against them, according to circumstances. The Marquis de Montcalm left Montreal on the 4<sup>th</sup> of September to assume the command in that quarter. He has remarked, and M. de Vaudreuil has made the same observation, that if Lord Loudon did not make his appearance before the 20<sup>th</sup> of that month, he will probably be obliged to postpone his operations to the ensuing spring, which will afford time to adopt new precautions in the Colony.

The Intendant of that Colony transmits the detail of what has been found in the forts at Choueguen and on board the shipping which were taken in the course of the expedition, and observes, at the same time, that there was considerable pillage which was thrown on the shoulders of the Indians, although 'tis certain that they have had the smallest part of it.

This detail is included in the inventory of the artillery, arms and munitions of war and in that of the provisions. These two returns are annexed.

The Intendant remarks, among other proofs of pillage, that only seven hundred and thirty muskets are forthcoming, although, exclusive of the arms of the garrison, there ought to be a supply in reserve.

But it is particularly in the matter of provisions that great disorder prevailed. He was in hopes, however, that those placed in the store would be sufficient for victualling Forts Niagara and Frontenac during the winter.



He remarks that the stores of the Colony have been exhausted by that expedition and the immense consumptions attendant on the marching of the troops in the direction of Lake Champlain, and transmits estimates of merchandise of all sorts, such as cloth, linen, blankets, pots, &c., which it will be indispensable to forward in the spring to Quebec.

He requires, among other things, five hundred soldiers' tents for the Canadians and sixty tents for the Colonial officers. He had made a similar requisition last year and no attention was paid to it, because it had never been the practice to supply detachments in Canada with furniture of that description. But he represents that they are necessary in the present war; that neither the Canadians nor even the Colonial officers demand any for the ordinary forays in the forests, but when they encamp, as they have done this year, for seven months consecutively, they cannot be exposed to the rain, and that the want of tents has, in fact, occasioned considerable sickness among them.

The Intendant states, at the same time, that exclusive of the supplies to be sent from France, the expenses in the Colony will be immense, so long as it will be necessary to make as considerable armaments as those which circumstances have demanded up to the present time. He announces that the drafts to be drawn this year will amount to seven millions at least.

Therefore, it is to be expected that the payments from the Colonial chest next year, will considerably exceed the estimates in the Memoir presented on the condition of that chest; for, on the one hand, the drafts to arrive from the Colonies were estimated in it only at six millions, and on the other hand there will be an increase in the article of shipments to Canada.

Carried to the King, 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1757.

Inventory of the different pieces of artillery and of the warlike stores found on the capture of the forts of Chouaguen and on board of the various vessels, after the pillage thereof by the Indians, viz':

In Fort Ontario.

		Lbs.
2 iron guns	of .....	4
6 ditto	of .....	2
5 royal grenade mortars,	two of which are mounted.	
150 shot.		
40 grape-shot,	} fished up from the wells in the fort.	
50 grenades,		

At Fort Choueguen.

1 brass cannon	of .....	19
2 ditto	of .....	14
4 ditto	of .....	12
4 iron guns	of .....	9
7 ditto	of .....	6
1 ditto	of .....	5
2 ditto	of .....	3

1 brass mortar of .....	9 in. 5 lines.
1 iron ditto of .....	6 " 4 "
2 ditto of .....	4 "
3 ditto of .....	3 " 10 "
1 iron howitzer of .....	6 " 7 "
4 small ditto of .....	3 " 10 "
2 brass swivels, <i>à boîte</i> .	
1 brass cylinder for ditto.	
1 iron swivel.	
23 thousand weight of powder.	
8 thousand pounds of ball.	
2,800 shot, of different sizes.	
100 9 inch loaded shells.	
50 empty shells.	
300 6 inch loaded shells.	
1,426 loaded grenades.	
12 pairs of iron wheels for Marine carriages.	
730 English muskets.	
300 grape-shot.	

On board the brigantine *London*.

12 iron guns of .....	12
12 swivels.	
The gun furniture, in cordage.	

## On the Schooner.

2 guns of .....	4
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On the bateau *Ontario*.

6 guns of .....	6
2 small iron mortars.	
12 iron swivels.	

On the bateau *Vigilant*.

6 guns of .....	4
12 swivels.	

## On the Skiff.

8 swivels.



## Summary.

Brass guns of 19 lbs.,	1
" 14 "	2
" 12 "	4
	<hr/>
	Total,..... 7
Iron guns " 9 "	4
" 6 "	25
" 5 "	1
" 4 "	10
" 3 "	2
" 2 "	6
	<hr/>
	Total,..... 48
Mortars, brass, 9 in. 4 lines,	1
iron, 6 " 4 "	1
ditto, 3 " 4 "	12
Howitzers, iron, 6 " 7 "	1
ditto, 3 "	4
Swivels, brass,	2
iron,	45
23 thousand weight of powder.	
8 thousand weight of ball.	
2,950 shot, of different sizes.	
150 9-inch shell.	
300 6-inch shell.	
1,476 grenades.	
730 English muskets.	
340 grape-shot.	
12 pairs of iron wheels for marine carriages.	

I, the undersigned, acting clerk attached to the artillery, do certify that I took charge of the above stores agreeably to the Inventory thereof, which I prepared in presence of Chevalier Le Mercier, Commandant of artillery. This day, 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1756.

(Signed), Pre GAMELIN.

We, Captain of bombardiers, Commandant of the artillery in Canada, do certify that the preceding Inventory is conformable to the munitions found in the forts of Choueguen, Ontario and in the vessels when Sieur Gamelin took charge thereof. This day, at the camp of Chouëguen, this 17<sup>th</sup> August, 1756.

(Signed), Ch<sup>er</sup> LE MERCIER.

Return, in gross, of the provisions found in the three forts of Choueguen, on Lake Ontario, captured from the English by the army commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, *Maréchal des camps et armées* of the King, on the 14<sup>th</sup> August, 1756, viz':

352 casks of biscuit.  
1,386 tierces of pork or salt beef.  
712 barrels of flour.  
200 bags of ditto.  
11 barrels of rice.  
90 bags of peas.  
7 barrels of salt.  
A garret full of peas.  
A garret full of spoiled flour.  
32 live oxen.  
15 live hogs.

Done at Chouëguen, the 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1756.

(Signed), LANDRIÈVE.

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*Ministerial Minute on the Military Force in Canada, 1757.*

The annexed return of the troops actually in Canada and of the recruits which it is resolved to send thither, shows that there are 4,820 Regulars, exclusive of the officers of the different corps composing them, and that if the reinforcements destined to make up the augmentation demanded by M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, arrive there without accident, these troops will amount to 6,600 men.

However considerable these forces may be relative to those maintained heretofore in that Colony, where there were up to 1750 only 800 Regulars, it would be desirable that additional reinforcements be sent thither. Nothing in fact is more important than to preserve the superiority we have derived from the success of the two last campaigns, since the issue of the present war must principally depend on it, and 'tis, at the same time, certain that the enemy are about to direct their most powerful efforts to that part of America. Public intelligence even leaves no doubt as to the views they entertain on that point.

Various considerations have prevented the proposal being submitted to his Majesty to forward more considerable reinforcements than those demanded by the Governor-General, and to proportion them to those sent by the enemy to the English Colonies on the same Continent.

It was first thought, and such appeared to be his Majesty's impression, that the greatest advantage that could be expected this year, was from a sound defensive policy; for, could the expeditions of the enemy be rendered useless, or at least prevented from being remarkably successful, it would be very difficult for him to make new efforts, and we on the contrary shall



be able, in that case, to send an expedition in the spring of 1758 against Acadia, the conquest of which would secure his Majesty's possessions in that part of America.

'Tis in relation to that defensive policy that it was thought not sufficient to send troops to Canada, whilst we were uncertain of the real designs of the enemy, who could form several in order to recover the superiority, and to place himself in a condition to dictate the law to us.

It might be his intention to attack Louisbourg or Quebec; perhaps even both these places; for, 1<sup>st</sup> 'tis but natural that he should think of Louisbourg, which may be regarded as an equivalent and an exchange for Port Mahon; 2<sup>nd</sup> The port of Halifax on the coast of Acadia may serve for an entrepôt and afford great facilities for such an expedition; 3<sup>rd</sup> The train of artillery which, according to the public papers 'tis proposed to embark, can only be designed for some considerable siege, and there cannot be any such unless Louisbourg or Quebec be attacked. In fine, the season selected for the departure of the fleet renders it probable that the troops preparing in England are destined to operate in that quarter. Were they to be joined to the troops under General Loudon's orders for operations by land, they would naturally have been embarked as early as January or even December, to afford them time to recruit and to enter on the campaign as early as April; whilst if they are to be employed against Louisbourg or Quebec, they will, by sailing in March, arrive at Halifax which will probably be their rendezvous in sufficient season to act on sea in the month of May, when navigation begins to be practicable in those roadsteads. Now, in this supposition, if General Loudon is not to receive this reinforcement for the purpose of land operations, M. de Vaudreuil would have a force he has considered sufficient, relative to the enemy's situation.

Supposing that the English do, in fact, design the troops they are about to dispatch, to form a junction with those of General Loudon, and all their forces to be employed on the frontiers, as in the two last campaigns, 'tis probable that in such case they will have a new plan of operations.

In 1755 they attacked Canada at four points, on the frontiers of Acadia, Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario and the River Oyo.

In Acadia they succeeded in capturing Fort Beauséjour.

General Braddock's defeat, by bringing with it the failure of their expedition on the River Oyo, prevented the execution of their projects against Forts Niagara and Frontenac, on Lake Ontario.

And the same event likewise contributed to arrest Colonel Johnson's expedition against Fort St. Frederic on Lake Champlain, notwithstanding the check which M. Dieskaw received.

In 1756, the enemy threatened Canada in the direction of Lakes Ontario and Champlain only. The capture of their post at Choueguen incapacitated them from undertaking anything thereabout, and the force which M. de Vaudreuil was able to concentrate on Lake Champlain has arrested General Loudon, who was repairing with his army to that frontier.

The enemy will, in the next campaign, probably again direct all their efforts against that quarter. The loss of Choueguen renders it very difficult for them to attack our forts at Niagara and Frontenac, on account of the distance of their other posts. That loss also contributes considerably to the defence of our Fort Duquesne, on the River Oyo, because the forces we were obliged to divide between that river and the lakes, can in future be, for the most part, concentrated at Fort Duquesne. All these circumstances must induce the enemy to direct operations against Fort St. Frederic; the rather, as when master of Lake Champlain, in consequence of the capture of that fort, they would be at liberty to attack Montreal, and the

communication of the Colony being thus intercepted, our posts on the lakes, on the River Oyio and throughout what's called the Upper countries, would fall of themselves, leaving out of consideration the risks which the lower part of the Colony likewise would run.

But on this second supposition, also, M. de Vaudreuil will be in a position to reunite, so to say, all the forces of Canada for the defence of whatever frontiers General Loudon will like to attack.

However that be, this uncertainty as to the enemy's designs, has been the first consideration that has determined the limitation of the reinforcements to be sent to Canada to those demanded by the Governor-General.

The second, is the difficulty of transportation.— 'Tis not without difficulty that arrangements have been made in five different posts for the conveyance of the 2,000 men to be sent out. Had more been resolved on, especially entire regiments, it would hardly be possible to avoid fitting out some of the men-of-war, which 'twould be difficult to reconcile with the other armaments that have appeared indispensable.

The third, is the item of expense. The passage of the 2,000 men will alone cost about 600 m<sup>l</sup>. The regular augmentations for the troops of the Colony and the infantry battalions will form an item in the expenses of maintenance, i. e., in pay and garrison stores, exceeding 260,000<sup>l</sup>. Moreover, the extraordinaries of war in that country are immense. The officers and soldiers are supplied with an outfit and their subsistence in the field, without any deduction in their pay. The expenses of the Colony, which, in ordinary times, amount only to 1 million or 1,200 m<sup>l</sup> at most, have, since all these movements, exceeded 6, 7 and 8 millions. The only expenses incurred in 1756, for the six battalions of infantry, are stated to be about 1,600 m<sup>l</sup> and, in consequence of this excess of extraordinary expenses, the Colonial chest is found at the end of the year to be in debt about 14 millions, nearly 7 millions of which are in bills of exchange, payable in 1757.

And the last consideration, is the difficulty of subsistence. The last wheat harvest in Canada has not been near as abundant as had been expected. By the last ships from that country, we learn that they were not without apprehensions there as regards the subsistence of the inhabitants and troops. The Governor-General and Intendant had even been obliged to adopt precautions in the matter, and have demanded considerable quantities of flour in France, which have been ordered to be forwarded, and 'twould be necessary to increase them proportionably, had larger reinforcements than those demanded been sent forward.

'Tis on these several considerations, whilst confining ourselves to the forwarding of the increase of troops which M. de Vaudreuil demands for the purpose of opposing the attempts of the enemy on land, that attention has been directed to arrangements which have appeared adapted to insure the miscarriage of the projects that the English might attempt to execute on the sea-board against Louisbourg or Quebec. And his Majesty has ordered the execution of these arrangements, which will serve, besides, for the defence of Canada, in case the enemy should, with the view of creating a division in the forces of that Colony, make any demonstrations on the sea-board, without designing to make a false attack against Louisbourg or Quebec.

But 'tis not, however, that it were not desirable, as already observed, that Canada should possess a number of troops sufficient to secure superiority to us, even without taxing the Canadians too much, the employment of whom, in the movements of the war, inflicts serious injury on the agriculture of the country. 'Tis even certain that the more troops we shall have



there, the more will we be able to rely on the Indians. But the difficulties and embarrassments have just been submitted, which have prevented anything being done beyond what has been resolved.

Should his Majesty think proper to add some new regiments thereto, the expense will increase in the ratio of the number of men composing them, and the allowance made for the officers and soldiers.

But 'twould, in all cases, be very difficult to dispatch them with the necessary provisions for the voyage and subsistence in the Colony, in sufficient season to allow them to take the ordinary course, and it would be necessary to wait for the season Na. 40 to 60 days will be required. suitable to passing through the straits of Belle-île, by dispatching them only in the month of May.

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*Duke de Belleisle to M. de Moras.*

I have two correspondents in England, one of whom is most thoroughly informed. Both of them confirm the resolution adopted by the new Ministry to put forth their main efforts in America. Mr. Pitt wishes, at any price, to regain the superiority there and to gratify the English faction interested in the American trade, which is to-day the most powerful, both in the city of London and the House of Commons. Consequently, there is to be dispatched thither, exclusive of the two regiments of Scotch Highlanders, each 1,800 men strong, nine regiments of infantry, the list whereof has been sent me, viz': Five from the Irish establishment, not counting the three regiments which sailed two months ago for New England. All these will form a body of more than 8 @ 10,000 Regulars. A large park of artillery is also sent forward at the same time, and every description of arms and munitions of war. Mr. Pitt has declared that if this considerable reinforcement be not sufficient, he will double and triple it.

Under these circumstances, I think that, as America is the principal and true cause of the war, our attention ought to be directed to that quarter of the globe. It is the good or bad condition wherein we shall happen to be, that will sooner or later determine the English Minister to make peace, and to render it either ruinous or of advantage to us. We shall never conclude a solid one if we cannot have Acadia.

I am, for several months, insisting that we should forward to America, independent of the necessary recruits to complete our Colonial troops and French regiments, Sieur Fischer's corps of 4,000 men, which is so composed as to form six large battalions, or to be divided into brigades or even companies. It has a distinguished set of officers, almost all gentlemen, the majority of whom, as well as their soldiers, propose never to return to Europe; they would greatly strengthen now and hereafter, those parts of these Colonies for which those troops will be designed.

The Keeper of the Seals<sup>1</sup> has informed me that M. de Vaudreuil demanded of him only 15 or 1,800 recruits; with these, he considered America sufficiently protected; but I answer that M. de Vaudreuil cannot have any knowledge of Mr. Pitt's project nor of the resolution to send

<sup>1</sup> M. de Machault. — Ed.

thither such a large body of Regulars, a thing England has never done before. I think I cannot insist too strongly hereupon, so that we may not lose the opportunity of dispatching the 4,000 men to America. If it be neglected, 'twill be repented of perhaps too late, when a remedy no longer exists. I admit that the expense of transportation is excessively high, but I think 'twould be much better to have some vessels of the line less, and to secure ourselves in the preservation of our Colonies; and as we are approaching the time when those transports sail, and those troops have a great many days' march to make before they reach their places of embarkation, I represent to M. de Moras<sup>1</sup> that not a moment is to be lost in coming to a conclusion. That object has appeared to me so important for the King's service and so decisive for the good and success of the new administration confided to him, that I have considered it my duty to submit this Memoir to him, requesting him to be pleased to pay that attention to it which the matter in question merits.

(Signed), The Marshal Duke DE BELLEISLE.<sup>2</sup>

Versailles, the 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1757.

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*M. Coquart to the Minister.*

My Lord,

I take the liberty to send you copy of a Relation I have received from my brother, who has been eighteen years a Jesuit Missionary in Canada; although I am aware that your Grace is acquainted with everything that transpires there, I expect it will amuse you.

My Lord the Prince de Croy<sup>3</sup> is to see you in regard to Mr. Skelding, an Englishman, who has been taken on board a Dutchman of Rotterdam called *La Luert*, Captain William Ramsay, who is desirous of going, under my security, for a month to Holland, where he has business

<sup>1</sup> M. de Moras succeeded M. de Machault as Minister of the Colonies and Marine, 1st February, 1757. He had already been Comptroller-General and was quite inadequate to the duties of either office. *Lacratelle*.

<sup>2</sup> CHARLES LOUIS AUGUSTE FOUQUET, Marshal Duke de Belle-isle, was born at Villafranca, 22d September, 1684. He was appointed Colonel of Dragoons very early; was wounded at the siege of Lille, in 1708, when he was promoted to be Brigadier. In 1719, he served as Major-General in Spain, and after his return to France, was disgraced and sent to the Bastille, which he left, only to be exiled to his country seat. In 1782, he became Lieutenant-General, and distinguished himself in the campaign of 1784. At the peace of 1786, he was appointed Governor of Metz, and, at the breaking out of the war of 1741, had arrived at the grade of Marshal, and was sent to command in Germany, and after the fall of Prague, went Ambassador Extraordinary to Frankfort, where Charles VII. was elected Emperor. He next served in Bohemia, and afterwards executed the successful retreat from Prague, which is recorded as equivalent to a victory. Subsequently, he was arrested at a Hanoverian port and sent prisoner to England, where he was detained a year. He was created a Duke in 1748, admitted to the Academy in 1756, and in March, 1758, appointed Minister of War. Many useful reforms were introduced during his administration. Worn out by labor and age, he died 26th January, 1761, in his 77th year. As a General, Minister and father, his memory has secured glory, esteem and respect, though, like all great men, he has his calumniators. *Biographie Universelle*. Lacratelle calls him the most obstinate partisan of this war, which was so fatal to France. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> EMMANUEL, Prince de Croy Sobre, was born on the 23d June, 1718, and was created Marshal of France 13th June, 1782. The restoration of the port of Dunkirk is due to his energy. He died in 1787. He published: I. *Memoire sur le passage par le Nord, qui contient aussi des réflexions sur les glaces*. Paris, 1782, 4to.; II. *Maisons des Pays-Bas*. Paris, 1785, 4to., *Biographie Universelle*.



of the utmost importance. I hope your Grace will be pleased to grant him permission, and to fix the amount of security for him.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect,  
My Lord,

Your most humble and

March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1757. Most obedient Servant,

COQUART,  
Mayor and Lieut.-Gen. of Police.

*Reverend Claude Godfroy Cocquard to his Brother.*

My Dear Brother,

I communicated to you last fall the news from this country much abridged. I could have enlarged more on the victory we gained on the Ohio over General Bradok's army, but suffice it for you to know, that with his life he has lost more than 1,800 men and an immense booty with scarcely any loss on our side, except the Commander of our detachment, named M. de Beaujeu, an officer generally regretted.

General Jonckson's army on Lake St. Sacrament, which is called by our enemies Georges as well as the fort they have built near that we call Carillon, and which serves to defend Fort St. Frederic, otherwise called La Pointe à la Chevelure, amounting last fall to 4,500, is now reduced to 3,000 by desertion and the shock it received in the affair in which Baron de Dieskaw was wounded and taken prisoner. We lost on that occasion a brave officer, M. de St. Pierre, and had his advice as well as that of several other Canadian officers been followed, Jonckson was irretrievably destroyed, and we should have been spared the trouble we have had this year. If you were in a place where letters might reach you without risk and expense, I should send you my news in detail. Content yourself with what I am about to communicate of the occurrences since last fall.

You will learn, first, that our Indians have waged the most cruel war against the English; that they continued it throughout the spring and are still so exasperated as to be beyond control; Georgia, Carolina, Marrelande, Pensilvania, are wholly laid waste. The farmers have been forced to quit their abodes and to retire into the town. They have neither ploughed nor planted, and on their complaining of the circumstance to the Governor of Boston, he answered them, that people were ploughing and planting for them in Canada. The Indians do not make any prisoners; they kill all they meet, men, women and children. Every day they have some in their kettle, and after having abused the women and maidens, they slaughter or burn them.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> January, we received letters from M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, stating that the Indians in December had more than 500 English scalps, and he more that 200 prisoners; that he learns that a great part[y] is forming in New England, which he is awaiting without fear; that his fort is well fortified, and that 2,000 Indians in cabins around that fort, were a strong defence which the English would not readily approach. In the month of February, 50 Acadian families being embarked aboard of an English vessel to be transported to Virginia, revolted and repaired to M. de Boishébert, who commands in

Acadia, which the English call Nova Scotia; having removed whatever was best in the ship, they set it on fire. Sometime afterwards the Mikmak Indians, who are in Acadia, seized an English schooner, on her way from Boston, loaded with provisions and clothing for the garrison of Port Royal. In that vessel were found a quantity of papers, English gazettes, and among the rest a letter from Colonel Jonckson, wherein he states that General Bradok has been imprudent to go and attack the fort on the River Oyo; that he had lost 1,500 and 600 dead, and that he, Jonckson, was ordered to attack Fort St. Frederic with 4,500; that he had lost 900 men in the battle with the French in the month of October last; that the expenses of their campaign had amounted to more than 120 millions; that as for his part, he was resolved to ask for his discharge; that there were no means of fighting the Canadians; that the English were all panic-stricken which prevented them resisting, and in return for that expense, all they received was the unfortunate Baron de Dieskau, whom they would give for four *sous*. One of their gazettes says, they have taken an East India Company's ship, and two slavers with 400 negroes each.

Between the 15<sup>th</sup> of February and the end of April, all our Regulars, Militia and Indians had gone to Forts St. Frederic, Niagara and Frontenac, and as the English had built armed ships on Lake Ontario, between these two last forts, we did the like. Therefore, as I shall relate, Canada has seen, for the first time, a naval engagement on these lakes. In March, the Indians of the Five Nations who wished to observe neutrality, having gone to Philadelphia, the English proposed to them to take up the hatchet against the French. They answered, that they were neutral, and that if they raised the hatchet against the French, with whom all the Indians sided, they would all be soon destroyed. The Governor, dissatisfied with their answer, has ill treated them, who, on their return, fell on a small fort near that of Cumberland, killed the garrison, took 4 pieces of cannon, which they carried to Fort Duquesne.

26<sup>th</sup> of April. On being informed that the English had an entrepôt between Orange and Chouaguen, which is their strongest defence on Lake Ontario, our General detached M. de Lery, with 6 @ 700 men, to capture it. It was called Fort Bull. He was deceived by his Indian guides, who made him travel through the woods a greater distance than he ought; provisions became exhausted; they perceived the treachery, and having taken some Indians, belonging to the English, prisoners, induced them, on a promise of quarter, to conduct them to the fort and by the right road. He overtook ten wagons loaded with provisions, ten wagoners and one negro. This last man escaped and went to Colonel Jonckson, who, with 400 men, was within a day's journey of the place. M. de Lery, having left some people to guard the provisions and baggage, approached Fort Bull, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, where there was a redoubt, an oak palisade of 14 feet high and a garrison of 200 men. He rushed with his men against the gate, cut it and a palisaded bridge in pieces with hatchets, in spite of the continual fire of the English from grenades and muskets; killed 80 and took 70 prisoners, went to the store and flung into the lake 35 thousand weight of powder, the barrels of pork, flour, biscuit, which were innumerable; also, the shot, bullets and other ammunitions destined for Fort Chouaguen and for besieging our fort at Niagara; set fire to a magazine containing 10 thousand weight of powder, whither the rest of the garrison had retired, which was blown up with the building. A post, blown to the distance of two *arpents*, wounded one of our soldiers. All was over at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The report of the magazine was so loud as to be heard at Chouaguen, 30 leagues, and we lost only one Indian. M. de Lery



marched, on the same day, to attack the second magazine, called Fort Ouillame,<sup>1</sup> garrisoned by 200 men. He met Colonel Jonkson, with his 400 men, who quickly retreated into the fort, where it was deemed inadvisable to attack him, not having sufficient force to encounter a body of 600 within an intrenchment. I have learned these particulars from the second in command, who related them to me this spring at Quebec. The wife of the Commandant had remained in her room and had a very beautiful waist belt, with a rich buckle, which a soldier, on entering, wished to take from her. Supposing that he wanted to violate her person, she gave him a box. The soldier cut her throat with his bayonet.

On Easter Sunday there was a terrible squall at Quebec from the Northeast, which wrecked over 100 bateaux designed to convey our troops to the different camps. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of April was launched at Fort Frontenac, a schooner of 150 tons, 18 pieces of cannon and 30 swivels, to oppose the English Admiral of 24 guns, which was likewise built on Lake Ontario. Familiarize yourself with the names of our Indians. 40 Delawares cut off, in May, a large English detachment, not one of which was left alive. These same Delawares, on returning from their expedition, met 80 English who, on the approach of the Indians, had fortified themselves in a house, to which the latter set fire, and thus roasted all the English. The Flatheads and Cheraquis have laid waste Virginia and Carolina; the Illinois are ravaging Georgia; the Five Nations which are composed of the Indians generally known under the name of Iroquois, have remained neutral, except some who have made war in our favor. The English have taken one Delaware, a village chief, whom they have gouged. M. Dumas, Commandant of Fort du Quesne, has taken advantage of that act of cruelty, to represent to the Indians of that Nation what they might expect from our enemies. It has so infuriated them, that not a person falls into their hands who is not burnt. An Iroquois chief, attached to the English, has brought the medal he had received from them to our General and said to him: Henceforth be thou my Father; here's the medal of the English; I am going to work to deserve another from you.

The Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis being ashamed of having abandoned M. de Lery in the attack on Fort Bul, have been on a foray in the English territory, where they encountered a detachment, all the soldiers of which they have killed. They took prisoners only a Major and a Lieutenant, who were going to Lake George with three large packets, from which we have learned the designs of the English and their strength. We expect that they have about 9,000 men at Lake George. The English have erected two forts near the Oyo. Mr. Dumas sent thither Mess<sup>rs</sup> Corbière and Douville, who have burnt the two forts, and the English within them, and killed the remainder. Our killed amounted to 15 French and Indians, Sieur Douville included. The wife of the Commandant of one of the forts has been taken by the Indians, who had her tied to a stake in order to burn her. A soldier ransomed her with his share of the plunder, amounting to about 400<sup>li</sup>. This soldier writes to the General, that he has saved the most beautiful English woman ever seen; if he be returned his money, he will surrender her; otherwise he desires permission to marry her.

Our little fleet on Lake Ontario, in number about 5 vessels, having met the English fleet, amounting to 10, gave them battle. We have taken the English Admiral; afterwards put the others to flight, and obliged two to run ashore, with all sails set, near Fort Chouaguen. In the beginning of July, whilst M. de Villiers, a Canadian Captain, was lying in ambush, on the

<sup>1</sup> This fort seems to have been called after Colonel Joseph Williams; for an account of whom, see *Genealogy of the Williams Family*, 294-296. It is now Rome, Oneida county, New-York. — Ed.



River Chouaguen, with a detachment of 800 men, our Indians fired too soon; the convoy amounted to 1,500, whom we have defeated, 800 were killed; about 500 bateaux and the provisions were taken and burned. The fight lasted about six hours. Our Canadians and Indians were so animated that the most of them flung themselves into the river in order to pursue the enemy. We lost 10 men, among whom is Chevalier de Ganne, who has died of his wounds. On the Lake George side, a small party of Iroquois, headed by a Canadian, stopped 16 English horsemen and have killed 9, taken 7 prisoners, and have brought horses and plunder to Carillon; 50 English have captured two French bateaux with 12 men on board; they were loaded with hay and oats; 4 killed, 8 prisoners. This is the sole advantage gained over us by the English up to the beginning of August. A Canadian officer having been on the scout near Fort George, at the end of July, met two English bateaux with 35 men; 30 killed, 5 prisoners. Six Cadets, belonging to our Regulars, fell in, on the 2d August, with 15 English, killed 13; 2 prisoners.

5<sup>th</sup> August. *La Quesche*, of Dunkirk, has arrived with the packets from the Court, and the Declaration of War by the King of England. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of August news arrived at Quebec that our little army of 5 @ 6,000 men had arrived at Fort Frontenac, 30 leagues above Montreal, which is 60 from Quebec, and that preparations were completed to attack Chouaguen. This fort, the rampart of the English, was built about 35 years ago to the shame of the Canadians, who were obliged to pass under its guns in order to go to the Upper country posts; 'twas regarded as impregnable, and the English considered themselves so sure of that fortress that they were incessantly taunting us. Timid minds wished the attack to be postponed, but our General and the Intendant decided that everything must be risked. Therefore, the regiments of Bearn and Rousillon, which had arrived this year, and Guienne were commanded with 3,000 Canadians and Canadian troops. The execution [of the undertaking] was confided to the Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General (*Marechal de camp*), Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops in this country, who had under him Colonel de Bourlamarque and some Indians.

Chouaguen is built on the shore of Lake Ontario, having, on the northeast, the river called Chouaguen which serves it as a rampart. To the northeast of that river, the English had constructed a second fort which they called Fort Ontario. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of August our troops left Fort Frontenac in bateaux and sloops and after having sailed two nights, landed without any opposition on the part of the English, who dispatched at first three sloops to annoy us and to burn our bateaux, but four pieces of cannon that had been furnished to the van-guard obliged them to retire. They fired a great deal, but their guns not being of a sufficient calibre, did not carry as far as the land. All that country is wooded; 'twas necessary to cut a road to the place where the trench was to be opened. The enemy fired considerably from their fort without killing any one; our Indians continually harassed them and did not leave them time to breathe; an accident occurred, however, on the 11<sup>th</sup>. M. de Comble, Engineer-in-Chief, who had set out, at the break of day, to reconnoitre Fort Choueguen, was mistaken for an Englishman by one of our Indians, who knocked him down with a blow of his gun. Nothing equalled the desolation of this poor man and his tribe, and M. de Montcalm found it necessary to use considerable effort in order to pacify and retain them; for their grief was so great that they were desirous of returning to their village. The trench was opened on the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup>; the pioneers were assisted by the Canadians.



On the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> we had a battery in position to bear. The English opened from Fort Ontario a terrible fire of musketry, shell and shot, which did no harm because the great labor of the night afforded a cover. We had one commissary of stores killed by a cannon ball, and a grenadier received a slight wound in the head which did not prevent him continuing at his post. About three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, M. de Bourlamar received a ball which slightly wounded him in the head, but he did not abandon his post as Director of the siege. Shortly afterwards, the enemy's fire ceased; they were, 'twas thought, preparing to make a sortie, but information was received that they were crossing the river, abandoning tents and baggage and carrying with them only four mortars. Some Indians were sent out who reported the fort vacated. 15 Grenadiers of Guienne, and subsequently the entire company, scaled the fort and took possession of it. They were 350. A drunken Englishman was all that was found, and he was granted quarter. The English rendered us an essential service by abandoning this fort to us, which was very substantial and in a condition to resist us and to kill many men. In addition to the trench which was continued, a new work [was commenced.] 'Twas necessary to construct a road for the conveyance of the artillery to the abandoned fort; 450 men were employed on this service, and on the morning of the 14<sup>th</sup> a brisk cannonade was opened against Chouaguen which was also bombarded. On its side, it returned a very smart fire for some time. M. de Rigaud, our General's brother, who had by a ruse escaped last year from the prisons of England, placed himself at the head of 2,000 Canadians and Indians and crossed the river. They raised frightful yells, which the Indians call *Sataquois*. The English were so terribly panic-stricken that they hoisted the white flag. Firing ceased on both sides and a canoe was noticed making its appearance with some English officers on board, who came to propose a surrender provided a favorable capitulation was granted them; 1,800 belonging to the garrison, to be prisoners of war until exchanged. Six months' provisions for 4,000 men were found in the fort; 3 chests of gold and silver and 5 standards were taken; 121 pieces of artillery in the two forts, which have been razed. The English General is killed, and we have lost M. de Comble, one Canadian and a grenadier of Béarn, and 8 of our men, wounded. 3 sloops are captured, one of 24 guns, 10 small sloops of 25 tons, 200 bateaux and barges, and one vessel on the stocks, which the English carpenters are left to finish under a strong guard. When this advantage is taken in connection with the victory on the Oyo, 'tis the most remarkable affair that has happened since the founding of this Colony. Chouaguen fallen, or rather surrendered to the yells of the Canadians and Indians, recalls to my mind the fall of Jericho before the cries of the Israelites. The prisoners are to be sent to France.

The colors being arrived at Montreal, were loaned to the Indians, who made a sort of procession around the town, then went to the church, where, of themselves, they sung the *Te Deum* in their language, but left the colors at the door under a strong guard, saying they ought not be admitted into the church because they were not Christian; they meant to say that they were not Blessed.

All being arranged at Chouaguen, our regiments are to march direct to Fort St. Frederic and Carillon, where M. de Montcalm proceeded immediately to attempt an attack on Fort George. During his absence he left the command of this place to the Marquis de Levy, Brigadier. We expect news every day from that quarter, which is only 40 leagues from Montreal, and a good road.

4<sup>th</sup> October. It appears that neither we nor the English feel any desire to undertake anything this year in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament; nevertheless, our troops will not return into quarters before the 15<sup>th</sup> of November.

Since the capture of Chouaguen, one of our officers named M. Marin, utterly defeated, at the head of a hundred Indians, a small party of 52 English near Lake St. Sacrament, and M. de Villiers, an officer of New Orleans, seeking in Carolina, at the head of some Illinois Indians, whereby to signalize himself, has been to attack a fort; he collected some faggots which were in the neighborhood, and set the fort on fire. A party made a sortie to extinguish the flames, and has been killed. The remainder have been roasted or blown up with powder.

6<sup>th</sup> of October. We learn that on the Oyo a party of 300 English horsemen went to surprise or burn a Delaware village. The Indians ran to place their women and children in safety, whilst five Canadians, one of whom was a Cadet, were firing at and arresting the progress of the horsemen. The Indians having returned, took possession of the roads. The horsemen fled into the woods; 25 remained dead on the field, and 2 prisoners left the horses to the Indians, who went in pursuit of the others.

Letters from Louisbourg inform us that an officer of that canton, who was with some French and Indians in a small fort on Isle Royale, weary and tired of beholding English ships cruising at the mouth of their harbor, put four or five men in a little bateau. The wind was scant to go out; it was going broadside. The English detached 4 barges with 50 men, when the little vessel found herself pressed, she altered her tack and ran to a cape, according to orders. The barges pursued; when they were within a short gun-shot, the officer and his men fired and killed 30 of the enemy, wounded several, captured one barge and damaged two; the fourth, too happy at having escaped, took the two in tow, and returned to report its good luck to their people.

Robert Stobo and Vanban left eight days ago for Montreal, under an escort. I do not know what our General proposes to do with them. The English here say that if a Frenchman had played in their country the trick that Stobo has played here, he would have been hanged.

#### To the Air of —

##### I.

Celebrons tous du Grand Vaudrenil,  
 La sagesse et la gloire,  
 Toutte l'Angleterre est en Deuil,  
 Au bruit de sa victoire.  
 Chouaguen n'est plus . . . . nos soldats  
 L'ont forcés de se rendre,  
 Et ses murs ne sont plus qu'un tas  
 De poussière et de cendre.

##### II.

En vain Loudon de ses Guerriers  
 Il rassemble l'élite,  
 Montcalm avide des lauriers  
 N'y vole que plus vite.



Bellone lui prete son char  
Et sur de la fortune  
\* Des trois choses que fit Cæsar  
Il n'en omet aucun.

## III.

Déjà je vois de nos héros,  
Une troupe intrépide,  
S'avancer au travers des flots  
D'un périlleux rapide.  
Plein d'ardeur le fer à la main,  
Rigaud marche à leur tête—  
L'ennemi tremble et Chouaguen  
Devient notre conquête.

## IV.

Enfin les voilà dans nos fers  
Ces hommes redoutables,  
Ces braves qui domptent les mers,  
Sur terre sont traitables.  
Leur bravoure imbecile  
S'acharne et vient dans nos prisons  
Demander un azile  
Des le premier coup de canon.

## V.

A Carillon l'on dit pourtant  
Qu'ils auront leur revanche,  
Au tant en emporte le vent,  
Ils soufflent dans la manche.  
Les Canadiens leur font peur,  
Et Loudon est trop sage  
Pour oser contre leur valeur,  
Mesurer son courage.

## VI.

Mais de tous ces exploits brillantes  
Qu'elle est l'âme secrète,  
On la connoit par ses talents,  
Faut il d'autre Intreprete ?  
Oui c'est elle qui des vainqueurs  
Soutient le bras terrible  
Et fait circuler dans les cœurs  
Cette force invincible.

\* I came, saw and conquered.

*M. de Paulmy<sup>1</sup> to M. de Vaudreuil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Versailles, 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1757.

Sir,

The King having accepted my uncle's resignation, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letters addressed to him of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of June, 30<sup>th</sup> of August, 18<sup>th</sup> of October, 1<sup>st</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of November, of the last year, as well as duplicates and triplicates of some of them.

I request you will receive my congratulations on the successful issue of the expedition against Chouegen, which you have so ably directed, and the fruits whereof are as advantageous to the King's service and to the good of the Colony, as they are injurious to our enemies.

I cannot thank you too much for the different details into which you are pleased to enter, both as regards the troops that have made the campaign and whom you have sent into winter quarters, and those who have remained in garrison; and generally respecting the situation and strength of those troops.

The King had observed, with pleasure, the harmony which exists between you and the Marquis de Montcalm, and that you have reason to be satisfied with Chevalier de Levis as well as with the other officers. I must do them, in turn, the justice to assure you that in the letters they have written hither, they are highly pleased with the kindness you show them. The first has not left us in ignorance of the distinguished part M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil has had in the expedition against Chouegen, and the resources realized in the Colonial troops.

His Majesty has approved your having permitted Lieutenant de Sudriac, of the regiment of Guyenne, to return to France in consequence of bad health.

I have not forgotten the favorable testimony you bear of Captain Pouchot, of the Regiment of Guyenne,<sup>2</sup> to whom you have entrusted the direction of the fortifications of Fort Niagara, and he will find some marks of his Majesty's satisfaction in the list of favors which will reach M. de Montcalm.

We have received news of the Baron de Dieskau. He states, in a letter dated New-York, the 1<sup>st</sup> of October last, that his wounds were not healing as rapidly as he had been led to expect, and that he was going to solicit permission to return to Europe.

<sup>1</sup> ANTOINE RENÉ DE VOYER D'ARGENSON, Marquis de Paulmy, was born at Valenciennes, 22d November, 1722. He was educated to the profession of the law, and when the Count d'Argenson became Minister of War, he appointed his nephew, the Marquis de Paulmy, Commissary-General, who, in that capacity, accompanied the army in the campaigns of Flanders and Italy. In 1748 he was received member of the Academy, and in December following was sent Ambassador to Switzerland. In 1751 he was recalled on being appointed by his uncle General Secretary of the War Department, and spent the five following years in a thorough inspection of all the fortifications, arsenals, &c., of the kingdom. On the 2d February, 1757, he succeeded his uncle as Minister of War, and filled that office until March, 1758. He retained his seat at the Council, however, until 1762, when he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1766, to Venice, whence he returned in 1770, after which he devoted himself to literature, especially to history and bibliography. His library was one of the most complete and select, and having arranged this magnificent collection, which amounted to one hundred thousand volumes, he prepared a catalogue of it. In 1755, he published the plan of the Bibliothèque Universelle des Romains, and next, the work entitled *Mélanges d'une Grande Bibliothèque*, which amounted, in less than eight years, to 65 volumes. After a life of much usefulness, he died on 13th August, 1787. His collection of books was purchased, in 1781, by the Count d'Artois, from whom it descended to Louis XVIII. It is called the Library of the Arsenal. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*



I am very glad that you are satisfied with M. Doreil. The King has been graciously pleased to give him an assistant without proposing it to you. With this view I send an order to Sieur de la Grive des Assises, who is at Louisbourg, to proceed to Canada on the first favorable occasion, after the arrival of Sieur Magalon, whom his Majesty has destined to replace him at Louisbourg.

I pray you, Sir, to be fully persuaded that I have the honor to be, with profound attachment,  
Yours, &c.

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*M. de Paulmy to M. de Montcalm.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Versailles, 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1757.

Sir,

The King having accepted the resignation of my uncle, I have to acknowledge the receipt of the letters which you wrote between the 24<sup>th</sup> of May and the 8<sup>th</sup> of November of the last year, according to the annexed minute. I have also received those you did me the honor to write me on the 12<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> June, 30<sup>th</sup> of August and 1<sup>st</sup> of November last, and their duplicates.

I begin by presenting you my most sincere congratulations on the happy success of the expedition against Chouagen, which accompanied your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of August, and his Majesty has highly praised all your arrangements on that subject as well as the firmness and activity you applied thereto, and which have been so effectually seconded by the zeal and ardor of his troops. You will receive, with a private despatch, a list of the favors his Majesty has been pleased to accord to the officers who distinguished themselves in that campaign.

His Majesty is highly satisfied with the union which appears to exist between you and the Governor-General, and is persuaded that you will not neglect anything that will possibly maintain it.

I owe the Marquis de Vaudreuil the justice to assure you that he bestows the highest eulogiums on your military talents as well as on your personal qualities, and that he appears, in general, highly pleased with all the officers of our troops, being well satisfied with Chevalier de Levis, also.

I am very glad that you are pleased with the conduct of the latter at Carillon during the campaign. I feel all the delicacy of his position; he therefore seems highly flattered with the marks of confidence you bestow on him.

I cannot too warmly express my satisfaction for the different details you furnish me in your despatches, especially in regard to everything bearing on the situation of our troops before and after the campaign. They leave nothing to be desired, and I present you my thanks in return for them and also for what you communicate to me of the condition of the different forts of the country.

The representations which you have addressed to the Secretary of State for the Marine, on the subject of the proposed reduction of the allowance to the officers and soldiers during the campaign, cannot but be approved, and I doubt not but it has been attended to by M. de

Moras, who has succeeded M. de Machault in that department, especially if the Governor-General and Intendant of the country agree with you on that subject.

My uncle has submitted to the King the private letter you wrote him, partly in cipher, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November; likewise the accompanying plan of Fort Vaudreuil.<sup>1</sup> All that I can advise you on this point is, that he told me that his Majesty had attended to it.

I perceive from M. de St. Julien's letters that there had been few sick last year in the garrison of Louisbourg, and that in the month of December last, since the incorporation of the recruits, he was short only 6 men to complete the two battalions of Artois and Burgundy.

I see, Sir, by your despatch of the 1<sup>st</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup>, that you consider it useless to send you a second Commissary, but that you demand a blank commission to fill it up when necessary. Your report to me on the 20<sup>th</sup> July respecting the frightful condition in which you found the hospitals and provisions at the camp at Carillon, induced the King to conclude that, as M. Doreil was obliged to remain at Montreal during the campaign, it became indispensable to have some one empowered to superintend the service in those places where the troops are obliged to assemble, and hence his Majesty decided to send to Canada Sieur de la Grive des Assises, now at Louisbourg, and I transmit him the order to leave that place at the earliest opportunity, after, however, the arrival of Sieur Magallon, who is to succeed him at Louisbourg.

As regards what is personal to yourself, Sir, his Majesty has instructed me to inform you that he will be always disposed to give you proofs of the particular satisfaction he entertains of your conduct, and to assure you that the new services he expects from you will only increase those dispositions on his part.

I am, with the most perfect attachment,

Sir,

Yours, etc.

Postscript.

To yours of the 3<sup>rd</sup> November, containing different questions relative to the service, I send an answer in a separate letter.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Count d'Argenson.*

Falmouth, England, 7<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

I have the honor to inform you that, agreeably to the advice of all the surgeons of New-York to drink the Bath waters in England, I embarked last month, and arrived here after a voyage of three weeks. Immediately upon my arrival I wrote to Lord Barrington,<sup>2</sup> Secretary of War, requesting him to obtain permission for me to go to those springs, and to proceed to London to have my wounds examined by surgeons of more skill than those in America, as I am certain

<sup>1</sup> Ticonderoga.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM WILDMAN, 2d Viscount Barrington, on the Irish Peerage, was born in 1717, and represented Berwick in 1745; was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty in 1746; Master of the Wardrobe in 1754; Secretary at War in 1755; Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1761, for which he said he was as fit as for being head of the Church; Treasurer of the Navy in 1762, and Secretary at War again in 1765, at which time he represented Plymouth. He resigned office in 1778, and died 1st February, 1793. — Ed.



that had I, in the first instance, fallen into skilful hands, I should now be cured. I am waiting for this Minister's answer, and an order to be removed to London by sea, as I am not yet capable of enduring a carriage.

As regards my wounds, the principal one continues open, but the surgeons' assurances lead me to hope that I shall be entirely cured by the aid of the above waters.

I am, &c.,

(Signed), Le Baron DE DIESKAU.

To My Lord,

The Count d'Argenson.

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*M. de Paulmy to M. de Montcalm.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Versailles, 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

Sir,

Being at present in sole charge of the War Department, it is with pleasure that I seize the earliest moment to have a private communication with you. I feel too much attachment for my uncle, and am too well persuaded of the solidity of his principles, not to confirm all the instructions he has already given you, and to request you to conform yourself thereunto with particular attention; I shall merely add a few reflections to them, vizt.: 'Tis very important that the officers of the Regular troops in Canada live in close union with those of the Colony. 'Tis to be feared that the former treat the Canadians with hauteur and harshness; above all things, it would be of the greatest consequence were the Indians not pleased with them. His majesty has instructed me to recommend to you to make use of every means that may depend on you, to establish, between the troops under your orders and the inhabitants of the country, sentiments of friendship and good understanding, without which it cannot be expected that they will concur with all desirable ardor in the success of the expeditions which you will have undertaken. As the example to be afforded by yourself is, plainly, the most powerful means you can employ to communicate to the one and the other the manner they ought to behave, you cannot exhibit too much graciousness and affability on all occasions, both to the Canadians and to the Indians. 'Tis particularly essential to manage the latter whose service is indispensably necessary to afford you information of the country, and advices of the enemy's march and dispositions; and they cannot be strongly attached except by showing that you value their bravery, whereof they are so jealous, by praising the guerilla war which is in use, accustoming our troops to practice it sometimes by intermingling some volunteers among them; in fine, rendering unto all the most scrupulous justice in regard to whatever will be promised, and avoiding, in the partition of booty, to give any preference that may create jealousies, and dissatisfy allies whose coöperation is indispensable to the Colony. I have observed you so full of these principles, when you set out to embark, that I doubt not they are confirmed in you, since you have of yourself acknowledged their truth and importance, and that you are freely inclined to fulfill his Majesty's intentions in this regard.

I hope you will be so good as to keep up, independent of your ordinary relations with the Minister of War, a personal and secret correspondence with me. My uncle has delivered to me an address and little cipher which will serve us in this particular. I hope you will add another portion of the confidence you reposed in my uncle, to that which I flatter myself I have already merited at your hands.

I have the honor to be with perfect attachment, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

In the letter I had the honor to write you on the 11<sup>th</sup> of October of last year, to render you an account of the district of the Beautiful river, I did myself also the honor to observe that my negotiations with the Flatheads were more and more successful.

In effect, my Lord, a Canadian of Detroit who has since several years been adopted by that Nation, and to whom I had secretly transmitted a letter that he should endeavor, without too marked a zeal, to induce the Flatheads to unite with the French, wrote on the 20<sup>th</sup> of September to the Commandant of Fort Duquêne, that the Flatheads had received my message with pleasure; that four of them were setting out to convey the message of the chiefs to the Hurons and to advise the Commandant of Fort Duquêne of the intentions of their Nation. This Canadian added that he was himself going on the part of the Cherakis to carry their message to Mobile; that all the Indians were making arrangements to do well for the French; that the English were talking of attacking the Illinois; the chief who carried the messages wished to join the Hurons and other Nations to strike the English.

This letter was confided to the Chaouanon chief of Sonnioto by two Flatheads<sup>1</sup> who were desirous of going to see the Commandant of Fort Duquêne, whilst the other Deputies would proceed on with a Chaouanon chief to convey to Detroit the Belt with which they were intrusted on the part of their chiefs.

Those of the Flatheads who were to go to Fort Duquêne, turned back and took the same route as the others, at the solicitation of a Huron whom they met on the way.

The Flathead Deputies arrived at Detroit and held a grand Council with M. de Muy on the 10<sup>th</sup> of January.

They commenced by asking me for peace and testified to all the Indian Nations the desire they felt to be admitted into the number of the allies of the French; and so soon as they should learn my sentiments more positively than by the messages which had been transmitted to them in my name, they would return in greater numbers and with stronger messages.

They asked pardon for all their past faults, and said:

That they held on to the English by almost nothing, and that their hand would slip from his the moment I should protect them, and that all the Nations were desirous of living in peace with them.

<sup>1</sup> In De Lisle's Map of Louisiana, the Choctaws are called, also, Flatheads. See further *Gallatin's Synopsis*, 87, 100. — Ed.



That if I would promise to supply their wants as I did those of the other Nations, they would entirely abandon and strike the English.

The Chaouanons, who accompanied the Flatheads to Detroit, told them they had obeyed my message and had forthwith struck the English.

The Flatheads continued and made all their customary ceremonies, and said :

That they were only paying a visit to level the road, so that they may easily see the French and all the Indian Nations whom they were desirous to join in order to strike the English.

That it was the smallest village which is called Tsotis that was speaking.

That the chief's son headed the deputation ; they assured that the sentiments of nine villages, dependent on them, agreed with theirs, and that thirty other villages, also comprised under the name of Cherakis and Flatheads, were only waiting for their return to decide.

These Flatheads left a Belt with Mr. de Mury for the Outaouas and begged him to communicate it to them. By that Belt they engage them to let their tomahawk fall very heavily on the English and not to turn it against them (the Flatheads).

Mr. de Mury had this Council attended by a Huron chief, an Outaouas chief and two other influential members of that Nation, with some Pouteouatamis, and all seemed satisfied with the messages of the Flatheads.

M. de Mury received by these Deputies a letter dated the same day, 20 September, from a Canadian, who is also adopted in that tribe, wherein he informs him that the Cherakis and Flatheads are really desirous to wage war against the English.

I would have reason to believe that the Flatheads have already commenced hostilities, because the Acadians, who have deserted from Carolina, have assured me that the Cherakis and Chicachas, being gone to Virginia for their presents, had, on their return home, destroyed five hundred English habitations, which appears so little doubtful that these Acadians assert having seen some of those very English who had escaped from those Indians.

Mr. de Mury spoke to these Deputies agreeably to the orders I had given him. He disgusted them with the English and neglected nothing to induce them to strike, and to communicate to us intelligence of the enemy's movements, as soon as understood.

These Flatheads and the Chaouanons who accompanied them, were much pleased with the manner they had been received, and returned home.

My principal object is to prevent the Flatheads pronouncing against us ; I observe towards them the same policy I have observed towards the Five Nations, because if these Flatheads attacked the Nations of the Beautiful river, that would throw a damp on their ardor, and I even think that our other Nations would not go willingly to wage war against the English in those parts.

I should dare flatter myself that I would succeed in getting these Flatheads to strike, had I wherewithal to supply their wants ; this I could not do, so long as they will remain constantly in their villages, inasmuch as they will be always obliged to have recourse to the English, and 'tis not natural to suppose that they wish, by declaring war against those English, to expose themselves to want everything ; therefore, it is desirable that we could afford them an asylum. This is a matter of more urgency than is supposed. The English employ all their resources to induce those Nations to unite with them, and it would be highly dangerous should they succeed, for they have projected the erection of forts and the building of large bateaux in the villages of those Indians for the purpose of going by the Ouabache to attack the Illinois, or at least to surprise the Louisiana convoys.

It would therefore be indispensable to establish a post at the Falls on the Beautiful river,<sup>1</sup> to secure the communication of Canada with Louisiana. Although that post be not sufficiently near the Flatheads and Cherakis, nevertheless, the Traders whom I should send, might attract them thither or go with horses across the mountains into their villages.

The soil at these Falls invites settlements. If we could have some permanent ones, we should hold the Flatheads and Cherakis in check. These Nations bar the passage by the Mississippi and its tributaries; they facilitate parties that come down from different directions.

That post would be the principal key of Louisiana and Canada. All the rivers that fall into the Mississippi and the Beautiful river, both from the direction of the Missouri as well as from Canada, cannot descend to New Orleans without passing it.

I shall not lose any time in following up my negotiations with the Flatheads, and shall endeavor all in my power to gain some advantage therefrom.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Machault.*

Montreal, 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

I had not excepted New Jersey from the incursions of our Indians, but as that quarter is at a vast distance, I could employ only some Delawares who are at the other side of the mountains. They have carried out my intentions to the best of their ability; have burnt 40 English houses with the crops in their barns; have returned to Niagara with 6 scalps belonging to soldiers killed under a New Jersey fort, where they took a prisoner whom they left in their village to replace their chief.

As these Delawares speak English, they have themselves interrogated that prisoner, who told them that the English were to blockade the river and take Quebec.

These Delawares have boasted greatly of this blow; indeed, the long and fatiguing journey they have been obliged to make, I look upon as a very evident proof of their good will.

It will be impossible for me to continue to make incursions into New Jersey; 'tis beyond the reach of our posts. But 'tis certain that the English of that country who learned the incursions of our Indians only from the newspapers, will not fail to be greatly frightened, when experiencing themselves what our Indians are capable of, which probably will have made considerable impression on the people.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Louisville, Kentucky. — Ed.



*M. de Vaudreuil to the Keeper of the Seals.<sup>1</sup>*

Montreal, 22 April, 1757.

My Lord,

I had the honor to report to you, in my despatch of the 6<sup>th</sup> of November, that all the New England forces would direct their march against Carillon, but that it would be impossible for me to undertake anything, either offensive or defensive, until after the arrival of the reinforcements I had the honor to request.

Therefore as early as the end of the campaign, I formed the project of counteracting General Lawden's measures.

I saw clearly that I must do in a lump, what I performed in detail last year at the carrying place between Chouaguen and Corlac.

But this new expedition was infinitely more difficult, as it contemplated the utter ruin of General Lawden's preparations at Fort Georges,<sup>2</sup> inasmuch as all was under the protection of the cannon and even of the musketry of that fort.

I conclude, from the reports of the prisoners taken on the 21 January :

That General Lawden had committed the command of that fort to an officer of consummate experience in the art of war;

That this Commandant was constantly on his guard;

That he had a garrison of 500 men, exclusive of a troop of picked Rangers for scouts;

That it was easy to increase his forces, either by bringing up some from Fort Lydius or other places in his neighborhood.

I entered alone into these calculations, and very far from letting them be known, I announced my expedition on the contrary in a manner to embolden the detachment for which I had designed it.

I made the success of this enterprise depend, with reason, on its execution at a time when the enemy could not fear, nor even think, the Canadians were on him.

With that view I dispatched only at the end of February, a detachment of 1,500 men, Regulars, Canadians and Indians, under the orders of M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Their good dispositions were on a par, and the Canadians and Indians who, by their experience, led the troops, overcame all obstacles, being induced, by inclination, to follow M. de Rigaud's example.

You will see, my Lord, by the annexed Relation, which has been drawn up by an officer of the Regulars, that in order to carry out my intentions, my brother was obliged to summon the enemy and, by his manœuvres, to persuade him that he was about to scale the fort. This ruse had wonderful success.

For although within pistol-shot of Fort Georges he succeeded in burning

1<sup>st</sup> Four cruisers, equal to those the English had on Lake Ontario;

2<sup>d</sup> A number of 50-oar long-boats;

3<sup>d</sup> About 350 bateaux for transportation;

<sup>1</sup> In M. de Vaudreuil's despatch of June 1 (*post*), this letter is said to have been addressed to the Keeper of the Seals. M. de Machault held that office until 2d February, 1757. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Fort William Henry. *Mante*, 82.

4<sup>th</sup> All the building materials on the ground for the construction of at least twice as many cruisers, long-boats and bateaux;

5<sup>th</sup> A quantity of campaign carriages;

6<sup>th</sup> A stockaded fort which surrounded the enemy's sheds containing at least 400 barrels of flour and provisions of all sorts in proportion, guns, sabres, clothing for the army, and generally all the material of the campaign;

7<sup>th</sup> A saw-mill;

8<sup>th</sup> The hospitals;

9<sup>th</sup> A number of buildings in the fort;

10<sup>th</sup> Other houses under Fort Georges, and which formed a sort of Lower town;

11<sup>th</sup> Lastly, all the firewood.

This fire would have inevitably reduced Fort Georges to ashes, had there been the slightest wind. Under this apprehension the enemy had unroofed all the buildings in the interior of the fort.

Fort Georges is actually isolated; its exterior establishments no longer exist, and General Lawden's beautiful and immense preparations have been calcined by the flames at a trifling expense, inasmuch as it cost us only 5 men, one of whom was crushed by a shell, and the other<sup>1</sup> taken off by a cannon ball.

The enemy's fire was very brisk, but neither his artillery nor musketry made any great impression. M. de Rigaud had placed a detachment of Canadians and Indians who picked off the gunners and killed them the moment they showed themselves. Many other Englishmen were killed also, as fast as they made their appearance, but 'tis impossible for me to state their number positively.

Thus, my Lord, M. de Rigaud accomplished the important mission I had confided to him. He left nothing for me to desire in what I had prescribed to him.

This event changes the situation of the Colony, and renders it, so to say, as advantageous as it was critical.

In fact I was positively aware that General Lawden was to collect an army, in the beginning of April, of 15 @ 20 thousand men, at Fort Georges, to lay siege to Fort Carillon on the 15<sup>th</sup> of the same month; what resistance could that fort offer him? its garrison was feeble in itself; besides, more than half of it was down sick.

The enemy might then have been in possession of Carillon, and successively of St. Frederic, before the opening of our navigation.

I would, in vain, have desired to dispatch forces thither, since we are without provisions. Our situation becomes, every day, more melancholy, as I had the honor to submit to you in my letter of the 6<sup>th</sup> of November.

I hope, my Lord, on the report you will be pleased to make to the King of this fortunate event, that his Majesty will be satisfied therewith, or at least admit therein the zeal of my brother de Rigaud and of myself for his service.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> Sic.



*Attack on Fort William Henry, 1757.*

An Account of the advantages acquired by the King's arms over the English.

Exclusive of the parties of Canadians and of Indians which have been continually in the field during the winter, and which, in the incursions they have made against the enemy, have killed a great many people on them and spread alarm throughout the English Colonies, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has executed an expedition, the object whereof is very important.

He had been informed in the month of January, that the enemy had collected at Fort Georges, on Lake St. Sacrament, a very considerable quantity of stores of all sorts, and that they had had constructed, under the guns of that fort, a large number of barks, bateaux and other vessels, not only for the transport of these stores, but also to secure the navigation of that lake. Judging that all those preparations were destined for the enterprises which the enemy were proposing to execute in the spring, he formed the project of depriving them of the means to effect their purpose.

With this view, he formed a detachment of fifteen hundred men, composed of five pickets from the battalions of the troops of the Line, one of which was of grenadiers, three hundred soldiers of Colonial troops, six hundred and fifty Militia, one company of which consisted of Volunteers and three hundred Indians. This detachment having been promptly collected together at Fort St. John, Sieur de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers, who was in command, ordered it forward in four divisions.

The first marched on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February; 'twas composed of six companies of Regulars and Colonial Militia mixed, with some Abenaki Indians, and was commanded by Lieutenant St. Martin, of those troops. The second, commanded by Captain du Chat, of the regiment of Languedoc, was composed of two pickets of Regulars, three companies of Colonials, with some Indians, and marched on the 21<sup>st</sup>, followed next morning by the third, under the command of Captain de Coni, of the regiment of Royal Roussillon, and which was composed as the second. Sieur de Rigaud was to start on the 23<sup>d</sup> with the Grenadier picket, the company of Canadian Volunteers and some Indians, which composed the fourth division, but he was delayed until the 25<sup>th</sup>, by the thaw. The four divisions having formed a junction at Fort Carillon, the entire troop marched thence on the 15<sup>th</sup> of March, the company of Canadian Volunteers leading the van, and arrived on the 17<sup>th</sup> at seven o'clock in the evening, within a league and a half of Fort Georges.

18<sup>th</sup>. Sieur de Rigaud detached Captain Poullariez, of the Royal Rousillon Grenadiers, with two other officers, to reconnoitre the fort, from a hill about a league off, by which it is commanded. Though the report of Sieur Poullariez left no doubt of the enemy having been informed of his march, Sieur de Rigaud made arrangements for the execution of the orders confided to him.

He put all his troops in motion on the fall of the night of the 18 @ 19. He detached Captain Dumas with two other officers and some grenadiers to reconnoitre the approaches of the fort. The noise they unavoidably made in marching on the ice, led to their early discovery, and they were obliged to rejoin the main body. Sieur de Rigaud meanwhile determined on setting fire to the bateaux beneath the fort, but only a small number of them was burnt. The enemy killed two men and wounded another.

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, Sieur de Rigaud invested the fort, in order to intimidate the garrison, which he was aware consisted of five or six hundred picked men, and detached a party of Indians on the road leading to Fort Lydius, to cut off the communication. He even had the Commandant<sup>1</sup> summoned, whereby the attention of the latter was fixed on the arrangements relative to the defence of the fort, so that on the night following, he fired only a few guns and some shells, which did not prevent the burning of a large quantity of property.

The fort continued invested on the 21<sup>st</sup> without the enemy daring to make a sortie. They remained equally quiet throughout the night, when so great a quantity of melted snow fell, that it was impossible to set anything on fire without. The weather was more favorable the next night, and advantage was taken of that circumstance to burn whatever was on the lake and in the vicinity of the fort, notwithstanding the fire of artillery and musketry kept up by the enemy, which killed three soldiers and wounded one officer.

The enemy lost by this conflagration, four brigantines of 10 @ 14 guns, two long-boats of fifty oars, which they designed for the navigation of the lakes; over three hundred and fifty transport bateaux; a considerable quantity of building timber, several campaign carriages, a saw-mill, the sheds and magazines which were inclosed by a stockaded fort, and finally all their supply of firewood. The fort remains isolated; 'twas saved from the flames only because no wind was blowing during the whole of the conflagration.

Throughout this expedition, which is one of the most important that could be undertaken in winter in Canada, there were only five Frenchmen killed, one officer and one Indian wounded, although it was executed under the fire of the artillery and musketry of Fort Georges. The number of the enemy's loss is unknown, but the Canadians and Indians had been placed in such a manner as by the fire of their musketry, to silence frequently that of the enemy.

That success is principally due to the wise arrangements made by Sieur de Rigaud, to the attention he paid to their execution and the constancy with which he has supported the excessive fatigues of the march at so rigorous a season. The different corps of Regulars and of Militia equally distinguished themselves in every respect, and Sieur de Rigaud had been extremely well pleased with the conduct of the Indians employed on the occasion.

As well in like manner, with the dispositions of all the Indian Nations of the Colony. Those who have from all time been our allies, furnish daily new proofs of their fidelity, and are out every day against the enemy.

There are, besides, some pretty numerous Nations, the Flatheads among the rest, who have recently entered into that alliance and who have taken a part in the war. The Five Iroquois Nations have sent one of the most solemn deputations to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to renew

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAM EYRE was appointed 4th January, 1756, Major of the 44th foot, that suffered so severely in Braddock's expedition the preceding year, and built Fort William Henry, of which he was Commandant at this time. He was commissioned in January, 1758, "Engineer in Ordinary," and in July following, was wounded in the attack on Ticonderoga, when he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and next, Lieutenant Colonel of the 55th regiment. In 1759, he accompanied the expedition under Amherst; in July, of that year, was appointed Chief Engineer of the army, and soon after laid out a new fort at Ticonderoga. In October, 1759, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of his old regiment, the 44th; accompanied the expedition in 1762, from Oswego to Montreal, and remained in America until 1764, in the fall of which year he was unfortunately drowned on his passage to Ireland. In his profession as an Engineer, he was exceedingly eminent, and an honor to his country, having arrived at that rank solely by merit, and the army, to which he was a shining ornament, sustained a very considerable loss by his death. *Mante*, 84; *Knox Journal*, I., 388, 395; II., 133, 406. *Army Lists*. — Ed.



their ancient engagements with France. They have promised not only to renounce all commerce with the enemy, but in order to act against them, to unite even with the other Nations, friends of France.

The enemy, on their side, have attempted only one expedition during the winter. Having been informed that some provisions were to be conveyed from Fort St. Frederic to Fort Carillon, under an escort of a small detachment, they dispatched eighty men who cut off the foremost sleighs of this convoy and seven soldiers. But the Commandant of Fort St. Frederic sent out a fresh detachment to intercept that of the enemy on its way. The latter did in fact fall into the ambuscade. The fight was one of the briskest and most obstinate. Forty men, of whom three were officers, belonging to the enemy, remained on the field. Eight prisoners were taken and the remainder of the detachment escaped into the woods where they perished of their wounds, so that only three men returned to Fort Georges. The French had eleven killed and twenty-six wounded. They recovered the sleighs which the enemy had carried off, and in regard to the seven soldiers the enemy had taken, only three of them were found, the other four having been killed.

This engagement took place on the 21st of January.

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*Chevalier de Levis to M. de Paulmy.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 24 April, 1757.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report to you, by the first opportunity offering for France, my operations at the close of the last campaign. I did not quit the camp at Carillon, with the battalions of the Royal Roussillon and Languedoc, until the thirteenth of November, after I had been exactly informed by some prisoners and some detachments I had sent out, that my Lord Loudon had left Fort Lidieu, and that all the troops had dispersed and were gone into winter quarters in New England and New-York. I arranged the garrisons of Forts Carillon and St. Frederik, and left instructions in writing to Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Lusignan<sup>1</sup> and de Gaspé, Captains in the Marines, destined to command these two forts, as to the conduct they were to observe during winter, for the security of those posts; the fighting parties they were to send out, and the preservation of the provisions.

I left, likewise, a private instruction to M. de Bassenrok, Captain in the regiment of Languedoc, who was the senior of our troops of the Line at Carillon, touching the conduct he was to observe towards M. de Lusignan, on all occasions that might occur.

After I had taken all the precautions I considered necessary, I broke up the camp at Carillon and called in all our posts from Lake St. Sacrament. The ground was already covered with a foot of snow; I made as much haste as possible for fear of being stopped by the ice on

<sup>1</sup> PAUL LOUIS DAZEMARD, Sieur de Lusignan, son of Captain de Lusignan, was born in Canada, in 1691, and in 1722 was an Ensign in a company of the troops of the Marine. In 1733 he obtained the grant of a Seigniory in Missisquoi bay. He commanded at the River St. Joseph, in Illinois, in 1735, whence he returned to Canada in 1739. He commanded at Isle aux Noix in 1759, and 1760 at St. John. *Manuscript note of Honorable J. Viger.* — Ed.

Lake Champlain, the shores of which were already frozen. I fortunately arrived at the government of Montreal without any accident. All the troops were in their quarters on the 20<sup>th</sup> of November.

The season was too far advanced to admit of my going down to Quebec, where I was to pass the winter. I preferred remaining at Montreal to be more convenient to the frontier, in case there were any movements during the winter.

Had M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to give me the detachment he has confided to his brother M. de Rigaud, for the expedition he has sent against Fort George on Lake St. Sacrament, I should have taken charge of it with pleasure, but I could not have done better than he has done. It has had all the success that could be expected.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm report to you, my Lord, what has occurred during the winter, and the situation of this Colony, for which reason I shall not enter into any detail on that head.

I flatter myself, if two corps of troops be operating during the campaign in two distinct places, that the Marquis de Vaudreuil will be pleased to confide the command of one of them to me. I shall always seek, with much ardor, every occasion wherein I shall be able to furnish proofs of my zeal for the King's service. I shall esteem myself very fortunate if it afford me an opportunity to deserve your favor and protection.

I have the honor to be, respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chev<sup>er</sup> DE LEVIS.



*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

No other change has occurred in the arrangement of the winter quarters, which I had the honor to report to you, than sending M. de Bourlamaque to Quebec in the place of Chevalier de Levis who could not proceed thither and has passed the winter, with me, at Montreal. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has made it his principal residence. We followed him to Quebec where he remained a month.

I had the honor to write you in my last despatch of the month of November, with some sort of uncertainty, that the English had destroyed their fortified magazines on the River Chouaguen, called Forts Bull and William. This news is certain.

We were not aware, and you, perhaps, have learned before us, by way of Isle Royale, that the English have, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of 8<sup>ber</sup>, burnt and evacuated Fort Gaspereaux, which they took from us in 1755, so as to retain only that of Beausejour, whose fortifications they are strengthening. Captain de Boishebert, of the Colonial troops, continues to maintain himself, in that quarter, with a few soldiers and fifteen hundred Acadians, who are dying, so to speak,



of hunger. The news of him is dated the twelfth of January. He winters at Miramicui, and is greatly aided by Father Germain, a Jesuit.<sup>1</sup>

The Five Nations have sent one of the most memorable embassies seen for some time in Canada. I have drawn up an account thereof, which may afford an idea of these Indians and the manner in which they manage their political interests. I address it exclusively, my Lord, to you.

All the news from Detroit, Forts Duquesne and Niagara, assure us of the dispositions of the Indians of the Upper countries, which is principally owing to the fall of Choueguen.

Captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Bearn, who commands at Niagara, is wonderfully liked by the Indians, and conducts himself much to the satisfaction of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who has made considerable difficulty in granting that command to an officer of the troops of the Line.

We have, notwithstanding the winter, Indian parties continually out from Niagara and Fort Duquêne to take some scalps from the English, who, on their side, have called on the Catabas, who are Indians settled near Carolina. These have scalped some Chouanons, near Fort Duquêne, but one of our parties that went in pursuit killed several of them.

A detachment of 60 picked English soldiers, with 10 sergeants and 7 officers, in all 77 men, having set out to make some prisoners in the neighborhood of our forts, took, on the 21<sup>st</sup> January, 7 of our soldiers between Forts Carillon and St' Frederic. On news thereof reaching M. de Lusignan, a Colonial Captain, commanding at Fort Carillon, he detached 100 men under the orders of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Basserode and de Lagrandville, Captains in the Languedoc and La Reine regiments, with some Indians and Canadians, who overtook the enemy about three o'clock in the afternoon and fell on their van-guard with fixed bayonets. As we had neglected to occupy a small height convenient to the road, the English retired thither and the firing continued until night. The enemy took advantage of the darkness to retire, leaving on the field of battle 42 men killed, 3 of whom were officers. We took eight prisoners and recovered our men. It has been since ascertained that of the 77 men composing that detachment, only three reëntered Fort George, the others having perished of cold, hunger and perhaps of their wounds. We have had nine men killed and 18 wounded, some of whom have died of their wounds. Captain de Basserode, who was in command, has been dangerously wounded. I cannot praise, too highly, the manner our officers and soldiers have conducted themselves in this action, which has been pretty brisk and fell, as it were, altogether on the regular troops, as only a solitary Ensign of the Colonials, with some Indians, were present. I flatter myself that if you have not this year found sufficient seniority of service in M. de Basserode to entitle him to the Cross of St. Louis, his action and wound will procure it for him next year. I shall have the honor to write to you on the subject at the end of the campaign, when submitting to you favors for our battalions.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February, a strong detachment was sent off under the orders of M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers and brother of the Governor-General, and of M. de Longueuil, the King's Lieutenant at Quebec. This detachment consisted of 50 grenadiers and 200 volunteers drawn from the battalions of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc and Bearn, under the command of Captain Poulhariés of the Royal Rousillon grenadiers; 250

<sup>1</sup> Reverend CHARLES GERMAIN, S. J., was a missionary among the Abenakis, on the River St. John, as early as 1745, was at Beaubassin in 1746, also in 1756, and removed to Miramichi in 1757 and 1758. He finally retired to St. Francis, in Canada East, where he died 5th August, 1779. *Shea's Missions*, 163, 164. — Ed.

Colonials and 600 Canadians and 300 Indians. It had to march 60 leagues on snow-shoes, carrying its provisions on sleds which may be drawn by dogs on good roads, and sleeping in the snow on a bear-skin under a simple sail to keep off the wind. In this way it crossed Lake Champlain and Lake St. Sacrament, and arrived on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March within a short league of Fort George, at the head of the latter lake. As it was impossible to attack that fort by main force the expedition contented itself with burning, during the nights of the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> to the 22<sup>d</sup>, everything outside the fort, over 300 bateaux, 4 sloops, one of which was pierced for 16 guns, a saw-mill, a great pile of building timber and fire-wood, two magazines full of provisions and military effects, a little stockaded fort containing a dozen of houses or barracks to lodge the troops and their sick. Notwithstanding the fire of musketry, some shells and cannon-shot, we lost only five soldiers in these different operations. We had six men slightly wounded, including two Indians. This success is of importance to the Colony. The enemy were in a condition to be beforehand with us in this part of the campaign. It is to be hoped that their operations will be retarded in consequence, and that the Canadians, who are here farmers and soldiers, will have time to plant their grain. This detachment had orders, likewise, to secure the position of Fort George.

Captain de Poullharies of the grenadiers of the Royal Roussillon, behaved in the most gallant manner. He is an officer deserving of favors, on account of his services, his wounds and his industry. He possesses the stuff to make a good Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry.

As we are not accustomed to such marches in Europe, and as the Canadians who are accustomed to brag, asserted that our troops could not support such fatigues, I paid particular attention carefully to select officers and soldiers qualified in every respect. Therefore were the Canadians forced to admit that we were not inferior to them in any point. To be six weeks on the march and to sleep, in a manner, continually on snow or ice, reduced to bread and pork, and often to drag or carry 15 days' provisions, will give you some idea of fatigue unknown in Europe; it was sustained with great gaiety without the slightest murmur. I postpone, until the end of the campaign, asking you for any favors for M. de Poullharies and the other officers of this detachment who may be worthy of them.

Sieur Wolfs, a seconded Lieutenant after the affair of Bentheim, whom Baron de Dieskaw brought with him last year, undertook, with the assistance of 20 of our soldiers, to burn a sloop pierced for 16 guns, which it was deemed proper not to touch, as it was within 15 paces of the fort, and under the protection of its cannon. He effected his purpose with the loss of two men and three wounded.

I consider it my duty to send you the names of the officers whom I had selected for this detachment. It is always flattering for them that the Minister should know the officers who have evinced considerable good will.

Among the various sufferings experienced by this detachment, there has occurred a singular accident, namely, total loss of sight from the reflection of the sun on the ice. One-third of the detachment has returned blind. Canadians, Indians and our men, to the number of fifteen score, had to be led by their comrades, but at the end of twice twenty-four hours, sight is restored with simple remedies.

This winter has been of the most severe character. The River St. Lawrence closed in the forepart of December, and is still firm enough for the passage of loaded sleighs on the 8<sup>th</sup> of April. The thermometer which, in France, in the year 1709, marked in the greatest cold only 15 degrees, has been several times at 27, often at 18 to 20, and almost always at 12 @ 15. A



surprising quantity of snow fell. The campaign which had preceded this winter, has been very long; therefore, we have lost many more soldiers than we did last year, and much less than in Europe. The climate is very severe but very healthy.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

I have already had the honor of rendering you an account of the events which occurred from the close of our campaign to this date. This despatch is to inform you of some facts which have reference to discipline and of some particular circumstances.

I have found our officers inclined to contract bad marriages, which were not any more advantageous for the political interest of the Colony than for that of the King. M. de Vaudreuil appeared to me to favor them; he is encompassed by relatives of mean extraction. I have presented the Marquis de Vaudreuil on this occasion with a Memoir, copy whereof I annex hereunto. He appeared to coincide with my views. The difficulties I have interposed to the granting permissions, have prevented the marriages of two young Lieutenants, minors and under a father's control, who were consulting only their passion, and have put a stop to many similar projects. I have granted no permission except to M. de Parfourn, a Captain in the regiment of Languedoc, who has contracted a middling marriage, but which his father had authorized, and to Chevalier de Douglas, a Captain in the same regiment, who married a girl of respectability, very well connected in the Colony, having a handsome fortune.

Though believing that I have observed a proper conduct in this regard, as his Majesty has not explained himself regarding the marriages of officers, in the instruction handed to me, I would wish to be authorized by an answer written for exhibition.

If I have opposed, in any way, the marriages of the officers, I believed I could do nothing better for the interest of the Colony and kingdom, than to encourage those of the soldiers. Accordingly, in the winter of 1755, 1756, there had been only seven marriages of soldiers, and this year, eighty.

I take the liberty of representing to you that when the King will withdraw his troops from Canada, his Majesty ought to give a small gratuity to all his soldiers who would then desire to settle and die there. We would leave the greater part of them. They would make excellent colonists, brave defenders of New France, whereas a strict discipline and a diminution of pay will appear to them insupportable, on their return to the kingdom. The King will always find it easy to reorganize these battalions without such being expensive to him or to the Captains, by allowing them time, and the non-effective of the battalions will then be in proportion to their weakness.

I have found that our officers were inclined to games of hazard, I proposed to M. de Vaudreuil to prohibit them; I even placed an officer under arrest. There was no play either at Quebec or at Montreal, until M. de Vaudreuil's arrival at Quebec. M. Bigot loves to gamble. M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to permit a bank at M. Bigot's. I said what I considered my duty, but did not wish to forbid our officers playing at it; 'twas displeasing to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot; the good of the service requires the contrary. Captain de Maron, of La Reine, has lost twelve thousand *livres* which have been paid, his Lieutenant-Colonel having lent them to him. This partiality in favor of M. Bigot's house would have caused gambling elsewhere, had I not placed the second Captain of one of our battalions under arrest. I write to M. de Machault on the subject of marriages. It concerns the Colony. I do not write anything to him concerning gaming; it would only serve to destroy the friendship between M. de Vaudreuil, M. Bigot and me. But I owe my Minister an account of my conduct.

You will be surprised that there was no superior officer of the Line with so strong a detachment.<sup>1</sup> Chevalier de Levy would have accepted the command. M. de Bourlamaque demanded it with much urgency. I supported him warmly, both in writing and verbally. But M. de Vaudreuil wished the expedition to be under M. Rigaud, his brother, and has reckoned on the intelligence of M. Dumas and M. Mercier, officers of the Colony, who are wanting neither in spirit nor in certain talents, nor in intrigue. M. de Dieskau, to his misfortune, reposed too much confidence in the latter. The same motive that caused M. de Vaudreuil's brother to march, sent forward fifteen hundred men. I submitted the plan of surprising Fort George, and burning, at least, the outer parts of the fort with eight hundred men, in a memoir communicated to M. de Vaudreuil on the thirteenth of January, with models of scaling ladders and of a bateau, carrying a twelve pounder. This bateau might have served this campaign on Lake St. Sacrament.

I believe that, had Chevalier de Levy or M. de Bourlamaque had charge of that expedition, the fort would have been better reconnoitred, and operations would have been carried out at the same time against Fort Lydius. These gentlemen have a good character, although their zeal hath suffered by the preference; they understand, as well as I do, the necessity of a spirit of conciliation. I have not ceased to communicate my reflections for the success of the expedition, to contribute to it by the selection of the detachment, and by the instructions which M. de Poulharies has closely followed. I continue to stand well with M. de Vaudreuil; I make representations to him but, at the same time, employ every means for the success of his projects, even when at variance from mine. You may assure the King of this, with whose service alone I occupy myself.

I cannot be otherwise than satisfied with Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque. They most ably second me. They live very respectably, a matter more indispensable in this Colony than in France, in order to obtain consideration with the Colonial troops. M. de Bourlamaque, during his sojourn at Quebec, won a great deal on the friendship and esteem of our troops. He had not the advantage, like Chevalier de Levis, of being an old acquaintance of theirs. I think that these gentlemen, as well as myself, would be glad to march *a la paix*, without being under any obligation. I enter into none of these details with M. de Machault, but write him enough to make him understand that Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque would have taken charge of that expedition.

<sup>1</sup> These paragraphs seem to belong to, or be connected with, the preceding despatch and to refer to the expedition under M. de Rigaud. — Ed.



Some of our soldiers, four in number, have deserted in the Colony. 'Tis difficult to prevent them; we're not in France. I had them reported to the Court-Martial in order to have them outlawed. The Majors will transmit to you the sentences I have had read and published at the head of the regiments. I annex to this despatch the description of one of them, who, 'tis supposed, has gone back to France in a merchantman. He may fancy himself safe at home. His arrest there would be a good example and he could be sent back or tried at his first battalion.

The supplying of provisions and of the hospitals during the campaign has been hitherto in Canada in the hands of Commissaries (*en regie*). It has just been let out to contract as in France. Although 'tis the Commissaries who have become contractors, I think this last plan will be more advantageous to the King's service and more economical. We have lost one hundred men this winter; some were missing; we leave as many in the hospitals. We have one hundred and fifty at Niagara. Our six battalions will amount, at most, only to two thousand four hundred effective men, previous to the arrival of reinforcements. The battalion of La Reine and that of Languedoc consist of only nine companies.

Although I have to congratulate myself on the exactness of the Commandants of battalions and Adjutants, it is difficult to maintain strict discipline among the soldiers who are in separate quarters during the entire winter season, and, as it were, out of the officers' sight. None are together except the two battalions that are in garrison at Quebec and Montreal. Therefore, I shall have them all sent thither in rotation.

We cannot open the campaign before June, in consequence of want of provisions, and in order to wait for those from France. Operations on both sides will be in the direction of Lake St. Sacrament. The English may be delayed by the burning of their sloops and bateaux, but not so much as M. de Vaudreuil thinks. No apprehensions are entertained for Fort Duquesne; should many Indians come from the Upper country we shall be able to make a diversion by way of the River Chouaguen to lay waste the neighborhood of Corlac. 'Twill be an expedition for the Canadians; 'tis my advice. The fortifications of Carillon and Niagara will be continued; finally, the little Fort St. John, on Lake Champlain, which is the depôt of our provisions, will be placed beyond a *coup de main*. The English could burn it. I have written to that effect since the month of June, but we have a large extent of country to defend, much work to perform and but few men. Prisoners speak vaguely of an attack on Louisbourg. M. de Boishebert, who commands in the direction of the River St. John, has orders to proceed thither with the Acadians whenever the Governor of Louisbourg will call on him.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. We have just received letters, my Lord, from Louisbourg dated the 3<sup>d</sup> February. Our battalions there are in good condition. They may be considered complete. Sieur de la Grive, Commissary of War, is on duty there, the English having sent him from Halifax in exchange for the one I had taken at Choueguen. He has some difficulty with M. Prevot, *Commissaire Ordonnateur* of the Marine. I hope the letters which M. Bigot, M. Doreil and I are writing in concert, on this occasion, will remove all the difficulties. We learn that since

the declaration of War, some small privateers, belonging to Louisbourg, have brought prizes in there to the value of a hundred thousand *écus*.

Although the want of provisions obliges us to postpone taking the field until the month of June, M. de Bourlamaque is going to occupy the camp at Carillon with the battalions of the Royal Roussillon and of Bearn in the forepart of May; the battalion of La Sarre is at St. John, the battalion of Guienne at St. Therèse, on Lake Champlain, to work at a fort and on a road, and to be ready to march to Carillon. Four hundred Canadians are going to Fort Duquesne.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 21<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

My Lord,

At the close of the campaign we were uncertain whether the English had destroyed their fortified storehouses called Forts Bull and William, on the River Chouaguen. We cannot doubt it, and the Indians of the Five Nations have assured us that they had been evacuated and burnt.

The Five Nations (the Iroquois are so named) have sent an embassy composed of 180 persons, including women and children, to Montreal in the beginning of winter. There had been some grand Councils on that occasion, to speak in the language of the country, that is to say, a species of Congress was held at Montreal, at which the domiciliated Iroquois, the Nepissings, the Algonkins, the Poteotamis and the Outaouais, Indian Nations attached to France, have assisted by Deputies. This embassy is the most memorable that ever had been in Canada, as well in regard to the number of the ambassadors and the nature of the objects discussed, as the good dispositions evinced by the Five Nations. There is reason to expect the most exact neutrality on their part. 'Tis even to be hoped, although these Nations are unwilling to take up the hatchet against the English, that many of their young men will follow us to the war. This is all that can be reasonably exacted from a people wedged in almost in the midst of English settlements.

Our domiciliated Indians have spoken to the Five Nations at these Councils menacingly and haughtily. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has promised them to forget their past conduct and to provide for all their wants, on condition that they remain faithful to their promises. These Indians have brought in and trampled under foot the medals of the English. Nevertheless, they did not conceal from us that they had deputies at Orange also. In fact, we learned, at the close of March, that the deputies had withdrawn from the English without being willing to enter into any engagement. This species of Congress has lasted all the month of December.

According to the information we receive from Fort Duquène, Detroit and from Captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Bearn, Commandant of Fort Niagara, all the Indians of the Upper country are most strongly attached to us; that is owing principally to the fall of Choueguen, Parties have been out continually [despite of] the winter, to take some scalps from the English, who also sent for some Catabas, Indians, dwelling near Carolina, who have taken some scalps



near Fort Duquène from the Chaounons, our allies ; but one of our parties has killed several of them.

A detachment of 60 picked men of the English troops, with 10 sergeants and 7 officers, consisting in all of 77 men, set out to take some prisoners near our forts ; captured 7 of our soldiers on the 21<sup>st</sup> January, between Fort Carillon and St. Frederic. On receipt of the news, M. de Lusignan, a Colonial Captain, commanding at Fort Carillon, detached 100 men under the orders of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Basserode and de la Grandville, Captains in the regiments of Languedoc and La Reine, with some Indians and Canadians. This detachment came up with that of the enemy at three o'clock in the afternoon, and fell on their van-guard with fixed bayonets. As we had neglected to occupy a small hill near the road, the English retired thither, and the firing continued until nightfall. The enemy took advantage of the obscurity to retire, leaving on the field of battle 42 dead, 3 of whom were officers. We took 8 prisoners and recovered our men. It has since been ascertained that, of the 77 men composing this detachment, only three reëntered Fort George, the others having perished of cold and hunger, and perhaps of their wounds. We have had 9 men killed and 18 wounded, some of whom have died of their wounds. Captain de Basserode, who commanded, has been dangerously wounded. I cannot too highly praise the manner our officers and soldiers behaved in this engagement, which has been pretty sharp, and devolved almost solely on the troops of the Line, as there was only one solitary Colonial Ensign in it.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of February a strong detachment was sent out under the orders of M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers and brother of the Governor-General and of M. de Longueuil, the King's Lieutenant at Quebec. This detachment consisted of 50 grenadiers and 200 volunteers from the battalions of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc and Bearn, commanded by Captain de Poulhariés of the grenadiers of the Royal Rousillon ; of 259 Colonial troops, 600 Canadians and 300 Indians. It had to march 60 leagues on snow-shoes, having its provisions on sleds which can be drawn, in good roads, by dogs ; sleeping on the snow on a bear's skin, with a simple sail which served as a protection against the wind. It crossed, in this way, Lake Champlain and Lake St. Sacrament, and arrived, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, within a short league of Fort George, situate at the head of the last mentioned lake. As it has not been possible to attack this fort by main force, operations were confined to burning, during the nights of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> ; 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> ; 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> ; 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>d</sup>, whatever was outside the fort, more than 300 bateaux, 4 sloops, one of which was pierced for 16 guns, a saw-mill, a large pile of building-timber and fire-wood ; two storehouses full of articles for the troops, and provisions ; a little stockade work containing a dozen houses and barracks to lodge the troops and their sick. Despite the fire of musketry, some shells and cannon-shot which they discharged, we lost, in these different operations, only five soldiers. We had six men slightly wounded, including two Indians. This success is the more important for the Colony, inasmuch as the enemy were in a condition to take the field, in that quarter, earlier than we. 'Tis to be hoped that their operations will be thereby retarded, and that the Canadians, who are here both farmers and soldiers, will have time to sow their grain. This detachment has, moreover, served to make itself certain of the exact position of Fort George.

The Canadians have been astonished to see that our officers and soldiers have yielded to them in nothing in this sort of march to which they were not so much accustomed. It must, in fact, be admitted, that no idea can be formed in Europe of the fatigue in which one is obliged, for weeks, to march and sleep almost continually on the snow and on the ice ; to be reduced

to bread and pork, and often to dragging or carrying provisions for fifteen days. Our troops bore it with much gaiety, and without the smallest murmur. I cannot speak too highly of M. de Paulharies, who commanded our detachment. He is an officer of high distinction.

Do not, my Lord, suspect the zeal of the superior officers belonging to the Line. Chevalier de Levis would have accepted the command of that detachment; M. de Bourlamaque had urgently demanded it, and I too had offered to manage this business, which might, according to circumstances, be of the greatest importance. For I had submitted on the 13<sup>th</sup> January a Memoir containing a plan of surprise, and for the execution, at least, of what has been effected; and I required only eight hundred men for that purpose. But the Marquis de Vaudreuil wished to entrust that operation to his brother.

We are led to hope that the hospitals attached to our camps and in the forts will be better managed than last year. This department and that of provisions, which up to the present time, had been in Canada, in the hands of Commissaries (*en regie*), have just been put out to contract, as in France.

The winter has been of the most severe character. The river St. Lawrence has been frozen since the forepart of December and still remains closed this 8<sup>th</sup> of April so as to admit of the passage of sleighs over it. The thermometer, which in the year 1709, in France, marked in the greatest cold only 15 degrees, has been repeatedly at 27, often 18 @ 20, and almost continually 12 @ 15. A great quantity of snow has fallen.

I am with respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. We have just received a letter from Louisbourg, dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> February. Our battalions may be considered complete, according to the statements sent me. I observe by the letters of M de Dreucourt, Governor of Isle Royale, that there is no more trouble with the battalions, but M. de la Grive, the Commissary, whom the English had taken and sent back to Halifax in exchange for the one taken at Chouaguen, has some difficulty with M. Prévôt, Commissaire Ordonnateur of the Marine. I flatter myself that the letters M. Bigot, the Intendant of Canada, M. Doreil and I write on this occasion will communicate a spirit of conciliation which is highly necessary.

Since the declaration of War, some small armed vessels have gone from Louisbourg, which have not failed to bring in prizes amounting to one hundred thousand *écus*, according to what the Governor of Isle Royale writes.

An Account of the Embassy of the Five Nations, annexed to M. de Montcalm's letter of 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1757.

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

The success of the last campaign had determined the Five Nations (A.) to send an embassy to Montreal. Some of their Ambassadors, 40 in number, with about 60 women and children,

(A.) The Five Nations, or Confederates, or Iroquois, a species of League or Association, formed by five peoples who, Iroquois by origin, compose only one single house, which is called the Iroquois Cabin, or the Grand Village. These peoples are the *Senecas*, *Cayugas*, *Onnontagués*, *Mohawks* and *Oncidas*. They speak as many different dialects of one language, and



arrived there on the night of the 27<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup>, and demanded an audience for the 28<sup>th</sup>. The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis were invited to this audience. When all were assembled, a Cayuga arose and, after a moment's meditation and silence, said: that as yet they were only Onondagas and Cayugas, that they were accompanied by some Cherakis, a Nation bordering on Carolina, which has been conquered and since adopted by them; that their brethren, the Senecas and Oneidas, would come immediately, after whose arrival they would speak of good affairs.

He then expressed the customary compliments, and concluded by recalling a message which had been given them with two strings of Wampum (B.) by the Commandant of Catarakoui. (C.) He demanded a private audience for the 29<sup>th</sup> in order to explain at it their answers on the subject of their Strings. The speaker adroitly insinuated, into his harangue, that they had been surprised that no person had come to meet them, and that they had not been received with the usual ceremonies. (D.)

The Marquis de Vaudreuil answered by compliments, assurances of protection and kindness; and in regard to the ceremony, of the omission of which they complained, he told them that they had arrived late and unexpectedly in Montreal.

The audience granted for the 29<sup>th</sup> was postponed to the 30<sup>th</sup>. The speaker, after having repeated the usual compliments and asking provisions and equipments, insinuated, when speaking of the causes of the delay of their voyage, that they had expected to remain at Montreal only four days; but that these four days may well become four months, and that at all events they had to do with a good Father who would not allow them to want for

inhabit that part of North America, south of the Lakes which form the River St. Lawrence, and is bounded on the east by New-York, and on the south by the Apalachea. They are the greatest warriors of all those countries. There is not an Indian Nation that they have not attacked and subjugated; but as shrewd politicians as the Romans, they have adopted some of these conquered tribes and given them, so to say, the right of Iroquois citizenship on their mat. As for the rest, although by these adoptions their league is now composed of ten different Nations, they are continued to be called the Five Nations, as they originally were. A portion of these Nations has declared for us, another portion appears desirous to remain neutral. The Mohawks only have accepted the English hatchet.

(B.) Wampum is a sort of shell found on the New-York coast; they are *Burgos* or periwinkles, some of which are white, others violet, verging towards black. The white are of little value; the violet more in demand, and the more they incline to black the higher are they esteemed. Wampum, for state affairs, is shaped into small cylinders, a quarter of an inch long, and proportionably thick. They are worked into two forms, Strings and Belts. The Strings consist of cylinders strung, without any order, one after another, like the beads of a rosary. The Belts are wide sashes, in which the white and purple beads are arranged in rows and tied by little leathern strings, whereof a very pretty tissue is formed. Their length, width and color are in proportion to the importance of the affair to be negotiated. Ordinary Belts consist of twelve rows of 180 beads each.

These Belts and Strings of Wampum are the universal agent among Indians, serving as money, jewelry, ornaments, annals, and for registers; 'tis the bond of nations and individuals; an inviolable and sacred pledge which guarantees messages, promises and treaties. As writing is not in use among them, they make a local memoir by means of these belts, each of which signifies a particular affair, or a circumstance of affairs. The Chiefs of the villages are the depositaries of them, and communicate them to the young people, who thus learn the history and engagements of their Nation.

In addition to the name *Gaionne*, which is most used to signify these Belts, the Indians gave them, also, that of *Garihowa*, which means, an Affair; that of *Gnouenda*, as speech or message, and *Gaianderensera*, which implies greatness or nobility, because Chiefs only are competent for the great affairs treated by Belts; they it is who furnish the Belts and Strings, and it is among them that they are divided, whenever presents are made to the villages and answers are given to the speeches of Ambassadors.

(C.) The name given to Fort Frontenac by the Indians.

(D) The Five Nations are the only ones for whose reception there is an established etiquette. An Interpreter is sent to meet them, who presents them with some Strings of Wampum, and when they enter the town they are saluted by five discharges of cannon.



anything; that if their Father pleased, they were ready to speak of good business; if not, they would await the arrival of their brethren, the Senecas and Oneidas.

The speaker then produced, according to custom, the Invitation Belt, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil had furnished the Ambassador who came this summer, and in order to give himself more importance, said he was speaking in the name of 8 Nations.

Finally, he explained the speech of the Commandant of Catarakoui, delivered with two Strings of Wampum, to reassure them against reports propagated by some Indians in the English interest, with the design to indispose them against the French and to dissuade them from coming to Montreal. He added, that these intrigues did not stop them, and that they despised all the false reports. "Perhaps," he then added in a proud and animated tone, "whilst we are here, our wives and children, deprived of our protection, are exposed to the resentment of the English. Perhaps Colonel Johnson, weary of the vain efforts he has made with us, speaks no longer to them in mild terms, but in threatening tones. What matters it to us, after all? Let him threaten, let him even act; we will know how to avenge ourselves, to defend ourselves, to die if needs be, and the dust we shall raise in fighting will ascend even to the heavens."

The speaker continued his harangue by referring to the care they had taken to restrain their young men, by applauding the wisdom with which they had acted up to the present time, and by praying their Father to give them only wine in the morning so that they may preserve their senses throughout the entire day, but at night to give them some milk out of his left breast (E) because being nearer his heart, 'twould convey to their heads only agreeable ideas on which they would sleep in peace.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, after having acknowledged the Invitation Belt as his, and thanked them for having come, presented them six Strings of Wampum to wipe away their tears, to open their ears and cleanse their throats. He afterwards supplied their wants and told them they had too much shrewdness not to have discovered the artifice of the English, who are accustomed to deceive them, whose threats were vain; that only the weak threaten and the powerful strike without threatening; that for the rest, if the English attacked them, the General who has razed Chouaguen, was able to defend them; and thereupon the Marquis de Vaudreuil presented to the Ambassadors the Marquis de Montcalm, who sat beside him, and mentioned the kind conduct of that General towards two Indians of their Nation, who had been found carrying letters to the English, and the gracious reception he had given to those of the Five Nations, who had come to pay him a visit on the ruins of Chouaguen, although they had no part in the success of that expedition.

Father, resumed, then, with animation the Iroquois orator, We were the first to announce to the English that Chouaguen was no more. They were coming with their army to fight you. We stopped them on their way, telling them your warriors were as numerous as the leaves of the trees; that they were crushing the earth beneath their feet, and that nothing could resist them. The English perceived in us so little disposition to second them, that they themselves destroyed their storage forts (F.) as being thenceforward useless; thus, Father, we have had a share in the good business, at least by conveying to the English news which had astonished and dismayed, and determined them to avoid you and to destroy their forts, which, doubtless, would not have resisted you, but would at least have been difficult for you to take.

(E.) Brandy.

(F.) Forts William and Bull, erected on the territory of the Five Nations, about twenty leagues from Choueguen.



The orator terminated the session by presenting six Strings of Wampum, exactly of the same dimensions as those the Marquis de Vaudreuil had given them, and said, in presenting them :

Father. We thank you for having wiped away our tears, cleansed our throats, opened our ears; although the Master of Life has favored you and you have lost few warriors, the least among them is dear to you, and his loss afflicts you. We present you these Strings to wipe away your tears, to clear your throat, so that you may speak to us, and to open your ears, that you may hear your children, who reckon on your treating them as your late Father treated them, whose Belts we bring back to you, in order the better to bind his messages.

The other Ambassadors from the Senecas and Oneidas arrived at Montreal on the 6<sup>th</sup> of X<sup>ber</sup>, and the deputation then amounted to 180 persons, including women and children. All the Deputies requested of the Marquis de Montcalm a private audience, which passed in reciprocal compliments, and which terminated with a glass of brandy to the Ambassadors, and a present of tobacco and vermilion from the Marquis de Montcalm to the young men. The Ambassadors invited him to attend the grand meeting, at which good business was to be transacted.

The Iroquois of the Sault St. Louis, those of the Lake, the Algonkins, Outaouacs and Pouteotamis were in like manner invited to this sort of Congress, the first session of which was held on the 13<sup>th</sup> in the large Government hall. The Ambassadors of the Five Nations assembled in the parlor of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, whence they proceeded in order to the Government house. The Grand Chief at their head, entered, dancing and weeping. They presented their 16 words—14 with Belts, the other two with Strings of Wampum. Some of the Belts were divided in two, so as to serve for two words.

They first gave a Belt in the name of the Eight Nations, to cover the deaths of Baron de Longueuil, Governor of Montreal, and of Baron de Longueuil, his son, killed at the affair of Lake St. Sacrament; another on the behalf of the Onnontagués and Tascarorins in particular, to pledge those of that Nation to continue to participate in good affairs, as the deceased had always done; a third to wipe away the Marquis de Vaudreuil's tears for the loss of his warriors during this campaign.

They next presented several other Belts to kindle in Montreal a perpetual fire; to infuse life into the sap of the Tree of Peace there, whose leaves were ready to wither, and to replace the sun that is obscured by the clouds of bad affairs, by a new sun which should enlighten them all; to induce all the French who were adopted by their cabins to concur with them in good business; to offer to their Father, according to the ancient custom of their ancestors, a medicine capable of dispelling his humors; to sweep off all filth which disfigured the Council mat here since the ancient Councils ceased to be held; in fine, to recall to mind that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Senior, had given them a large platter with a beaver's tail, being desirous to make them eat with their brethren all out of the same dish, and that he had also given them a tobacco pouch, with a plug of tobacco, recommending them to make use of it when the Great Pine would be fallen, in order to have only good thoughts and to form only one single family.

The orator spoke of the danger to which they were exposed; the English having a scowling eye, and the French likewise. He says that, notwithstanding this critical position, no motive could induce them to quit the Belt of Peace; that their weakness alone, when compared with us, prevented them offering themselves as mediators; that as for the rest, they would always preserve that spirit of peace except towards the Flatheads and Chicachas; they demanded a continuance of the permission to attack these, which had been granted them by



the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Senior. A Belt was then presented, in order to recall to mind that this Governor-General had given them a bow to shoot those Nations.

The orator presented another Belt in congratulation for the fall of Chouagen, and as a pledge of the joy that event had caused them, asking, at the same time, by four Strings of Wampum, that as the English refused them everything, even powder, some may be supplied them at a low rate at Frontenac and Niagara, as well as the merchandise of which they stand in need. He adroitly thanked the Marquis de Vaudreuil for having, by the destruction of Chouagen, reëstablished the Five Nations in the possession of a place that was their property. He spoke of the establishment of carts at the Carrying place of Niagara as being prejudicial to them, inasmuch as formerly they did the transportation over that Carrying place themselves.

He said, that although the Delawares were not present, he answered for their intentions, and that their heart was sound. He concluded by inviting the domiciliated Iroquois, the Nepissings and all the other Nations present at that meeting, to join in sentiment and affection with them, to labor in common at good business, and, in order to determine them to this union, he called their attention to the family alliances contracted by reciprocal marriages since the elder Marquis de Vaudreuil had engaged them to eat the beaver's tail out of the same dish.

The session terminated by the orator of the Sault St. Louis, who spoke in the name of the domiciliated Iroquois, congratulating the Five Nations on the good dispositions in which their heart appeared to be; that he believed their words to be sincere; that for themselves, true children of Ononchio, they had upheld, and should always support him; that they were numerous; that such was the determination of the Outaouais and Pouteotamis also, and that Ononchio had thousands of Indians, attached and faithful to his word, from the countries where the Sun rises to the Great Lake in which it sets.

The words of the Five Nations were explained one by one by the Interpreter, recorded by the Secretary of the Government, and the Belts numbered according as received,

The second session, which had been fixed for the 14<sup>th</sup>, was postponed to the 15<sup>th</sup>. The same ceremony was observed at it as at the first.

The Cayuga orator, speaking in the name of the Five Nations, presented 3 Strings and 5 Belts of Wampum, which had been sent them before and after the fall of Chouagen, by the Marquis de Montcalm, both in his own name and in that of the Eight Indian Nations, who were with the army. He explained the messages represented by these Belts, the object of which had been, 1<sup>st</sup>. To notify them that they were to restrain their young people; to confine themselves to their mats and not to afford any aid to the English; otherwise, that their very brethren, the Iroquois of the Sault, would treat them as enemies. 2<sup>nd</sup>. To communicate to them the fall of Chouagen, and to tell them to remain quiet unless the English should wish to reëstablish that place, which we destroyed in order to remove the war from the cabin of the Five Nations. The orator protested that, since the receipt of these messages, they had not and should not afford the English any aid, either in provisions, conveyances or scouts.

He presented a Belt of the Marquis de Vaudreuil the elder, which they preserve in their village as a preventive of bad affairs. In presenting it, he asked for the reëstablishment of the ancient custom of keeping among them, as a resident officer, one of their relatives, that is, one of their tribes, to be a witness of their fidelity, the Interpreter of their messages to their Father, and his organ with them; that they were answerable for the person of such officer and of the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Lake who would accompany him; that it was necessary, also, that, pursuant to the ancient custom, this officer should notify his arrival at the River *aux Ecorces*, five leagues from Chouagen, and that they would send for him with the customary honors.



He finally gave two Strings of Wampum to announce the death of their Grand Chief, and presented the young man destined to replace him. This young man, about 16 years of age, rose up and saluted the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

The Oneida orator then spoke of the ancient attachment of his Nation for the French. He recalled the memory of a famous Oneida Chief named Tharea, who, in the time of the elder Marquis de Vaudreuil, came twice to Montreal to treat of good affairs, which, indeed, they had since ceased to speak about, but their dispositions towards the French were always the same, and such as might be desired. He gave a Belt as a guarantee of his word. He likewise presented the young Chief who had succeeded the old Chief and four Strings of Wampum, to notify the union between them and the Cheraquis, who entertained similar sentiments towards us.

The Cayuga orator terminated the session by calling, in a loud voice, each Nation according to its rank, and, when he named it, the chief thereof uttered the cry of thanks which was repeated in cadence by all the Indians.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil said to them that he would communicate to them the day on which he would give his answer.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> a Council was held for that purpose. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, resuming all the words of the Five Nations, answered them in the same order. The result of these answers was to grant them an oblivion of all the past whilst exhorting them not to fall again into their errors. He showed them that the English were seeking only to deceive them, and pointed out to them the example of the Senecas, many of whose warriors had come to join the French. He promised to have all their necessities supplied at Frontenac and Niagara, and to restore the Carrying place of the latter post to them on condition that they should conduct themselves better than they had done hitherto, inasmuch as they had stolen some of the King's property there.

He permitted them to wage war on the Chicachas and forbade them to strike the Flatheads, who are now allies of France. Finally, he told them that he consented to send them an officer related to them; that is to say, of the families of Longueuil, Jonquiere and de la Chauvignerie, whensoever he should have proposals to make to them.

All these different speeches were accompanied by Belts and Strings of Wampum.

After the Marquis de Vaudreuil's answer, the Iroquois of the Sault and of the Lake, presented the Five Nations with a Belt felicitating them on their dispositions, exhorting them to persevere therein and inviting them to bring back the Mohawks, and thereby spare them the pain of shedding their brethren's blood.

An Algonkin, speaking in the name of his Nation and of the Nepissings, addressing the orator of the Five Nations, said: We, who were the first in this world that beheld the light of the sun and our Father's look; we, the first children of this land, we warn you, for this last time, that we strike whomsoever does our Father harm. Remember this word; there's a Belt to prevent you forgetting it.

Aouschik, a Neppissing chief, he who at the commencement of the siege of Chouagen killed the unfortunate Decombles,\* then rose, his looks, his gesture and expression denoting furious anguish, What need, said he, of Councils, deliberations, proposals, when action is needed? I hate the Englishman. I thirst for his blood. I am going to bathe in it. And chanted his war-song at the same time.

\* An Engineer killed in a mistake.

An Outaouais chief next rose, and, after having presented a Belt to the Five Nations, said : We notify you, for the last time, to be faithful to the speech you have just solemnly delivered. If you falsify it, we will make a sacrifice of you, and your bloody mat will reproach you for your lack of faith. I am but a young chief; you see me now accompanied by few warriors, but in the spring the number of our warriors will make the earth tremble. Thereupon he sung his war-song.

The Pouteatamis orator, speaking more mildly, presented a Belt to the Five Nations, saying to them : Brethren, do not have sweet lips and a bitter heart, for we should be sorry to cease regarding you as brethren.

The Cayuga orator, then rising up, thanked the Marquis de Vaudreuil in the name of the Five Nations. He assured him of their good intentions; of their having cut off from their cabin the Mohawks, whose heart was wholly English; yet he hoped, by dint of shaking their head, to make them recover their lost senses and to bring them back to their Father. He then called the roll of all the Nations and the Assembly adjourned.

The session has been fixed for the morrow; but the young men having lost their reason (G.) the Ambassadors excused them and requested that it be postponed until the following day.

The Oneida orator opened the meeting by presenting a Belt to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to assure him that his words had persuaded them; that consequently, they had discharged from among them whatever evil might remain; that they brought in two medals the English had given them, and which they wished to trample in the dust; at the same time treading them under foot. He next gave a Belt to say that a Nation dwelling near them, which is neither English nor French, nor Indian, but supports, with impatience, the English yoke, had proposed to unite with them, to live in independence under the shelter of their cabin; that as children ought always to consult their Father before acting, he delivered the Belt of that Nation, in order that their Father should prescribe to them what they ought to do.

The orator of the Sault St. Louis appeared penetrated by this last proceeding of the Five Nations; congratulated them in the name of the domiciliated and Upper Indians, on the favorable dispositions he beheld them in; that his people did not regret having remained longer than they had at first designed, since they witnessed the submission of the Five Nations to their Father's will, and the manner they had rejected the marks of distinction with which the English wished to fascinate their eyes.

The Cayuga orator, addressing the domiciliated and Upper Tribes, in the name of the Eight Nations, said, that their speech was not yet ready; but that on the morrow they would be able to answer the Belts received from them.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil fixed the meeting for next day, that he may answer himself the last Belts, and that the Five Nations might answer the domiciliated and Upper Indians.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> was held the last session of this Grand Council. The Cayuga orator opened it by presenting a Belt in answer to that which the domiciliated Indians had given them.

Brethren, said he, we shall convey your Belt to the Mohawks to bring them back to their Father's arms; and in order to add more weight to that invitation which you send them, we shall join one in the name of the Five Nations.

Then addressing himself to the Algonkins and the Nepissings, and presenting them a Belt, he said : Brethren, you counseled us to observe, religiously, our words, and to do our Father's

(G.) That is to say, having got drunk.



will. Our words are sincere, and our Father will be satisfied of our fidelity; act so that he be also satisfied of yours and show us the example of obedience to his will.

He presented another Belt to the Outaouais, and added: You have told us that you were but young people and small in number, and that you were expecting many warriors. We believe you to be great chiefs, for modesty is the characteristic of great warriors. We follow your speech.

Then he presented a Belt to the Pouteotamis, saying to them: Brethren. We shall follow your words as true children of Ononthio, but in reporting what has just occurred here, be careful to be exact, for many, on arriving at their villages, whether through forgetfulness or some other motive, do not tell things as they are, and a word changed becomes of consequence.

When the orator of the Five Nations was seated, the Marquis de Vaudreuil presented a Belt to answer the Oneidas. He thanked them for their good dispositions and for bringing back the English medals. He assured them that he would give them marks of distinction as soon as he should have received proofs of their affection, and should take care of them as they are his real children.

He caused a second Belt to be presented to them in answer to that of the Nation which is neither English, nor French, nor Indian, and added, that he knew that Nation; that it was a part of a people (H.) dwelling beyond the Great Lake and allies of the Great King; that he saw clearly the English domination was becoming odious; let them examine attentively whether the word of the people was sincere; in that case they would do well to incorporate them with themselves, as children of a common Father; that even should that Nation desire to remove to him, he would receive them with open arms and give them lands; but if that people made such propositions only to ward off war from the country they inhabited, these false pretences should not stop him; that he would go all over in search of the English and to continue good business.

The Oneida orator then thanked the Marquis de Vaudreuil and assured him his message should be conveyed to the Palatines, and that if the English were desirous of again settling at Chouagen, the Five Nations could effectually defend themselves; that the English were not so redoubtable, that they never dared to follow them through the woods; that, as for the rest, they would come to notify their Father of the movements of the English.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil caused the Five Nations to be thanked for the manner they had terminated the good business, and added, that it seemed to him they had conversed together long enough; he had no more to say to them; he was going to have them fitted out and furnished with the usual presents; that affairs of importance would call him to Quebec, and that he allowed them to take advantage of the ice to return home.

He next had the domiciliated Indians and those of the Upper country thanked for the part they had taken in the good business, and expressed to them his satisfaction at seeing them all reunited with the Five Nations and how delighted he was to be able to regard them all as Ononthio's children.

The orator of the Sault St. Louis, speaking in the name of the domiciliated and Upper Indians, expressed the joy they felt at seeing matters terminated so happily; and he thanked

(H.) They are some families which left the Palatinate on account of religion, amounting, at most, to two hundred men. There is no certain information respecting their dispositions. What is sure is, that the English, as we learned in the latter end of March, had committed to jail, in Orange, one of their principal men, and have planted, in the midst of these European families, a garrison of 200 men in a stone house which they have converted into a fort.

the Five Nations for consenting to add in their names, a Belt to that the domiciliated Iroquois were sending to the Mohawks.

Some Iroquois from La Presentation (I.) were present at all the sessions of this negotiation, but never spoke separately nor in their proper and special name. The reason is, that being domiciliated only a very short time, they regarded themselves still as of the mat of the Five Nations who call La Presentation the confines of the Five Nations.

In regard to the Belts presented by the latter, each of them furnished in turn and contributed equally to that expense, and as the Indians are very particular in exhibiting the share they possess in these presents, at the end of each speech, the orator is careful, when handing the Belt, to cry out the name of the Canton, or Nation, which has furnished it.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> the Ambassadors of the Five Nations had their audience of leave. Some particular affairs were again transacted on that occasion; one of some importance. The Oneidas presented the Cayugas a Belt from which an English scalp was suspended. This proceeding had been the thought of an Iroquois, a shrewd politician, to get an English scalp introduced into the cabin of the Cayugas, where, as yet, there have not been any.

The Ambassadors asked to remain until the morrow, New-Year's day, because they had been told that on that day the Pale faces kissed each other and that liquor was furnished.

Such has been this famous embassy of the Five Nations, the most important that has occurred for a long time, and which ought be regarded indeed as important under existing circumstances. The Ambassadors, their women and children, have been fitted out entire and entertained at the King's expense from the moment of their arrival to that of their departure. They had also been furnished with supplies and provisions for their journey, and the civil and war chiefs have received special presents. These expenses are unavoidable. The neutrality of those Nations is one of the greatest advantages we could obtain over the English.<sup>1</sup>

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*M. Doreil to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1757.

My Lord,

I learn, at this moment, when the navigation opens, that a vessel is being sent to Acadia whence an officer is to proceed to Louisbourg. I am unwilling to allow this opportunity to pass without having the honor to give you some signs of life. I do so in great haste.

Notwithstanding the rigor of the most severe winter, during which the snow has been as much as ten or twelve feet deep, an expedition was set on foot which has partially succeeded. A detachment of 1,200 men and 300 Indians, under the orders of M. de Rigaud, a brother of M. de Vaudreuil, has burned the sheds and magazines outside of Fort George,<sup>2</sup> on Lake Saint Sacrament, a great many bateaux and three sloops, one of which was on the stocks and pierced for 16 guns.

(I.) A Mission planted in the upper part of the River St. Lawrence by Abbé Piquet, a Missionary of Saint Sulpice, who has attracted thither many Iroquois of the Five Nations; a settlement as advantageous for religion as for the state.

<sup>1</sup> The official Minutes of the above Conference are to be found *supra*, p. 556, *et seq.* — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Fort William Henry



The design was to scale the fort if it could be surprised ; but the only knowledge of the place was derived from the report of some prisoners and deserters. We had in that detachment 300 of our Regulars under the orders of Captain de Poulharies of the Royal Rousillon grenadiers. M. de Bourlamaque had offered to execute this enterprise. The Marquis de Montcalm had given a Lieutenant-Colonel as second, but the Marquis de Vaudreuil preferred M. de Rigaud, his brother, and M. de Longueuil,<sup>1</sup> the King's Lieutenant at Quebec. It was hoped that this expedition would put off, considerably, the opening of the campaign and afford us time to receive, before its commencement, the supplies of provisions which are expected from France and are greatly needed. Meanwhile, everybody is in motion ; M. de Bourlamaque is about to proceed to Carillon ; 400 Militia leave here for the Beautiful river, and the French troops are going to Carillon and St. John.

My secretary supplies my place at Montreal whilst I am dispatching the troops which are here, where I shall await the vessels from France and the reinforcements we are expecting.

Letters received last month from Louisbourg have informed us that M. de la Grive des Assises has been sent thither from Halifax as far back as October, doubtless in exchange. He has not written to me nor to Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm and Bigot. The latter has communicated a letter to me which he has received on business from M. Prévost, Commissary of the Marine, *Ordonnateur* at Isle Royale, containing a detail of the difficulties which exist between them. I write in consequence to M. de la Grive, to whom I give such advice and instructions as I consider necessary for the good of the service and to the point ; I exhort him to concur in the promotion of peace and union in order to effect that ; to sacrifice even some prerogatives, which one must learn to give up, so as to yield to the customs of the Colonies. This is the way I get along. In my position, 'tis often necessary to dispense with them and to dissemble. I think, my Lord, that this is a means of pleasing you. M. de Montcalm likewise writes to this Commissary, and we have communicated our letters to each other. M. Bigot gives him orders, which he has let me see. I would have the honor to transmit you copy of my letter had I had time. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, of last year, I had written to M. de la Grive my letter of congratulation, of detail and instruction, and I addressed it to M. d'Ortoman, Adjutant of the regiment of Burgundy.

The number of dead during the current winter has not been so considerable as I had feared. I shall be particular, my, Lord, to send you, by another opportunity, the minute thereof, with the return of the strength of the battalions. This occasion does not allow me time to do so.

We have had a great many marriages of soldiers and two of officers, viz<sup>t</sup>., of Captains Douglas and Larfoura, of the battalion of Languedoc. The former married a young lady, and the other a citizen's daughter.

*Pursuant to my intention, I ordered the sale this winter of the effects of M. de Dieskaw, of M. Bernier, his Aid-de-Camp, and of those of the late M. de Combles ; the whole was disposed of most advantageously.*

Everything continues horribly dear, and if prices keep up to the same figure ever so short a time, it will be no longer possible to live on the King's allowance, however liberal it may seem in France.

I am, with most profound respect, your most humble and most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

<sup>1</sup> PAUL JOSEPH DE LONGUEUIL was son of Charles Le Moine, and brother of Charles, second Baron of Longueuil. He was a native of Canada, Captain in the troops of the Marine: Commandant of Detroit in 1747; Lieutenant-Governor of Three Rivers, and subsequently of Quebec. He remained in Canada after its surrender to the English, in whose favor he fought in 1775. He died, eventually, at Tours, in France, 12th May, 1778. *Bibaud*. — Ed.

*M. de Montcalm to Count d'Argenson.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1757.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to write you by way of Louisbourg, under date 24<sup>th</sup> April, in order to render you an account of the divers events of the winter: An important embassy of the Five Nations, the consequences whereof are perceptible in the present dispositions of the greater portion of these Indians to attack the English, which we should not have dared to hope for a year ago.

An English detachment of 77 men entirely defeated, on the 21<sup>st</sup> January, by one of ours, in which were only some officers of the Line, under the orders of Captain de Basserode, of the Languedoc regiment.

We have had likewise a strong detachment of 1,500 men, commanded by M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers, including 250 men, under the orders of Captain Poulhariés, of the Royal Roussillon. This detachment has been 60 leagues on the ice to burn some sloops, bateaux and stores the enemy had under the protection of Fort George, which they possess on Lake St. Sacrament.

I shall have the honor, when vessels will be sent to France, to address you duplicates and even triplicates of those letters of the 24<sup>th</sup> April, which will inform you in detail of everything relating to the Colony, our troops and the conduct I observe. I have been very glad to write you again by Louisbourg to inform you of our situation; it would be good were it not for the want of provisions and the non-arrival, as yet, at Quebec, of ships from France; the people are in want of bread; the ration had to be reduced. Were provisions arrived at Quebec, it would still require time to have them arrive at the entrepôts.

M. de Bourlamaque is in command of fourteen hundred men at Carillon; the remainder of the troops are in camp or quartered so as to march thither in case of need.

'Tis fortunate that the enemy has not moved on Lake St. Sacrament; our advices by Indians and prisoners state that they are towards Fort Duquesne. In consequence of want of provisions, no other reinforcement than four hundred Canadians can be sent thither. I do not write by this occasion to M. de Machauts.

I am respectfully, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*Montreal, 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1757.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report to you whatever of interest has occurred at Carillon, since the letter I had the honor to address to the Keeper of the Seals on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April, to inform him



of the success gained by Mr. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil in the important mission I had confided to him against Fort George.

A party headed by Sieur de Langy de Montegron was to Kouarinet, where it took five prisoners.

A party of Outaouais and Nepissings, commanded by Sieur Bleury, took three scalps and three soldiers prisoners, in the vicinity of Fort Lydius.

Another party of twenty-four Iroquois and seven soldiers of the detachment of Marines, commanded by Sieur Langy de Montegron, took two prisoners in the vicinity of Fort George.

Twenty-five English embarked<sup>1</sup> near Carillon, about two hundred paces from the clearance. Three carpenters who had left without waiting for the escort, fell into this ambush; one was taken, the other two returned to the camp. M. de Bourlamaque immediately dispatched different detachments, but Sieurs Le Borgne de Boucherville and Langy de Montegron, at the head of five soldiers, were the only persons that could overtake the English, in the rear of Bald Mountain. They fired at once at them and raised the warwhoop. The terror of the English was so great that they abandoned their prisoner and their small field implements. The small force Mr. Le Borgne had with him did not admit of his continuing the pursuit of the English. This action, though trifling, preserves for us the tone of superiority.

Sieur Laforce at the head of four Indians of La Presentation, killed an Englishman near the River Corlac, a short distance from the town.

The result of the report of all these prisoners is:

That as soon as the English learned that Mr. de Rigaud was marching against Fort George, they called out six thousand men, to wit, the Scotch,<sup>2</sup> the two regiments of Halquet,<sup>3</sup> and Dumber<sup>4</sup> and other troops, but learned, when on the point of marching, that the French had terminated their expedition.

That the number of Regulars in all the New England provinces was computed to be fifty-two thousand men; that five transports full of them, had arrived, escorted by two 70-gun ships; that the English were expecting some more in five other transports. This is a great exaggeration of the enemy's forces in the item of Regulars.

That none but the infirm remained in the settlements, and that those who were unwilling to march, paid five hundred pounds.

That the English were slowly repairing the damages Mr. de Rigaud had caused them; that there is neither bateau nor wagon at Fort George, nor at Fort Lidius; that the garrison of this latter fort consists of three hundred men, many of whom are sick, and of the first, the same as this winter, exclusive of three companies of Regulars and thirty-six Militia.

That the policy of the English is to keep on the defensive in that quarter.

That they intend operating on the coast; that Lord Lawdun is expecting a fleet of fifteen ships for the expedition against Louisbourg.

The scouts whom I have sent to Fort George have assured me that there was neither tent nor bateau, nor any extraordinary movement there.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Qu? *S'embusquèrent* — lay in ambush.

<sup>2</sup> 42d Highlanders.

<sup>3</sup> 44th.

<sup>4</sup> Lieutenant-General THOMAS DUNBAR had been Lieutenant-Colonel in the 18th or Royal Irish, previous to April, 1752, when he was appointed Colonel of the 48th foot. He accompanied Braddock's expedition, but in consequence of his inglorious retreat after the discomfiture of that General, was superseded in the command of his regiment, 11th November, 1755, and appointed Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar. Though never again on active service, he became Major-General in January, 1758; Lieutenant-General December 18, 1760 (*Sargent's Expedition of Braddock*, 267), and died in 1767. *Army List.* — Ed.

From all these reports, my Lord, it appears that the English are nowise active in following up their project of attack on Carillon and St. Frederic, which proves what confusion Mr. de Rigaud's expedition has scattered among them.

'Tis indeed certain that they cannot dispense with replacing the bateaux, and whatever of theirs we have burnt; 'tis no small work.

This circumstance would be one of the most favorable for me to undertake the siege of Fort George; I have been constantly occupied with it; at the outset of last winter I sent for the greatest portion of the Indian Nations belonging to the Upper countries, and am daily expecting about twelve hundred. All preparations are made, but, unfortunately, I am not free from anxiety in regard to provisions. The scarcity is so great that I am obliged to confine myself to keeping a camp at Carillon of the battalions of La Sarre and Bearn; again I am necessitated to reduce the troops to what is purely necessary to subsist them, and I fear, with reason, that in a short time a number of them will be sick, from the bad quality of the pork issued to them, as I have no other. As it is important that the enemy should not perceive our situation, I have established a camp at the head of the Carrying place, of about two hundred men of the Colonial troops, Canadians or Indians. I have posted another camp of about one hundred men at the Fall, and have laid down, for the Commanders of these two camps, the manoeuvre they were to have recourse to, in order to deceive the enemy.

At the same time I provided for the safety of Carillon by encamping the battalion of Royal Rousillon, on the Fort St. John road, where it is at work repairing the road between La Prairie and that fort, and the Guienne battalion at Chambly, where it, too, is at work repairing the road from St. Thérèse to port Gêbeaucour. I have had prepared, at Fort St. John, the number of bateaux necessary for the quick conveyance of these two battalions to Carillon, the moment Mr. Bourlamaque will demand them.

Such, my Lord, is the best that I can do. I could not economize, too much, the small quantity of provisions we have in the Colony which otherwise would be exposed to absolute want, unless those I had the honor to ask you for last fall and those of the contractor reach us forthwith.

'Tis greatly to be desired that I be not obliged, before the receipt of these provisions, to employ our forces to resist the enemy, for then I would be forced to seize the little that remains with each individual and farmer in the Colony, and to support the towns and villages on the domestic cattle, which would destroy the race.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Adjutant Malartic to Count d'Argenson.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Carillon, June 16, 1757.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you hereunto annexed two copies of the judgment rendered against two deserters of the second battalion of the Bearn regiment. They have been read



at the head of the troops of this camp, and will be affixed in the places of the Colony wherever necessary.

Permit me to have the honor of rendering you an account of what has occurred since the opening of the campaign at this camp which I superintend. It is composed of the Royal Rousillon and Bearn regiments, one picket of La Sarre, two pickets of Languedoc and a detachment of the Marine; I have not the honor of sending you a return of their condition, because I am ignorant of the fate of my letter. M. de Bourlamaque, destined to command on this frontier, arrived here on the 13<sup>th</sup> May, the Royal Rousillon on the 14<sup>th</sup>, the detachment of the troops of the Marine on the 16<sup>th</sup>, which proceeded on the 18<sup>th</sup> to camp at the Carrying place and the Falls; the regiment of Bearn on the 20<sup>th</sup>; the pickets had passed the winter there with a detachment of the Marine, or had remained there on returning from Fort George. The troops of the Line are encamped near the fort, they commenced work on the 16<sup>th</sup>, and furnish, daily, more than 400 pioneers or workmen, who are employed to finish a curtain, to construct two half-moons, to dig their trenches and the covert-ways. I doubt not, my Lord, you have the plan of it. A considerable abatis has been thrown up on the right bank of the river of the Falls, to secure its navigation, and another fort in front of the fort, to command its approaches.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of last month, the English came, to the number of 26, within half a league of this place, and carried off a carpenter who had set out before the escort. M. de Bourlamaque heard of it in sufficient season to send three detachments, each of 20 men, in pursuit—two by land and one by water, as far as the Falls of Lake St. Sacrament. Two officers and five soldiers of that detachment overtook the English five leagues from here; came so close to them as to force them to abandon the carpenter, whom they did not injure; also their provisions and a part of their baggage.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month we had a trifling alarm. M. de Gaspé, who commands the camp at the Carrying place, has orders to fire some guns whenever he is certain that the enemy designs to attack him; the Commandant of the Falls to make the same signal to notify M. de Bourlamaque of the enemy's arrival. We heard a considerable firing, followed by several discharges of small mortars (*boîtes*). On hearing the general, which is to be beaten whenever the *boîtes* are fired, M. de Bourlamaque proceeded by water to the Fall, with two companies of grenadiers and three pickets; the Royal Rousillon is within a league of this place, on the right of the fall; Bearn at the Falls in the camp it occupied last year. These two regiments are intrusted with the defence of a front by which the enemy must pass, in order to be able to intersect the two advanced camps. On disembarking, M. de Bourlamaque caused the grenadier company of Bearn, with the three pickets, to march some minutes after that of the Royal Rousillon, with two pickets of the Bearn, which followed to reinforce or extricate M. de Gaspé, of whom there was no intelligence. He found the camp very quiet; learned that a troop of nearly 200 men had approached it before the departure of the scout; had responded to the challenge by several shots, and had retired on the first discharge of the *boîtes* to embark within a league of that place in fourteen barges; that twenty-five men, sent on their trail, a quarter of an hour after their departure, discovered them lying in the middle of the lake. M. de Bourlamaque dispatched some Indians who had arrived the previous evening with some officers and soldiers, to the north and south, to be certain of the retreat of the enemy, and to send orders to the troops to return to the camp. The detachments returned at four o'clock and informed M. de Bourlamaque that they had seen the barges stop near the Sugar loaf.

A party of 90 Outaouas, Iroquois, Nepissings, Algonkins and Sauteurs, commanded by an officer attached to these Nations, who had demanded of M. de Bourlamaque a sergeant and seven soldiers of the Line whom he knew, proceeded on the 5<sup>th</sup> to make an attack between Fort Lydius and Fort George; they returned in detail on the 12<sup>th</sup>, and reported that they attacked on the 10<sup>th</sup> some pioneers and their escort, took four prisoners and three scalps; that the English had hotly pursued them and forced them to disperse; that, wishing to return to their canoes, they discovered a good many trails which obliged them to abandon that intention also; to leave one of their chiefs, who is wounded, under the care of five young men; to abandon a sergeant and two soldiers who could not march, and to proceed slowly by land to Cape Diamond, whence they made a signal to send in search of them.

M. de Bourlamaque did not place entire confidence in their statement; reproached them with having abandoned their chief and the soldiers whom they had so urgently requested.

The depositions of the four prisoners agree in assuring that General Loudon embarked at New-York with almost all the Regulars and a great many Militia, to lay siege to Louisbourg; that there are at Forts George and Lydius only 7 @ 800 Regulars, near two thousand Militia, and that as many more are expected.

The sergeant and two soldiers who were supposed to have perished of hunger, arrived on the 14<sup>th</sup>. They assure that the English followed them only for half an hour; that the Indians had taken fright without cause; that they quitted the spot on the 13<sup>th</sup> where the canoes are concealed, all which are safe as well as what has been left in them. Some Indians who are on their return from a scout to Fort George, report that they have seen some forty tents, and laborers working at the fortifications. This confirms that the English have conveyed the major part of their forces to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and will keep on the defensive in this quarter.

This, my Lord, is all the news we have of the English. I think that their expedition against Louisbourg will possibly lead us to organize one on this frontier.

I have the honor to be, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant

MALARTIC.

*Account of two Expeditions in Canada, in the course of the winter of 1757.*

1757. 21<sup>st</sup> January. At nine o'clock in the morning, Mr. de Rouilly, an officer of the Colony, acting as Major at Fort Carillon, received orders from Mr. de Lusignan, the Commandant to proceed to Fort St. Frederic, and have some brandy and forage loaded there on eight sleighs, having eight horses harnessed to each, under an escort of fifteen soldiers and one sergeant. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Liébot, an officer of the Royal Rousillon, Varennes, a Colonial officer, two sleighs, with ten men, had gone ahead; being at Presqu'isle, Mr. de Rouilly discovered the enemy issuing from the wood to the number of seventy or eighty men, who captured there two sleighs, and seven out of the ten men who were in charge of them were taken prisoners. The other three escaped on horseback. The enemy, to the number of one hundred and



twenty, then advanced at great speed, detached the swiftest runners among their men to cut off our people, but in vain. Under these circumstances M. de Rouilly sent off a man on horseback to the Commandant at Carillon, with news of what occurred. The latter, not wishing to have anything to reproach himself with, forthwith dispatched a detachment of one hundred men, including Indians, soldiers and Canadian volunteers to intercept them, under the command of Captains de Basserode, of the Languedoc, La Granville of La Reine, Lieutenants Dastrel of the Languedoc, and Langlade, a Colonial officer, with five Cadets; half an hour afterwards ten men were sent off to convey, to our detachment, provisions and ammunition, which it required.

About three o'clock in the afternoon this party halted and waited for the English, within three leagues of Fort Carillon, and seeing them come singing, allowed them to approach to within musket-shot, then saluted them with one-half of our musketry, the other having missed on account of the rain. This ceasing, the firing became brisk on both sides until nightfall, when the enemy, after retreating some time, posted themselves very advantageously. In this interval two Canadians went to notify the fort that the ammunition was exhausted; the Commandant immediately ordered off a detachment of twenty-five men, under the command of Mr. Le Borgne, a Colonial officer, to carry some to them.

In the course of the night the enemy abandoned the field of battle, in order to retire, which they effected, leaving their provisions, ammunition and the arms of the wounded.

The English have lost thirty-four men who remained on the field; of these, three were officers. On our side we lost two soldiers of La Reine, two of the Royal Rousillon, two of Languedoc, and one Colonial.

We have taken six prisoners, who report that the English in the two forts of Lake St. Sacrament number one thousand men, and that Governor-General Leudon is to send a considerable army to attack Fort St. Frederic.

It is calculated that we have lost, on this occasion, eleven soldiers in all, including Regulars and Colonists and one Sauter Indian, and that we have had twenty-seven wounded, among whom are Captain Basserode, of the Languedoc regiment, and M. Clapier.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, determined in the month of January last, to send a considerable detachment to Lake St. Sacrament, to burn some sloops and bateaux which the English had had built under the guns of Fort St. George, situate at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, the storehouses full of provisions, with other buildings and a little stockaded fort occupied by an independent company; the object of this was, to prevent the enemy making any attempt at the opening of the spring, on Fort Carillon.

He confided the command hereof to M. de Rigaud, Governor of Three Rivers, whom, however, he ordered, should circumstances be favorable for carrying Fort George by escalade, to do all in his power to profit by them.

This detachment was composed of fifteen hundred men, to wit: five pickets of troops of the Line, one of which was grenadiers drawn from four companies under the command of Captain de Poulalières of the Royal Rousillon grenadiers; three hundred Colonials and six hundred and fifty Canadians, one company of which consisted of fifty volunteers, together with four hundred Indians. This detachment marched from Fort St. John between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> February, and did not arrive at Carillon until the 7<sup>th</sup> of March; the thaw continuing, it tarried at that fort until the 15<sup>th</sup>, when it started and went to camp on the shore of Lake St. Sacrament.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> one hundred Indians set off, at day-break, on a scout. The detachment debouched, two hours after, on the lake in three columns; the company of volunteers formed the van-guard; the scouts returned, having observed no trail.

17<sup>th</sup> Marched at early dawn; the corps set out at three o'clock in the afternoon to approach under cover of the night, and at seven o'clock in the evening found itself beneath a mountain a league and a half from Fort George.

18<sup>th</sup> Mr. de Rigaud detached Mess<sup>rs</sup> Poulaillières, Dumas and Lemer cier, escorted by Frenchmen and Indians, to observe the fort from a hill overlooking it within less than half a league's distance. The condition of the fort was thoroughly reconnoitred by means of a telescope. It did not appear accessible by ladder except at half of one of its faces; and the activity perceptible on the works, excited the suspicion that the enemy were informed of the march of the French.

On this report, Mr. de Rigaud made a twofold arrangement; to scale the fort, under the supposition that the security of the enemy was favorable to it; if unfavorable, to operate at the same moment on the outworks agreeably to his orders; the army moved, in consequence, in the beginning of the night of the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup>.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Du Mars, Lemer cier, Savourin and Charly, escorted by twelve grenadiers, were detached to reconnoitre the approaches of the fort, to observe, more closely, the facility or inconveniences of the projected operation and to determine, with more certainty, whether the detachment was discovered or not.

The ice was so smooth that night that the scouts could not walk without making noise; the *hous* of the English commenced early according as the party approached the sentinels. Those gentlemen observed the uneasy curiosity of the guard of the fort, which determined them to wait until midnight to approach nearer; but though gliding on silently, the guard of the fort was not less alert on the first motion of our scouts, which made the latter resolve on returning to report to Mr. de Rigaud the vigilance of the sentinels.

That Commander, to whom scaling appeared no longer practicable, turned his attention to the sloops and bateaux. He sent some gunners with fascines and artificial fire-works to burn the enemy's marine; but those fascines not being sufficiently combustible, day dawned before they had burnt anything but a few bateaux. The enemy kept up a pretty brisk fire that night, whereby two men were killed and one Indian wounded.

20<sup>th</sup> On the next day Fort George was invested on all sides; a detachment of Indians repaired to the Fort Lidius road to cut off the communication with Fort George, and the main body occupied itself in making new fascines.

Mr. de Rigaud dispatched Chevalier Le Mercier to summon the English Commandant verbally to surrender. He had recourse to this ruse to obtain information of a spot which appeared adapted to effect a landing in case our offensive operations were directed, next campaign, against this place.

He caused his little army to make a movement at the same time; passed it, as it were, in review, so as to make it appear considerable and let the enemy see the ladders.

The Commandant of Fort George answered Mr. Le Mercier that he should defend himself as long as possible. On the next night the fires were lighted without interruption, the enemy discharging only a few cannon-shot and some shells.

More than three hundred bateaux were burnt that night by the company of Canadian volunteers; three sloops caught in the ice shared the same fate, together with a store full of



effects and implements for the campaign, and over three hundred cords of wood designed for fuel for the garrison of the fort; the slightest wind would have reduced this fort to ashes, but that and the following nights were calm.

During the night of the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> such an abundance of moist snow fell that it was impossible to continue operations.

The last sloop whose bowsprit touched one of the bastions of the fort, could not catch fire, as it was the largest and was still on the stocks. M. de Rigaud ordered every effort to be made to destroy it, in spite of the thaw which was threatening the return of the army to Carillon.

22<sup>nd</sup>. The fort always blockaded, new fascines were prepared. Mr. Volf, a partisan officer of the regular troops, took upon himself to burn the sloop; several Colonial officers set fire during the night, to two large stores full of provisions, which still remained standing; to the hospital, to a stockaded fort containing seventeen houses; and a large store full of building timber, a saw-mill and several houses which were going up under that fort; a sort of Lower Town, and to two species of 30-oar galleys; all were consumed.

The whole of these, as well as the bateaux and sloops, were so near the fort that the musketry defended its approaches; their fire was, notwithstanding, momentary.

Only five Frenchmen, in all, were killed; one officer and an Indian were wounded.

The pillage was considerable; the Indians were all night removing, to the camp, clothing of all sorts, guns, tents, a quantity of kettles, boxes, medicine chests, and barrels of various kinds of liquor, on which they got so drunk that they would have remained around the fort, wrapped in the sleep of drunkenness, had they not been removed before day. On the 23<sup>d</sup> the thaw always continuing, the little army set out on its return march to Carillon, where it arrived on the following day.

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### *Intelligence from Cape Breton.*

Louisbourg, 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1757.

We have eighteen men of war in the harbor under the command of Mr. Dubois de la Motte,<sup>1</sup> who bears here the flag of Vice-Admiral, and Mr. Beaufremont, who came, with his fleet, from St. Domingo, bears the flag of Lieutenant-General. I send you, hereunto annexed, the list of these ships. This formidable army puts us at ease respecting all the attacks the English would make in that quarter.

You cannot believe how it makes us settle affairs of state; everybody already wants Acadia to belong to us; perhaps the opinion is founded on the commission given to Chevalier de Grasse, to proceed hence in a skiff to Halifax to ascertain the enemy's movements and strength.

He is accompanied by two most excellent experienced pilots and two Indian chiefs, in case he be obliged to abandon his craft and save himself in the woods. He is expected every day.

The King's ships *Le Bizarre* and *Le Célèbre*, and the flyboat *Le Fortune*, with two transports, sail to-morrow for Quebec, to convey the two battalions of Berri, with their effects to that place.

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the fleet, see *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, III., 161. — Ed.

A flying and observation camp has been established at Cabarrus for the reception of our enemies there, in case they wish to make a landing at that place. It is commanded by Mr. Joubert, a very experienced officer, and who will do good business should the enemy show their faces there. He has two hundred Indians, exclusive of the troop. Mr. Boishébert is moreover expected there every day with eight hundred men, Indians and Canadians.

Louisbourg, 1<sup>st</sup> July, 1757.

Chevalier de Grasse<sup>1</sup> has returned without having been able to reach the environs of Chibouctou, to make the observations he was charged with, but he has sent two Indians and a Canadian over land from Port Toulouse.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to write to you and to Count d'Argenson, by way of Louisbourg on the 24<sup>th</sup> April. You will receive duplicates of those letters with this despatch. I had also the honor to write him on the 22<sup>nd</sup> May; I expected to profit likewise by the way of Louisbourg, but as it failed, you will receive the letter with this, which will serve as a continuation of my last.

We have not yet received any of your despatches or orders. By the only letter the Marquis de Vaudreuil has had, I perceive that eight companies are sent to reinforce the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc. They have not yet arrived. I likewise observe that many drafts from the Foreign volunteer corps are sent over to serve equally in completing the Marines and troops of the Line; in forming ten additional companies for the Marine and to increase ours to 50. The arrival of the whole of these reinforcements, or at least of the greater part of them, is much desired; but I begin to be alarmed. Up to this date only 600 men have arrived, 180 of whom have been given to complete the land troops, which will be nearly 120.

From the date of my last until the first instant, our troops have been in the same position. M. de Bourlamaque has continued in command of the principal camp, that of Carillon; where the regiments of Bearn, Royal Rousillon and a Canadian corps are encamped, to the number

<sup>1</sup> FRANÇOIS JOSEPH PAUL, afterwards Count, DE GRASSE and Marquis de Grasse Tilly, who afterwards distinguished himself in the war of the American Independence, was born in 1723, and entered the Naval service at an early age. In 1778, he commanded *le Robuste*, 74, in the French fleet under Count d'Orvilliers, and in 1779, in the same ship, as *Chef d'encadre*, joined Count d'Estaing at Martinico and was present at the engagement off Grenada on the 6th of July of that year, and in September following at the siege of Savannah. In April, of the following year, he fought against Rodney, in the West Indies. In April, 1781, he commanded the French fleet and engaged Admiral Hood and reduced the Island of Tobago, and in September of the same year, defeated Admiral Graves off Chesapeake bay. Admiral de Grasse afterwards returned to the West Indies where he was taken prisoner by Rodney in April, 1782, on board his flag ship *la Ville de Paris*. He published a justificative Memoir of his conduct in that engagement, and died at Paris 11th January, 1788. *Biographie Universelle*; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*. — Ed.



of about 2,000 men; La Sarre is encamped at St. John, and employed in increasing its fortifications under the superintendence of Captain Desandrouins, of the Royal corps. Guyenne has been occupied at Chambly constructing a road there, which is required in time of war, and is of use in time of peace. M. de la Pauze, Adjutant of that battalion, has charge of that work. La Reine has remained at Quebec and Languedoc at Montreal; the major part of the Colonial troops in garrison; the Canadians busy farming.

M. de Bourlamaque, whose zeal and talents I cannot too highly extol, has observed the best regulations in his camp to hasten the Carillon works; to make preparations there for an expedition against Fort George, which had been certain, had the want of provisions not prevented us pressing the enemy. The soldier's ration had to be reduced; he submitted to it with a good will—without the slightest murmur.

We have had continually small parties of the enemy, which have brought us some prisoners. M. de Malartic, Adjutant of the regiment of Bearn, has made the detail of that camp. He and Adjutant de la Pauze, of the Guyenne, are two officers of high distinction.

I have been on a tour to our camps and posts with Chevalier de Levis. Such have been our arrangements up to the first of July. Our news excited fears, at first, for the Beautiful river; we heard from that quarter that the enemy, who had been considerably reinforced, was meditating a naval expedition which we supposed threatened Louisbourg. The intelligence which we just received from there, reassures us, whilst waiting the arrival of our squadron. But the situation of this Colony is always very critical. But few of the provisions required from France have reached us up to the present time. Yet 'tis necessary that we have abundance of them.

Last month a thousand Indians arrived here from the Upper country; many of them come from 4 to 500 leagues. 'Tis necessary to endeavor to turn to account the onerous sojourn of such a troop; therefore, the Marquis de Vaudreuil finally determined to search up provisions among the farmers, which produced something, and we are going to try to keep the field, although with forces inferior to those General Webb<sup>1</sup> is concentrating about Lake St. Sacrament. We believe my Lord Loudon is at Alifax.

About the 20<sup>th</sup> we shall call together some 7,000 men, viz: 2,000 of the Line; 1,000 Colonial, and 1,500 Indians with 2,500 Canadians. Our Indians are equally capable of determining in a quarter of an hour the gain or loss of an affair. We have a train of artillery all ready for the siege of Fort George, should circumstances permit.

Chevalier de Levis set out on the 3<sup>rd</sup> to make the last preparations. I have been obliged here to gratify the Indian Nations, who will not leave without me, and am obliged to pass my

<sup>1</sup>Lieutenant-General DANIEL WEBB entered the army as Ensign of the Coldstream Guards, 29th May, 1745, but resigned in February, 1747, and joined, it is supposed, some other regiment. He succeeded Colonel Dunbar (*supra*, p. 566) in the command of the 48th foot, on the 11th November, 1755, and arrived at New-York from England, 7th June, 1756, with the rank of Brigadier-General, to relieve General Shirley. In succeeding to the regiment of Colonel Dunbar, he seems to have inherited also his disposition to take to flight, on the least appearance of danger; for being dispatched in 1756, with a considerable force to the relief of Oswego, as soon as he got as far as the Carrying place, now Rome, Oneida county, N. Y., he became so alarmed on hearing of the fall of the fort he was sent to relieve, that he filled Wood creek with trees to prevent the approach of the enemy. One would think that this would prevent his being again put in any position of responsibility, but no; the next year he shamefully abandoned Colonel Munro at Fort William Henry, though at the head of 4,000 men. He was ordered home in consequence, but was protected in some inexplicable way from censure. On 25th June, 1759, he was promoted to be Major-General; in June, 1761, became Lieutenant-General; in December, 1766, was appointed Colonel of the 8th or King's regiment of foot; on the 20th October, 1772, Colonel of the 14th Dragoons, and died in October or November, 1771. *McKimmion's Coldstream Guards*, II, 484; *Knox Journal*, I, 43, 118; II, 444; *Conduct of Major-General Shirley stated* 86, *et seq.*; *Mante*; *Army Lists*; *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIII, 541. — Ed.

time with them in ceremonies as tiresome as they are necessary. On the day before yesterday I was to chant the war and made a feast for the Indians of the Lake of the Two Mountains; yesterday, for those of the Sault St. Louis; to-day held a Council with the Upper Indians. I start to-morrow and shall, on my arrival, hold a general Council to reunite them all, by presenting them a large Belt of Wampum in the name of the Great King, for whom they entertain the most profound respect and veneration.

We have been very careful not to mention to them the horrible attempt on his sacred person. It caused us all to shudder with horror, and these barbarians so ferocious in war, so humane in their lodges, might waver in their esteem for us, seeing us capable of producing such monsters.

Must Henry the Fourth and Louis the Fifteenth, to the disgrace of humanity, experience like fury?

We think we can reassure ourselves this campaign as regards the Beautiful river, and that the 400 men we have sent thither will be sufficient, with those already in those parts, and the Indians who are within call. We shall even be able to spread desolation into the Provinces bordering thereon, such as Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland.

Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn regiment, continues in command at Niagara with some pickets of the troops of the Line. He is very useful there, and has attracted the confidence of the Five Nations, domiciliated in the neighborhood, and with which he keeps up a considerable correspondence.

Six officers of the Corps Royal and four young men with commissions of Lieutenant, have arrived at Quebec for the regiment of La Reine. Possibly they have arrived without their companies, with which, it seems to me, it had been equally convenient to embark them.

M. Doreil is at Quebec. I left him there with a Captain and two Lieutenants to receive our recruits, companies and augmentations, and to forward them to us according as they arrive.

This Commissary continues to acquit himself of his duties with much assiduity.

I have the honor to render you an account, in a separate despatch, of the soldiers who will return to France. They are all incapable of serving. 'Tis so difficult to get any conveyed here, that I pay the most scrupulous attention to them.

We have had no change in our battalions since the close of the campaign. Lieutenant D'herce, of the La Sarre regiment, has asked to return to France. He has already lost one eye, and is threatened with the loss of the other. At the end of the campaign I shall have the honor of submitting to you the filling up of his vacancy as well all those which may occur.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant

MONTCALM.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, the eleventh of July, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

My Lord,

Although I have had the honor to write you direct to present you my compliments and to render you the reports I owe you, as I have the honor to serve under your orders; I have considered it my duty to transmit this private letter to you through Madame Herault, and to give you proofs of my respectful confidence.

Occupied by my principal mission, I omit not to instruct myself respecting a country little known, and which people, I believe, have sought not to make known. M. de Bougainville, with whose sagacity you are acquainted, labors still more than I do, in accomplishing that object, and will, perhaps, be able, some day, if we ever return to our country, to be useful to it and to this Colony, by depositing in the breast of an enlightened Minister, some memoirs which, probably, would never have seen the light, had he not come into office.

My commission is a delicate one; I am very subordinate and must be so in comparison with the Intendant, a man of genius and intelligence. I have only to congratulate myself on the circumstance. With the General no one will ever perceive that I have to complain, and the service will always proceed as well as 'twill be in my power. He is a kind man, mild, with no character of his own, surrounded by men who seek to destroy all confidence he might have in the General of the land forces; I am extolled overmuch in order to excite his jealousy, foster Canadian prejudice, and to oblige him not to deal openly with me, and not to adopt my ideas except of necessity.

I dare say that my conduct has always been as uniform as it has been respectful. You, my Lord, alone can apply a remedy, without in any wise changing a strict subordination which is necessary by writing in such a manner as to inspire confidence, to manifest some esteem for me, and to desire that my opinions, as regards military operations, may be somewhat listened to. This would at once determine my influence in this country.

What would be at the same time necessary, would be a sealed letter, to be opened only in case of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's death, wherein I should find an order to assume the command of the Colony, and of all the troops until you had nominated a Governor-General.

The contingency had been nigh occurring this winter, the Marquis de Vaudreuil having been very ill. The public mind was agitated to learn whether I should have the command in the Colony, which would be the wish of everybody, even of the Intendant, seeing the incapacity of him on whom the government of the country would have devolved, namely, M. Rigaud, who must assume the reins as senior Deputy-Governor; and this shortsighted man, always led by the first comer, would have seriously embarrassed the Intendant; failing him, it would have been a simple King's Lieutenant, and so on from one to another, to even a simple Colonial Captain, in preference to a general officer who, by his commission, is only nominally under the Marquis de Vaudreuil's orders, and who, in the field, commands all the others.

The precaution I suggest to you appears to me necessary for the good of the service. Before I left Paris, I knew enough of the form of the government of this Colony to have foreseen this difficulty, but I confess to you that I did not believe myself sufficiently the choice or the intimate of the Minister of Marine to dare speak to him about it.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will be pleased to concur with the Marquis de Paulmy in procuring some marks of favor for a corps of land troops which now belongs to you.

I have nothing to say to you respecting Chevalier de Levis; you know him, and I cannot have a better second; but you are not acquainted with M. de Bourlamaque, whose selection has been more blamed than approved.

Count de Maillebois<sup>1</sup> and M. de Chevert<sup>2</sup> were nevertheless justified in proposing him; I was never acquainted with him in Europe; our troops were not prejudiced in his favor; they now render him as much justice as I; he is a most excellent officer; he has acquired much and gained a great deal within a year.

M. de Bougainville transmits you, through M<sup>de</sup> Herault, a Memoir on this Colony, which is merely a prelude to more ample details to be transmitted to you, but to be postponed to the peace, when it will be necessary, without losing a moment, to correct the abuses and encourage the military state of the Colony.

What a Colony! What a people, when called on! What an advantage could a Colbert turn them to; you occupy his post, and are his worthy successor.

They all possess talent and courage at bottom, but up to the present time, nothing has animated that machine or served to develop the existing germs.

M. de Bougainville will likewise send you, at the close of the campaign, a Memoir on the Boundaries. As he communicates his ideas to me on this subject, and as we confer on it, you will learn therefrom my opinion, and whether his differs from mine. He will submit both of them with the reasons.

I have requested only two favors from the Keeper of the Seals; some allowances for my third Aid-de-Camp, who has none; 'twill be more agreeable to him and me to receive them from the King.

A commission of Clerk of the Marine for Sieur Estève Jeune, a gentleman and man of intelligence, and the nephew of him who was Advocate of the clergy. If you have had the goodness, in the labor you will have performed for the Colony, to grant me these two favors, I present you my thanks in advance; if you have considered it your duty to defer them, I shall once more, my Lord, renew the request at the close of the campaign, and more in detail.

I take the liberty to recommend to you M. de Montcalm de St. Veran, an old Lieutenant of the Navy, in the department of Toulon; he has sacrificed everything up to the present time—property, fortune, law suits, to the love of serving.

<sup>1</sup> YVES MARIE DERMARETZ, Count de Maillebois, son of the Marquis de M., Marshal of France, was born in 1715, and served under his father in the wars of Italy. He was appointed Lieutenant-General in 1748; was employed in the war of Spain, and distinguished himself at the taking of Port Mahon. He served next in Germany, under Marshal d'Estrées, against whom he brought charges of inefficiency, which, however, brought only disgrace on the accuser, who was committed to the Citadel of Doullens. He was recalled to active service in 1784, but was denounced in 1790, and indicted for having drawn up a plan of counter-revolution. He fled in consequence to the Low Countries, and died at Liege, 14th December, 1791. *Biographie Universelle*.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant-General FRANÇOIS DE CHEVERT was born at Verdun sur Meuse, February, 21st 1695, and was left an orphan at early life; he joined a marching regiment at the age of eleven years, and served as a private soldier until 1710, when he was appointed Sub-Lieutenant. He reached the grade of Lieutenant-Colonel in 1741, and made the campaign of Bohemia, and commanded the Grenadiers when scaling the walls of Prague, which he was the first to enter; was created Brigadier in consequence; next distinguished himself as Governor of that city, when, in his turn, besieged, and marched out in 1743, with the honors of war. He afterwards served with distinction in Italy; was created Major-General in 1744, and Lieutenant-General in 1748. To him is due the victory of Hastenbeck, in 1757; he obtained the Grand Cross of St. Louis, in 1758, and served until 1761. He had the good sense of never being ashamed of his humble origin, and died at Paris, 24th January, 1769, aged sixty-four years. *Ibid.*



I dare assure you that he has a great many campaigns and favorable notices in your bureaux, and I fear not to say to you with all confidence that I request your permission to entertain in my Minister, that he will have either to be promoted or put on the retired list; he has been a long time in the service; is qualified for more than one employment; has been long an Ensign of the Company of *Gardes Marines*, and had the reputation of being loved, feared and respected by those young nobles.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Maurepas and E. Rouillé, desired successively to enrol him some day in that company.

I notice in his letters a latent disgust unless you sustain his emulation, and I fear my answer will not arrive in time to check it, if any of his juniors have been promoted.

He has a nephew who is mine, being the son of a Montcalm; his name is La Deveze and he is Ensign in the Navy; I have received a good report of him; he has appeared to me to have application. I asked him of M. de Machault, who had put him on board the frigate that brought me to America. I ask you in his name, my Lord, to let him see a great deal of service and to grant him protection, should you receive a good account of him. I shall be very grateful to you in return, and shall consider the favors you will be pleased to grant them, as conferred personally on myself.

As for me, my Lord, I ask no other favor than my recall at the earliest moment possible. Should it be the opinion that my second, or any other European general officer, would succeed better as Chief, I would always quit without difficulty a country where I am wasting my health; where I fear not to be as expeditious in the King's service as I would desire, and where the General will be occupied only in detracting from the share the Land forces and I may have in successes, and in rendering us responsible for those events which may be unsuccessful.

I wish the unfortunate and too much to be pitied M. de Dieskaw were in Paris; he must have made some reflections, and has no other fault than to have been ignorant of the Colony, and to have placed too much reliance on what had been told him.

Therefore, my Lord, recall me as soon as possible; if, however, there be, at the peace, an interval between the news and the departure of the troops, were it but of three months, I offer to go and look, with military and political views, at Detroit and the Beautiful river; but without an order from you, I should be refused permission to go and reconnoitre any part of the Colony where the business of the war will not per force take me, and I greatly wish never to have any for going to defend or retake the Beautiful river, although I have already drafted a plan, should the case ever occur.

My pay is only twenty-five thousand *livres*; I have none of the perquisites of the Governors or Intendants of Canada, I must support a Staff; I do nothing beyond, neither do I anything beneath, my station.

I am obliged to give myself importance, single handed; no person seeks to give me any here; they would fain try to deprive me of it, but they will not succeed. M. de Machault admitted that I was not adequately paid; he promised to make it up to me and to attend to it. I did not come here to carry home money; but should be sorry to make a hole here in the little patrimony of six children.

I have, nevertheless, expended ten thousand francs beyond my allowance, and shall continue since the expense I incur is necessary. I flatter myself you will assist me to pay my debts.

I have not the honor to write this letter to the Minister of Marine, but to M. de Moras, one of the most virtuous men of our age, and for whom I entertain the most profound esteem and all possible respect; wherefore I request that this letter be only for him and not for his bureau.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. My Lord, I have just seen the promotions of the Marine, and it only remains for me to express to you my gratitude for having been pleased to procure M. de Montcalm St. Vêran his step. I request the continuation of your protection both for him and myself.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

I resume the details I have the honor to report to you of whatever occurred of interest around Carillon.

A party of ninety-two Indians and eight soldiers of the Marine, commanded by Sieur d'Anglade attacked near Fort Lidius, some wood cutters who were out with an escort, he at first took four prisoners and a number of scalps, but we had one Indian dangerously wounded, and whilst a litter was making to remove him, a strong English detachment came in pursuit of our party, which could not resist in consequence of inferiority of force. Nevertheless Sieur d'Anglade did not abandon the wounded Indian whom he brought to Fort Carillon, accompanied only by six Indians. A party of Iroquois found the five canoes which had conveyed Sieur d'Anglade's party and brought them back to Carillon, so that the English had not even the satisfaction of having captured a single one of our conveyances.

A party under the command of Sieur Langy de Montegron, took two Englishmen on the river of Orange.

A detachment of two hundred and thirty-five cadets and Indians having proceeded to the head of the Bay, hid their canoes. A party of sixty English, who were lying in ambush at the mouth of the Wood creek, fired on our men; M. de Richerville la Coulonnerie was killed. We had some Indians wounded mortally, and others less severely. As the river is lined at this point by inaccessible rocks, it was impossible for our detachment to land on the side where the enemy was. On the day following it went in hot pursuit, but could overtake only two Moraingans and one wounded Englishman. Our Indians were so furious that they tore one of the Moraingans to pieces.

A party of our Indians encountered a detachment of English scouts, and attacked it so vigorously and firmly, that the English found safety only in flight. They escaped with the loss of twelve prisoners, and three English killed, whom our Indians scalped.

It appears from the report of the last prisoners, that several ships have arrived from old England with considerable artillery;



That Lord Lawdon embarked on a naval expedition against Louisbourg or Canada. That he has taken with him the regular troops, only a few remaining on the frontier; that the Scotch have followed him along with the rest;

That there are about two thousand Militia at Fort George, and two thousand five hundred at Fort Lidius; that there are, at the former fort, thirty pieces of cannon, two barks carrying twelve swivels (*pierriers*), about forty bateaux; that considerable provisions have been conveyed thither, but that these prisoners had heard that this artillery was to be removed to Philadelphia, as an attack was apprehended at that place.

That General Webb appeared at the other side of the river, and that he was attended by three or four thousand men; that, nevertheless, the English did not expect any attack on our side; but that if Fort George were besieged, a gun was to be fired from fort to fort, as far as Orange, and that an additional reinforcement of two or three thousand men perhaps would come.

That the English were not occupying the islands opposite Fort George, and that no person was there.

Finally, that small-pox was prevailing in both the forts and at Orange.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

You will have seen, by the despatch I had the honor to write to the Keeper of the Seals on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, whatever was of interest in the posts on the Beautiful river, and the measures I have adopted for the greater security of that quarter.

M. de Ligneris, in consequence of my orders, has had parties constantly out to harass the enemy.

He lost no time in obtaining satisfaction for the loss of the Canadian who was killed, and of the one who was taken near Fort Duquêne; for a detachment commanded by M. de Niverville, came, after a campaign of thirty-three days, within reach of Fort Cumberland, and though it was impossible for him to approach it, in consequence of the dread our Indians had of being surrounded, there being considerable snow on the ground, he nevertheless, took four prisoners in the settlements bordering on the river called Potsmak, in Virginia, about fifteen leagues from Fort Cumberland; burned ten houses and the like number of barns full of wheat; killed twenty horses or cows. This trifling success ought to show the enemy that the severest season of the year does not protect them against our incursions.

Another party, headed by M. de Montmidy, returned with eight scalps and seven prisoners taken on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

Mr. de Rocheblave returned, likewise, with a prisoner taken on the bank of the same River Potowmak, three days' march from Fort Cumberland.

M. De Verger St. Blin took two scalps and one prisoner near Fort Cumberland. A party of Indians of Kanaouagon,<sup>1</sup> which was to join M. de St. Blin by another road to attack another fort, on returning overtook a party of English and Indians, of whom they killed one, wounded another and took a third prisoner. These Indians had scalped several English and Catabas, but were obliged to abandon them, not being able to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces.

A party of eight Poutéoutamis and four Outaouas has returned with two scalps and one prisoner.

A party of Senecas attacked a fort beyond Cumberland, killed four men, two of whom only they could scalp, because they were surrounded by an English detachment.

Another party of the same Nation killed eight English, but on returning was overtaken by a hundred English or Indians; lost three men including the chief of the party.

As the Catabas, or at least a part of that Nation, joined the English, I sent several parties of the Five Nations to make war on them in the view of inducing them to abandon the English, which I would dare hope from the blows inflicted on them.

M. de Normenville, who was in the field since the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, arrived about a month afterwards at Fort Duquesne with three scalps, one of an Englishman and two of Indians or some other Nation. He met, a short distance on this side of the height of land, five men who appeared to him to be scouts, whom he pursued, killed three and could not overtake the other two. He lost a Seneca who was killed on that occasion.

M. de Montisambert, who was at the head of a party of two hundred men of different Nations, did not meet the success that might be expected. His party divided itself before coming to Fort Cumberland. That officer was unable to continue his journey as he fell dangerously ill about the height of land, where he remained waiting for his Indians. He arrived at Fort Duquêne with three scalps, which a party of twenty men had brought him from the vicinity of Fort Cumberland; the other sections of the same party returned with two prisoners and one scalp.

Three Delawares<sup>2</sup> were attacked fifteen leagues from Fort Duquêne by about fifteen English, three of whom they killed but brought away only one scalp, not having time to remove the others, one of these Indians having been wounded.

A party of Senecas and Cayugas struck a blow in the country of Northampton, in Pennsylvania, and brought back only one scalp; the reason they alleged for this was, that not being in the habit of going to war against the English, they had considerable recruiting to do; to effect which they had given three men and three women; that they had killed ten English, having repeated their attacks several times. They are highly pleased with their journey; they state that they have also killed an officer; that they have been obliged to go down very far into the cleared country to effect a blow; that they have burnt a number of houses and killed an infinity of cattle.

M. de Montcourt, a Cadet returned, after eighty-five days' absence, with two scalps taken in Pennsylvania.

<sup>1</sup> Allegany county, New-York.

<sup>2</sup> Called *Loups* by the French, as they belong to the tribe of the Wolf. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 367. — Ed.



Other parties who have been on forays in the same direction, have come back with five prisoners and four scalps.

Finally, the Delawares captured a fort in the winter, within four leagues of the one taken by Chevalier de Villiers. Last year they attacked a convoy, killed all the conductors, took away a considerable part of the provisions and concealed the remainder.

A party of the same Nation carried a prisoner to M. de Ligneris.

Our losses in the other rencontres we have had with the English, consist of two Senecas, one Chaouanon and three Delawares.

The English have not had any other advantages over us up to the 15<sup>th</sup> of June, when we lost Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Saussaye, St. Ours, and Bellêtre, the first an Ensign of foot in the troops of Isle Royale, and the two others seconded Ensigns in those of this Colony. These three officers were returning with three Canadians from Fort Cumberland, where they had no opportunity to strike, and were killed with the three Canadians, a little on this side of the height of land, by twenty Englishmen or Indians who were lying in ambush there, and who shot them point blank.

M. de Ligneris sent a Belt to the Delawares at the other side of the mountains to engage them in my name to come immediately to join their brethren and to range themselves under our flag. The two Indians he entrusted this Belt to, belong to the same Nation and the same village; they saw the Delawares at the end of the fall and spent the winter at Chingué. If we rely on what they told M. de Ligneris before their departure, there would be reason to believe that the whole of that Nation is firmly resolved to abandon the English forever, and to unite with us, but a prisoner has reported that these Delawares who have fought with the English, have gone, notwithstanding, to talk with them and make their peace. This merits confirmation.

The prisoners have reported to M. de Ligneris:

That the English have eleven forts to cover the settlements of Virginia; that there are other forts besides, the number of which is unknown to them; that there are about twenty Militia in each of those forts except one which is only five leagues from Fort Cumberland.

That in the Province of Maryland there is a fort called Frederic<sup>1</sup> garrisoned by five hundred men, whither considerable provisions have been conveyed.

That the English are fortifying themselves at Wenchester.

That the English were making every effort to conclude peace with the Nations on the Beautiful river and its environs, to whom they had sent messages everywhere to induce them to remain quiet. This report is true; it cost me no little trouble to acquire a knowledge of all these messages and to withdraw them from the hands of our Indians.

M. de Ligneris took pains to have scouts abroad in every direction, and has learned by those who have been, since spring, in the direction of Pennsylvania and Maryland, that towards the height of land, the tracks of men and horses showed two main roads; this circumstance induces him to send scouts frequently in that direction, without, however, neglecting Fort Cumberland.

It might well be that the English were forming new establishments to serve them as entrepôts. I have recommended M. de Ligneris to do his best to ascertain what the real object may be.

Some Indians have also reported to M. de Ligneris that they have discovered some high roads, on which they have seen a number of the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> On the north bank of the Potomac, in Washington county, Maryland. — Ed.

He learned at the same time, from a prisoner that the English are making preparations, collecting provisions of all sorts and horses in the different Provinces, for an attack on Fort Duquêne; that they have three hundred Indians who are continually on the mountains; that four hundred men are at another post in Pennsylvania, and four hundred at Maryland; but this prisoner has added that he did not know where their rendezvous was; that he had seen only four pieces of cannon with twenty wagons in a small village of Pennsylvania; that the English have five hundred Regulars, one company of which are Grenadiers.

I do not think the English will attack M. de Ligneris; but though they make some movement this year, I have neglected nothing to place him in a condition to resist them, for, independent of his garrison, of the Militia and Nations inhabiting the Beautiful river, and of the Militia I have sent him from this Colony, he has actually, at his disposal, some Militia and some Indian Nations of Illinois; and, for greater security, I issued orders in the month of April to the Commandants of Niagara and of all the posts on the Beautiful river, to send their forces in rotation, from one post to the other, and to keep themselves always in readiness to afford each other mutual assistance. This gives me reason to hope that, should the English organize any expedition, they will fail.

But for the preservation of the Beautiful river, on which depends the security of all the posts of the Upper countries, 'tis indispensable that we fortify Fort Duquêne in such a manner as to enable it to sustain a siege. There is no doubt but the English will attempt it, especially if we defer placing ourselves in a position to resist the forces they may organize. 'Tis less difficult than ever for them to penetrate so far with an army. General Bradock opened the road for them in 1755; he came within three leagues of Fort Duquêne, and fortunately for us, his vast projects aborted there. Fort Duquêne, in its present condition, could not offer any resistance to the enemy; 'tis too small to lodge the garrison necessary on such an occasion. A single shell would be sufficient to get it so on fire, that 'twould be impossible to extinguish it because the houses are too close. The garrison would then find itself under the painful necessity of abandoning that fort. Besides, 'tis so near the confluence of the Beautiful river with the Malangaillée, that it is always exposed to be entirely submerged by the overflowing of the rivers. M. de Ligneris is having such repairs done to that fort as it is susceptible of, regard being had to its bad situation; but that will not enable us to dispense with the erection of a new fort. I have incontrovertibly established the necessity thereof, in my letters of 1755 and 1756.

I feel less apprehension for Fort Duquêne and the other posts on the Beautiful river, this campaign, than for the future. I have this year fortunately surmounted the impossibility of victualing that post from this Colony, through my foresight in supplying any deficiency in a great measure, by having provisions sent from Detroit and also from the post of the Illinois; and had I neglected these two resources, ever so little, that is to say, had I not issued and repeated, during the winter, the most urgent orders to the Commandants of those two posts, the Beautiful river would be at present wholly unprovided with provisions, and consequently all our forts abandoned.

The extreme scarcity we are suffering, only too severely, in the interior of the Colony, will not fail to make itself felt but too sensibly on the Beautiful river. 'Tis absolutely impossible for me to remedy it, otherwise than by the orders I gave M. de Ligneris to send off a detachment of one hundred and fifty or two hundred men to the Illinois, and to disperse the garrisons of the forts under his command. This winter, perhaps, will he be obliged even to



reduce them to a very small number. I have already written several letters to the Commandants of Detroit and Illinois, to put themselves at that moment in a condition to transmit, at the opening of the navigation, for the victualing of the posts on the Beautiful river, the largest quantity of provisions of all descriptions that they could spare, by restricting the settlers to their mere subsistence. I have likewise issued orders to the Commandant of Fort Chartres, to forward to M. de Ligneris any reinforcements that officer will demand of him, in Militia and Indian Nations of the Illinois.

'Tis impossible for me, my Lord, to demonstrate more distinctly to what extremity the people are reduced, when a scarcity of provisions frequently prevails.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.



*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

You will see by one of my letters of this day's date, whatever of interest occurred on Lake St. Sacrament since the first of June, and the result of the reports of the prisoners of Fort George and Fort Lidius.

The letter you did me the honor to write me on the 28<sup>th</sup> of February, has greatly contributed to determine me to defer no longer the marching an army capable of reducing these two forts.

I have, in fact, my Lord, seen by that letter that the troops and ammunition which his Majesty has destined for this Colony ought to have sailed in the month of March. I doubted not that such would be the case with the transports freighted for the contractor; which makes me confident that provisions would soon be abundant in the Colony.

That the information you received had forewarned you of the designs of the English against Louisbourg and perhaps on Quebec, but that his Majesty had provided for the security of these two places, and destined naval forces capable of resisting those of the enemy.

That his Majesty's intention was that I should not lose sight of the operations I might have meditated in the direction of the frontier.

I therefore decided on making a powerful effort to reduce Fort George and Fort Lidius. Having formed that project towards the end of autumn, I felt the necessity of it more than ever and that on that movement depended, incontestably, the safety of the Province; for supposing that the English should really come to Quebec, I could, with difficulty, resist them at the same time on all sides.

I was not less preoccupied with the consequences of a check, should we have the misfortune of experiencing one on the frontier, as nothing could then prevent the English penetrating to Montreal whilst the other forces of the Colony would be engaged in the defence of Quebec.

Our situation, also, in respect to provisions has been another of my motives to press this expedition, for whilst remaining on the defensive, those which we have would be equally consumed; indeed, a little more slowly. But by that economy I would leave, in a state of inactivity, eighteen hundred Indians who have an extreme desire to assist at a siege, and I should afford the enemy time to provide everything he might require to come to attack us; and supposing that then we should not have received any provisions, I should find it really impossible for me to provide for the subsistence of the army which I should be obliged to oppose to the enemy.

The consequences of this scarcity would be still more unfortunate. I should witness, under my eyes, our grain that would have arrived at maturity, languish on the land with no one to harvest it.

Besides, I flatter myself that the provisions we shall find in the English forts will indemnify us twofold for those we shall have consumed on the expedition, and I am sure of the return of all our Canadians in season to save their harvest.

The more important is this expedition, the more bent am I on doing my best to assure its success.

For that purpose, I have placed at the disposal of the Marquis de Moncalm an army of about nine thousand men, composed of Regulars of the Line, the detachment of Marines, Canadians and Indians, with a respectable train of artillery. He set out to-day for Carillon. I hope he will be able to begin his march towards Fort George before the end of this month, Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque having accelerated everything agreeably to the orders I had given them.

I have had the greatest facility in organizing that army through the good disposition of the Regulars, Marines, Canadians and Indians. The only obstacle I experienced was in victualing the army, which I could effect only by sending circular letters throughout the parishes of this government.

The Canadians have been so moved thereby, that they have voluntarily given up the little reserves they had made for their subsistence. They actually live on Indian corn, milk and vegetables; have neither flour nor pork; they have surrendered what they possessed with as much generosity as zeal for the King's service; but 'tis very essential, my Lord, that M. de Moncalm's departure be not subjected to any delay, so that he may anticipate the enemy and not consume in vain the provisions of his army, which it would be absolutely beyond my power to renew.

I have expressly enjoined on him:

1<sup>st</sup> To march with all his force, so as not to run the risk of receiving any check.

2<sup>nd</sup> Not to confine himself to the reduction of Fort George; to reduce Fort Lidius also; to pay particular attention carefully to preserve the munitions of war, artillery and arms to be found in these two forts, and to have them all removed to Carillon, after the total destruction of both forts and all their dependencies.

3<sup>rd</sup> Afterwards to disband all the Indian Nations and to form them into detachments for the purpose of laying waste the settlements of Orange and Corlac.

M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil makes the same campaign with the troops of the Marine; the Canadians and Indians have earnestly requested me to place him at their head, which has gratified him so much the more, as the Marquis de Moncalm had already expressed to me the pleasure he would feel at being accompanied by him, especially having perfectly recognized



last winter the part in which he is to operate. I am well persuaded of his exactness and activity in executing the Marquis de Moncalm's orders and his ardor in seeking for opportunities of affording new proofs of his zeal for the King's service and attachment to Fatherland.

If, as I have reason to believe, M. de Moncalm fulfill his mission according to my orders, we shall have no more to apprehend from the enemy on the frontier who, as a necessary consequence, will be forced to abandon, also, his project against Quebec, being no longer able to operate a sufficiently considerable diversion of our forces.

I am with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed),- VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

Since I had the honor of writing to the Keeper of the Seals, on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, to report to him my negociations with the Five Nations, I have continued to keep the domiciliated tribes of the Beautiful river busy. They have sent two English scalps to the Five Nations with a message whereby they remind them of their promises to succor those tribes should any Nation trouble them; and that time presses. They have called on them to keep their word. This proceeding, joined to my other negotiations, has had a good effect.

About fifty Senecas, headed by one of the principal chiefs of the Five Nations, on whom I can rely, arrived at Niagara. When the Council assembled, that chief presented to these Senecas one of my Belts, and speaking to them and the Five Nations, said:

"Here's the axe our father has presented to us that we may avenge the continued treacheries of the English; I have accepted it with all those who have been at Montreal, I present it to you and invite you to follow my example." The tribes of the Bear and Beaver accepted it and offered it to the two other tribes of the Wolf and the Tortoise, who all accepted it. 'Twas afterwards carried to the five other tribes who received it with pleasure and all with one accord unanimously say: "We are going to try M. de Vaudreuil, our Father's, axe on the English, to see if it cut well."

A Cayuga Chief, for whom M. Pouchot had sent, to penetrate the real dispositions of the Five Nations, told him that they required time to withdraw all the Mohawks from the English, for which purpose they had sent one chief from each village to them.

I had instructed that chief to report to me all the deliberations adopted in the Council of the Nontagués. He failed not to attend it, and told M. Pouchot that the deliberations of that Council might be of long duration; that, meanwhile, the war parties were not less active.

This chief assures, that since he and the other chiefs had reported to the Five Nations the Council I held with them at Montreal, they had all resolved to recognize only the Master of Life and their Father, Ononthio; that the English had sent three Belts to them, but they were not willing to receive them.

Some Oneida Deputies came to Montreal in the beginning of May, who requested of me, by a Belt, not to have my axe carried between their village and the Fork. They made many other speeches to me to assure me of the purity of their sentiments, but I was no more satisfied with them than with the first.

I told them that did I love them less, I would not have received that Belt; that it was utterly opposed to the sentiments I knew their ancients entertained; that they could not have forgotten the Belt which the Five Nations had given me in the Great Council I held with them at the beginning of last winter, to tell me that, were the forts which the English have built in their villages not razed on their arrival home, they were resolved to burn them; that they would not suffer the English to come among them, and that they would aid, by all means in their power, my warriors and children of the other Nations, when passing over their territory to strike the English.

I made them all the reproaches they deserved for the non-performance of their promise, and repeated to them that, whenever I thought proper, I should send war parties everywhere the English would happen to be.

I had several secret conferences with the chiefs and the most influential of these Deputies. 'Twould be too long, my Lord, to report them to you precisely. Suffice it that I have the honor to inform you, that the upshot of all these conferences was agreeable to my wishes; in fact, all these Deputies, in the name of their Nation and of the Thaskarorins, accepted my hatchet with ardor, and expressed to me an extreme desire to use it. They chanted the war song with expressions which permit me not to doubt the sincerity of their desire to strike the English.

Since the settlement of the Colony, the Five Nations have never been known to take up the hatchet against the English, whilst, on the contrary, experience has only too well shown that those Nations were much more partial to them than to the French.

Independent of the blows which the Five Nations have inflicted on the English, report whereof I have the honor to render you in other despatches, there are at least twenty parties of Senecas and Cayugas in the field, to wage war against the English and against the Catawbas.

The Senecas have told M. Pouchot that some of the first parties had returned to the village with some English prisoners.

One of these parties had killed sixteen Englishmen.

Several other parties have returned with a considerable number of English scalps and prisoners, and again start immediately on the war path.

A party of fifteen Senecas was less fortunate; after having scalped two, it fell into an ambush of three hundred English and one hundred Indians of the Dog tribe. The party killed fifteen English and two Indians, but lost three of its own men.

Colonel Johnson had recourse to every means to prevail on the Five Nations to postpone any attack, and to induce them to return my axe; but the warriors to whom this Colonel's Belts had been presented, have, despite the fair promises accompanying them, refused to listen to him, and had him told that I had cleared a good path for them, which they would stick to.

These first overtures having been unsuccessful, Colonel Johnson sent word to the Five Nations, at least to let my hatchet sleep for an instant. He had the weakness to tell them that it was very painful for him not to be able to go out of his house without exposing himself to the risk of having his skull cracked; how ungrateful they were to kill his cattle, which he regarded as their foster mother; finally, he invited them to go to Orange to receive some



presents. He promised them that they would be clothed there and that he would give them anything they would require. The Five Nations have laughed at this speech; they sent word to Colonel Johnson that he was beginning to cry very early; that he would soon see something very different; that they had made up their packs; that they would not listen to his proposal and were about starting to try my hatchet.

I shall neglect nothing to maintain the Five Nations in, and even to increase, their present favorable dispositions.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

In my letter of the 18<sup>th</sup> of April, I have had the honor to report to the Keeper of the Seals that the Delawares of Théoga, whom I had attracted to Niagara, had informed M. Pouchot that the English had nine forts around them, one of which contained a garrison of six hundred men; this exacted the more attention on my part, as an English prisoner had already made the same report to me.

As these forces are within reach of Presqu'île and the River au bœuf, I gave orders to the Commandants of these two posts to have scouts constantly abroad in that quarter. I caused express recommendations to be given to all the Indians, and particularly to the Delawares, to inform the Commandant of the first post at which they might arrive, of the enemy's movements as soon as any should be perceptible.

M. de la Chauvignerie sent M. de St. Ours with six Canadians and fourteen Indians on a scout to the English fort containing a garrison of six hundred men. This fort is on the upper part of the River Zinantchain and positively in the proximity of Fort Machault. Sieur de St. Ours took two scalps within sight of that fort, but he was unable to make any prisoners.

A party of fifteen Loups of the same village of Théoge, which is in the vicinity of the fort in question,<sup>1</sup> brought to M. Pouchot, at Niagara, a German prisoner belonging to Bathleem, in Pennsylvania, with five scalps.

Another party of the same tribe brought another prisoner.

I was informed that the English had caused five hundred bateaux to be constructed at Skamoken, on the River Canestio; that a Delaware had even seen them; that the English were still busy building other bateaux and were giving out that they would march ten thousand men to reduce all the forts on the Beautiful river.

<sup>1</sup> The fort in question is supposed to be Fort Augusta, now Sunbury, Pennsylvania. "Zinantchain" is *Schinanchen* on Pouchot's "Carte des Frontières Françaises et Angloises," q. v., where it is located in about the same place as the above fort. — Ed.

I felt the necessity of assuring myself of the Loups of Chaamonaqué or Théoga. 'Twas no trifling matter, but by dint of having Belts secretly conveyed to them, they sent me word that they would send their families to the neighborhood of Presqu'île, to plant Indian corn, and that all the warriors would rendezvous at Théoga, to oppose the enemy's march.

I profited by every opportunity to send some Indians to that quarter. A Seneca told me that more than one hundred men had gone with the Loups to the River Canestio, to harass the English, who are very numerous about Skamoken, where they are really building bateaux; that he felt a pleasure in killing the English; that the river had only to be crossed and they were all found in a heap.

Cadet de Chevigny, accompanied by a single Indian, was on the banks of the River Polowmack, where they killed an Englishman and took a French renegade prisoner, whose head the Iroquois broke on the way, because he could not march; Sieur de Chevigny burned two houses which were abandoned; a small fort, also abandoned, and four barns full of wheat.<sup>1</sup>

A party of seven Indians sent out by M. de la Chauvignerie returned with seven prisoners and three scalps, which they took in the direction of Pennsylvania. This party had ranged around Skamokin; but the English kept so strictly on their guard that our Indians could not find an opportunity to strike a blow; this obliged them to push farther into the interior of the country, to discover some settlements, having seen about forty houses abandoned.

It is to be presumed that the settlers had retired to Skamoken with their cattle, the Indians of the same party having assured that they had seen considerable movements in the neighborhood of the English fort, and that there was not a single person in the surrounding country.

Other parties, arrived at different intervals, having likewise assured that the settlements at a distance from the forts were deserted, and that all the small stockades which the English had erected last year, to cover their frontiers, were vacated.

I was informed of negotiations of the English to destroy mine with the Loups of Théoga; that many Indians of that nation had assisted at them, but on a message which I sent to their chiefs, the latter had departed with their warriors to go in search of those Indians, and had sent me word that in case they would not listen to them, they should be treated as real Englishmen. These Loups had been seduced by an English Interpreter who had made them considerable presents.

Some time after I learned that all was quiet among the Loups; that they had concluded their planting; that the chiefs who had been to Philadelphia, had returned and had engaged their young men to go to war against the English.

These Indians reported that a great chief had arrived at Philadelphia (this is doubtless General Lawdun); that he had held a great council there with the other chiefs of the country; when he was told that Colonel Johnson had caused his brethren of the Five Nations to be invited; that this great chief got into a considerable passion; that he had said that Colonel Johnson was wrong to call any one brother and ally; that the country of the Five Nations and that of the Beautiful river belonged to the King of England; that he knew the Five Nations and almost all the Indians sided with the French; but as soon as the grass was a little high, the Governor of Canada would be dead, and that he would march everywhere; that he was

<sup>1</sup> M. de Chevigny was afterwards killed and scalped by a party of Cherokee Indians near Fort Cumberland, on the 7th October, 1757. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 286, 296. — Ed.



not afraid of the French; that though he should lose a great many men on account of the Indians, he would not give in; that he, too, had Indian friends whom he would bring with him.

The Loups have assured me that it was impossible for the English to come and attack Presqu'île, owing to the difficulty of ascending the river, where the English would expose themselves to be defeated by a handful of men, and that moreover it would be necessary that they should pass through their villages.

An Englishman told me he passed a hundred times in the river of Canestio to Skamoken; that it is of very trifling circumstance—about as wide as the Niagara river, but rather a torrent than a river; full of rapids, shoals and large boulders; that the most could be done would be to ascend the river in very small bateaux by towing; that the country is impassable and full of defiles.

The Iroquois informed me that there was one portage of six leagues between it and the River Canaouagon, or that above *La Paille Coupée*; on the other hand, an Englishman has told me that, to reach Fort Machault, the English must make a land journey of seventeen leagues. I shall endeavor to ascertain precisely what I am to depend on.

I judge that the English fort in question is at least one hundred leagues from Fort Machault, and that it is situate on the frontiers of Pennsylvania.

I have a number of Indian parties, even of the Five Nations, on the way to attack that fort.

Although there is no appearance, according to the report of the Delawares and of our scouts, of any early movement on the part of the enemy, I have nevertheless given orders to M. de la Chauvignerie to cause to be completed the works necessary to put his fort in a state of defence.

I have not neglected anything to attract the Loups of Théoga, who are settled near Fort Skamoken,<sup>1</sup> to me. I was of the opinion that I could not effect it, because they have never had the least association with the French, and have always been among the English; nevertheless, my negotiations have so far succeeded, that I have actually with me the Great Chief of that Nation, who is called the King, with a suite of his warriors. I have received him very well, and sent him home in such a manner that he and all his Nation were attaching themselves warmly to the French and waging war on the English. I have required of him to give me a proof of the sincerity of his promise. He forthwith dispatched some of his warriors to join the army I am sending against Fort Georges. The sight of that army, which is about nine thousand men, will not fail to impress those Loups with a high idea of the French power, and reanimate the confidence they are beginning to repose in us. The alliance I am entering into with these Indians will be very advantageous to us in every respect. They can extend their parties as far as New-York and in many other places where our Indians cannot conveniently go to strike.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> At Sunbury, Northumberland county, Pennsylvania. It was called Fort Augusta by the English. There is a plan and description of it in *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII, 329.—Ed.

*M. de Montcalm to M. de Vaudreuil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp at Carillon, 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

Sir,

I think it my duty to send you a canoe to communicate to you the auspicious opening of this campaign.

Lieutenant Marin, of the Colonial troops, who has exhibited a rare audacity, did not consider himself bound to halt, although his detachment, of about 400 men, was reduced to about 200, the balance having returned or been sent back by him on account of inability to follow. He carried off a patrol of ten men, and swept away an ordinary guard of 50 like a wafer; went up to the enemy's camp under Fort Lydius, [where] he was exposed to a severe fire, and retired like a warrior. The enemy, whose conduct has been as timid as ours has been bold, did not follow. He was unwilling to amuse himself making prisoners; he brought in only one and 32 scalps, and must have killed many men of the enemy, in the midst of whose ranks 'twere neither wise nor prudent to go in search of scalps. The Indians generally have all behaved well.

He had with him M. de la Roche Beaumont, one of my Aids-de-Camp, who has already made several excursions with the Indians, in which he acquitted himself very well.

The Outaouais who arrived with me, and whom I designed to go on a scouting party towards the lake, had conceived the project of administering a corrective to the English barges, and you will see, Sir, that it has been administered.

On the day before yesterday your brother formed a detachment to accompany them. I arrived at his camp on the evening of the same day. Lieutenant de Corbière of the Colonial troops, was returning in consequence of a misunderstanding, and as I knew the zeal and intelligence of that officer, I made him set out with a new instruction to rejoin Mess<sup>rs</sup> de l'Anglade and Hertel de Chambly. He has been reinforced by Chevalier de Meloise and M. la Chapelle, an officer newly arrived from France. They remained in ambush all day and night yesterday; at break of day the English appeared on Lake St. Sacrament to the number of 22 barges, under the command of Sieur Parker, who replaced Colonel Schuiler, taken at Chouaguen, as Colonel of the Jersey regiment; five Captains, five Lieutenants and one Ensign.

The whoops of our Indians impressed them with such terror, that they made but a feeble resistance; two barges only escaped; all the others were captured or sunk. I have 160 prisoners here, 5 of whom are officers. About 160 men have been killed or drowned. These two affairs cost us—that of M. Marin, a Canadian who died of his wounds, being unable to run, two slightly wounded; that of M. de Corbière, one Indian slightly wounded.

M. de Villiers whom I cannot too highly commend, has participated considerably in the arrangement of this detachment, and in the determination of the Indians. This officer marched yesterday, but in vain, with that zeal which you know he possesses, to cut off the retreat of a small party of hostile Indians who had just killed a grenadier quite close to our camp; M. de Villiers' reputation is too well established to require any actions to increase it, but he will take full advantage of all those which fortune will offer him in war.

All the prisoners' depositions agree with those you are already in possession of, and afford me the greatest hopes, the rather, as the prisoners assure that our plans are unknown. Meanwhile General Webb, according to their report, arrives to-morrow or after, at Fort



George, with some Regulars. No matter; I flatter myself that I shall render you a good account of them within twelve days. You see, Sir, that fortune declares herself the moment I arrive, and those two events afford the greatest confidence to the Indians with whom I have been in Council the whole day.

The officers of the Corps Royal are here since yesterday. We are hard at work at our Carrying place embarking our provisions, artillery. The naval engagement, the arrival of the prisoners, the joy that has spread throughout the camps, have somewhat deranged us to-day, for working, but at early dawn to-morrow I shall be at the Falls, and at six o'clock at your brother's camp, to review the Marine battalion, to look at the composition of our Militia brigades, to hold a Council with the Nations, and to fix the Great Council at which I am to present them in the King's name with the Large Belt you have placed in my hands.

I am, &c.

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*List of Killed, Wounded and Missing at Sabbath-day Point, 26th July, 1757.*

[ Pennsylvania Archives, III., 208. ]

Dead and Missing belonging to Coll. Jno. Parker's Company,

W <sup>m</sup> Crips,	Jonathan Ogdan,	Mabaltey,	Mealy,
W <sup>m</sup> Jackson,	John Willian,	Straight,	Quill,
John Crips,	Mead,	Tingle,	Wilton,
Osborn,	Halkett,	Andress,	James Tinister,
Mackleheary,	Poakt,	Taylor,	James Bouse,
Loyd,	Baxter,	W <sup>m</sup> Williams,	Dennis Croghan,
Drake,	Curry,	Sharpe,	George Anderson,
Hadley,	Shane,	Joabs,	Roberts,
Craf,	Griffis,	Alder,	McCoyn,
Hagean,	Francis,	James Boyd,	Warrin,
Chambers,	McAlley,	Johnston,	Bear,
Tead,	Reagin,	Morgin,	Stansberry,
Hughs,	Stevin,	Tho <sup>s</sup> Connor,	Jn <sup>o</sup> Harley, re-
Handerwood,	McLaughlin,	Bryan Connor,	turned.

Officers belonging to the New Jersey Regiment, Vizt.

Cap <sup>t</sup> Hunt,	Lieut. Solomons,	} killed.
Lieut. McDaniel,	Ensign Webb.	

The above is the two Eldest Compan<sup>ys</sup> Belonging to y<sup>e</sup> New Jersey Regiment, Besides what is Killed of Cap<sup>t</sup> Mays, Cap<sup>t</sup> Hunts, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Shaws Comp<sup>ys</sup>.

## Dead and Missing belonging to Capt. Woodward's Company.

Cap <sup>t</sup> Woodward,	Tho <sup>s</sup> Conner,	Barne Carter,	Joseph Hapworth,
Serj <sup>t</sup> Irish,	Daniel McDaniel,	Mathew Cunningham,	Hugh D. Lancy,
Serj <sup>t</sup> Smith,	Sam <sup>l</sup> Evans,	Jerimah Fury,	Peter Howell,
Corporal Essex,	Andrew Porter,	Emanuel Cracy,	Hugh Brown,
Tho <sup>s</sup> Crego,	James Keglin,	Edward De Vol,	W <sup>m</sup> Griffin,
W <sup>m</sup> Morrell,	George Church,	Osborn Blackford,	James Carney,
Bryin Malloon,	Jacob Shever,	Daniel Cartey,	Hamilton Campell,
Patrick McMahan,	W <sup>m</sup> Knepton,	David Kimber,	John Dagley,
John Mosgrove,	Alexander Moore,	George Boyd,	Tho <sup>s</sup> Adams,
Daniel Suttan,	Alexander Loag,	Michael McDaniel,	Joseph Horseleg,
George Guyrose,	W <sup>m</sup> Gates,	W <sup>m</sup> Green,	John Mitchell.

Returned, Serg<sup>t</sup> Ball, out of Cap<sup>t</sup> Woodward Comp<sup>y</sup>.

Cap<sup>t</sup> Ogden, of the New-York Reg<sup>t</sup>, slightly wounded.

Cap<sup>t</sup> McGinnis and Lieut. Cole of said Reg<sup>t</sup>, killed.

A Volunteer, belonging to General Ottways Reg<sup>t</sup>, killed.

Lieut. Campell, of y<sup>e</sup> York forces, killed.

Several Private men of the Yorkers killed.

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*M. Doriel to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1757.

My Lord,

The opportunity by which I have the honor to transmit this letter, is not sufficiently sure to allow me to enter into certain details. Nevertheless I wish not to let it pass without informing you of an opening of the campaign which presages favorable results.

A detachment of 150 men, mostly Indians, sent by the Marquis de Montcalm on a scout between Forts Georges and Lydius, under the command of Lieutenant Marin of the Colonial troops, has accomplished the most daring expedition.

He arrived on the morning of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, near Fort Lydius. He first met a patrol of ten men who were killed; afterwards came up with a strong guard of 50 men who were, in like manner, wholly destroyed. A corps of the enemy, over 4,000 men ranged itself in line of battle, sallied out of its intrenchments and advanced towards the edge of the forest, where M. Marin lay in ambush, who fired over an hour, killed a number of the enemy and retreated in such good order that, though pursued for two leagues, he lost but one Canadian who died of exhaustion. Our detachment returned on the 26<sup>th</sup> with 32 scalps and one prisoner.

M. Marin's action is so much the more gallant, as he had left with 300 men of whom M. de Montcalm had composed his detachment. 150 Indians quit him on the way; he continued his march notwithstanding, with what remained of his men. M. de la Rochebeaucourt, your



protegé, my Lord, was of this detachment. 'Tis the third that he has already accompanied this year with the heartiest good will.

Here, my Lord, is another most complete naval victory. An English detachment of 350 men, under the orders of one Colonel, five Captains, four Lieutenants and an Ensign had left Fort George in 22 barges, which are large bateaux. The enemy's design was to feel our outposts, and take some of our men prisoners.

About 400 of our Indians, under the command of M. de Corbière and some other Colonial officers, who were lying in ambush in the islands in Lake St. Sacrament,<sup>1</sup> utterly defeated this party on the 26<sup>th</sup>. Only two of the barges escaped. The Indians brought in 180 prisoners. The remainder was killed or drowned in the greatest part of the barges. Only 4 of them have been brought in, and two boats, which contain 60 men each. For all that, we had only one Indian slightly wounded. The English surrendered, so to speak, without striking a blow.

Whilst I have the honor to write you, M. de Montcalm is in full march to attack Fort George, an enterprise which would be terminated long since had our circumstances in regard to subsistence, permitted. I expect he will open the trench previous to the 4<sup>th</sup> of next month, and according to the deposition of prisoners, the most sanguine hopes may be entertained. They assure that only about 1,800 men were at Fort Georges when they left. 'Tis true, they were expecting General Webb with a reinforcement more or less considerable, according to different reports.

Considerable discharges of artillery heard at our camp the 27<sup>th</sup>, notified M. de Montcalm that General Webb had, in fact, arrived. That does in nowise exclude hope. According to the report of the prisoner brought in by M. Marin, there may be at Fort Lydius 4 @ 5 thousand men, and the camp at Lake St. Sacrament is not all intrenched. Our army is about ten thousand strong, including 2,000 Indians. All the French troops form part of it except the two battalions of Berry, which had merely landed here, in a very bad condition through sickness, and after having left 120 sick at Louisbourg.

A small body of men under the orders of Lieutenant de Saint Ours, of the Colonial troops, fell a fortnight ago into an ambush of 120 Englishmen. He cut his way through them, killed some of their people and returned to the camp with 4 men wounded, 2 of whom are dead. M. de St. Ours himself received a gun-shot in the hand. This action entitles him to the highest praise. It bears no resemblance to those of the English.

M. de la Grive des Assizes will not arrive so soon, since he was not yet relieved, three weeks ago. I would, however, have great need of that assistance in the present moment. My Secretary is of wonderful assistance to me, and principally since six weeks, during which time I cannot hardly stir out, having had the misfortune to meet with a fall that has bruised my entire body and occasioned a considerable wound in my leg, which is not as yet entirely healed. I pray you, my Lord, to be fully persuaded that nothing which concerns me is in danger, notwithstanding this accident.

I should have so many things to say to you, my Lord, on the events through which you have passed at the beginning of the year, that, through force of feeling them, I resolve on silence. I flatter myself that you are sufficiently aware of my attachment for everything that is personal to you, and that you will do me the favor to continue your protection and goodness to me.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

<sup>1</sup> At Sabbath-day Point, Lake George. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III, 472. — Ed.

*Ministerial Minute on the Course to be pursued with the Five Nations.*

One of the objects the most recommended to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on occasion of the war, has been to assure himself, as much as possible, of the Five Iroquois Nations.

Not, however, that we flattered ourselves with engaging them to take any part against the English.

Neither was there any fear, to a certain point, that they would declare openly against us, unless the English should succeed in forcing them to do so, by the advantages a decided superiority over us afforded.

For fifty years these Indians have constantly observed a species of neutrality between the two powers, in rendering themselves an object to the one and the other. Nevertheless, there have been almost always some chiefs strongly in favor of the English. Some of them, even in the preceding war, smote the French; this was especially the case with the Mohawks, among whom the manœuvres of the English have had more success. They are one of the Five Nations. The other four are the [Oneidas, the] Cayugas, the Senecas and the Onondagas. Some time ago the English added a sixth, under the name of the Taskarorins. There are, besides, some villages known by particular names, which are multiplying, and change according to the different residences these Indians adopt.

But, independent of the importance which attached to being at peace on the side of the Five Nations, especially in regard to the other Indians, some of whom they could corrupt, 'twas thought proper to profit by the circumstances of this war, to destroy, by the very fact of the conduct of the Iroquois, the pretence which the English set up in Europe, of sovereignty over the Indians whom they wish to be regarded as their subjects, because it is on this pretended right of sovereignty that they found the property of the territories on the lakes which they dispute with us.

The annexed despatch of the Marquis de Vaudreuil contains the detail of the success of the negotiations he employed for the execution of the orders which had been given him on that subject

Respecting this detail, it may be observed,

1<sup>st</sup> That the deputation which the Five Nations have sent to the Marquis de Vaudreuil is, without contradiction, as M. de Montcalm notes in the despatch submitted to his Majesty, one of the most remarkable that ever occurred in Canada, whence may be concluded that the Iroquois no longer trouble themselves about managing the English, to whom a proceeding so signal must not be pleasing.

2<sup>nd</sup> That too much reliance must, nevertheless, not be placed on the engagements which the Five Nations appeared to have entered into on this occasion with the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that they would go on their side to open hostilities with the English. It appears, in fact, that, according to their past conduct, we must expect they will always regulate themselves as much as possible by events.

3<sup>rd</sup> That the tone adopted by the Marquis de Vaudreuil towards them, by giving them the option of the part they would wish to take, must be approved, and that it is proper to order him to support it in all cases. One of the circumstances which has most contributed to foster the pride of the Iroquois is, that they have been made too much of, and the occasion is more



favorable than it has ever been, to shake off the species of yoke which has, so to say, been self-imposed by this circumspection.

4<sup>th</sup> That independent of the advantage to be derived in regard to them, 'tis certain that the personal consideration of the Marquis de Vaudreuil and that of his name, place him in a position to do what no other Governor could perhaps undertake.

Finally, relative to the pretension of the English in regard to their chimerical sovereignty over the Iroquois, that 'tis proper to request the Marquis de Vaudreuil to transmit a formal procès-verbal of the deputation which he has received and of everything that occurred on that occasion; to order him to have a similar minute prepared of the other deputations he will possibly receive; to observe to him, likewise, to profit by the first opportunity which will present itself to cause the Iroquois to renew the protests they have already made at other times, against the pretension of the English and respecting their own independence.

31<sup>st</sup> July, 1757.

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*M. Doreil to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757.

My Lord,

A courier, who arrived yesterday from Montreal, brought us the happy news of the surrender of Fort William Henry, commonly called, by us, Fort George. 'Tis M. de Bougainville, Aid-de-Camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, who has been dispatched from the army to convey the intelligence to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with the capitulation, copy whereof I have the honor, my Lord, to transmit you hereunto annexed.

Here is another expedition gloriously and happily terminated in very little time, for the trench was opened only on the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>; it was, as yet, but 120 toises from the palisade, when, on the morning of the 19<sup>th</sup>, the Commandant demanded to capitulate.

He could, nevertheless, reinforce his garrison every moment, having an intrenched camp on a height under his command with which he had communication. There were in the camp and in the place, about 2,400 men, nearly 200 of whom have been killed or wounded. We have lost about 30 men, one of whom was a Canadian and fifteen were Indians, who exposed themselves too much at the enemy's camp. We have about forty wounded; one only of these is an officer of the Languedoc battalion who received a slight hurt.

The Marquis de Montcalm had advice, the evening before his arrival, that the Commandant, who already had 1,200 men, was about to receive a reinforcement of a like number. He made his arrangements accordingly, and that did not prevent him prosecuting his enterprise which has so happily succeeded.

As I am not on the spot I cannot furnish you, my Lord, a more circumstantial detail. You will, doubtless, receive one at the same time as this letter, which will not leave, perhaps, for several days.

I do not think it possible to attempt anything at present against Fort Edward or Lydius where there is an intrenched camp of 6,000 men. 'Twould be necessary that our army were

more numerous, and 'twould require 300 horses on the ground for the transportation of our artillery over an interval of six leagues.

Besides, the article of subsistence is alone an insurmountable obstacle. We are, in this regard, in the greatest distress since winter, and each person in Quebec has been, for more than a month, reduced to four ounces of bread. Positively the soldier only has his pound and a half. It is but too evident that a long time will elapse before we shall be more at our ease.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DORVILLE

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp on the ruins of Fort William Henry,  
called, by the French, Fort George; 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757

My Lord,

His Majesty had treated me too well on my departure from Europe, and I did not accomplish enough for his service to entitle me to any favor. Therefore am I penetrated with the most lively gratitude for that which you have obtained for me and for the honor conferred on me of the rank of Commander in the Order of St. Louis, and I am still more grateful for the approbation you have the goodness to bestow on my conduct.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil employed me last year in the Chouaguen expedition which places the Colony on the Lake Ontario frontier entirely at rest. The one I have just made by his orders, with more difficulties to be surmounted, is no less brilliant for the troops and the Canadians and covers the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, without the necessity of sending back the Indians of the Upper country and the Canadians to save their harvest. I might have attempted to go farther, but 'twould have been sacrificing the Colony for doubtful exploits wherein the desire to have one's self spoken of would be greater than that of doing the Colony a service. This capture is followed by the demolition of their fort and intrenched camp.

It procures us a heap of provisions for the subsistence of six thousand men for six weeks, some thirty pieces of artillery, more ammunition than we have employed at a siege, which is considerable for America, inasmuch as the place did not surrender until after it had been six days invested, nor until five days after the trench had been opened. The rapidity of our works always astonishes the enemy.

I had to take a fort supported by an intrenched camp, and in the one and the other were 2,400 troops which I should have made prisoners had the Colony had provision. The clause, not to serve during eighteen months, is of more advantage to it.

I had to fear the reinforcement of General Webb, who had six thousand men within six leagues of this place, and I have been obliged, in open day, to have the tail of a swamp filled in for the purpose of conveying the cannon to a fourth battery, erected at the foot of the glacis.



What I esteem the more in this operation in a Colony where men are so few, is, that we have had only fifty-three killed or wounded.

The moment the fort was captured I dispatched M. de Bougainville, one of my Aids-de-Camp, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that he may immediately inform the Court of these events. I have not had time to write to you, and refer to the detail he will transmit to you.

I cannot but give equal praise to the zeal of the Regulars, the Marines and Canadians. I have been well seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis, de Rigaud de Vaudreuil and de Bourlamaque. I shall have the honor in my next, to write you more in detail.

I cannot conceal from you that the capitulation has unfortunately suffered some infraction on the part of the Indians. But what would be an infraction in Europe, cannot be so regarded in America, and I have written with firmness to General Webb and to Lord Loudon, on the subject, so as to deprive them of all excuse for not observing the terms on a slight pretence.

At the same time that I received the despatch with which you honored me, informing me that I had been named Commander in the Order of St. Louis, I received, also, the return of the marks of favor granted to the army I have the honor of commanding. I present you my thanks therefor. I postpone, until the close of the campaign, writing to you at length on this subject, and proposing to you the distinctions I think the officers of our battalions deserve, and I pray you to favor my requests. It concerns the King's service that expatriated troops be well treated, especially when they serve with so much zeal, and submit to everything; war, labor, reduction of rations, the march, expedition with a bear's skin, and winter detachment on the ice.

Our battalions are employed, during the remainder of the campaign, according to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's intentions, on divers works at fortifications and highways, which are necessary in time of war and useful in time of peace.

Be persuaded, my Lord, of the thorough gratitude I feel for your goodness. I ask its continuance for myself and my son. I rely thereon as essentially as on those with which Count d'Argenson honored me. Rely, likewise, on an inviolable attachment.

I add an infinite respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

Our recently arrived officers of the *Corps Royal* have served with great distinction and usefulness.

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*Journal of the Expedition against Fort William Henry.*

*From 12th of July, to 16th August, 1757.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

The Marquis de Vaudreuil having resolved in concert with the Marquis de Montcalm to push his conquests on the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, and to commence with the siege of

Fort George, gave that General charge thereof, who after having been to chant the war song at the Sault St. Louis among the Iroquois; at the Lake of the Two Mountains, among the Iroquois, Algonkins and Nepissings, left Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July, arrived at Carillon on the 18<sup>th</sup>. Ordered Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque to give a return of the artillery, ammunitions, provisions and bateaux transported to the head of the portage, and directed the forwarding of the rest.

19<sup>th</sup> July. Sent Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Rigaud and Dumas to the portage to organize the battalion of the Marine, which is to be composed of eight companies of 60 men each, of Villiers' Independent Company of 300 men, and of six brigades of Militia, composed of 450 Colonials or Militia; went to see Chevalier de Levis at the Falls where he camped with the battalions of La Reine, Lasarre, Languedoc and Guyenne; ordered the gentlemen of the *Corps Royal* and the Commissary of the Marine to hasten their transports, and returned to inspect the camp of the battalions of Bearn and Royal Rousillon, at Carillon, under the order of M. de Bourlamaque.

21<sup>st</sup> Learned at 3 o'clock in the afternoon that M. de St. Ours, who was scouting at *Ile à la Barque*<sup>1</sup> with 10 men, had been attacked by five English barges, each carrying 15 men, and 100 men who were firing on shore; that he had made so vigorous a defence as to force the English to retreat; to allow him to embark in a barge and quietly to regain his camp whither he returned with his ten men, one of whom, a Cadet, was mortally, and three Canadians, slightly, wounded.

22<sup>nd</sup> Received despatches from the Marquis de Vaudreuil with intelligence of the arrival at Bic, of two ships of war, and of that of the regiment of Berry and some merchant vessels.

23<sup>d</sup> Sent some Indians and Canadians to lie in ambush in the woods and on the lake, to prevent English barges and scouts coming as far as the portage.

24<sup>th</sup> At 10 o'clock in the morning, the Abenakis brought in 30 Englishmen whom they took in three barges, and Chevalier de Levis sends to report at noon that the other Indians have captured 12 barges, on board of which they took 130 prisoners, and killed nearly 140 men who tried to escape on shore. The prisoners arrived at four o'clock; they depose that they left Fort George last night to the number of 350 men,<sup>2</sup> under the orders of Colonel Parker, commanding the New Jersey regiment, to attack our outposts, and to burn the mill at the Falls; that they had separated in the course of the night; that the Indians attacked them at day-break, and that none had made their escape except the Colonel and about 60 men.

25<sup>th</sup> Many of the Indians wishing to leave with their prisoners, the Marquis de Montcalm has had considerable trouble to retain them and to prevail on them to consent to send the prisoners to Montreal, which consent they retracted in the evening; he has been obliged to issue counter orders, to dispatch one of his Aids-de-Camp, at 9 o'clock at night, to the Carrying place to hold a Council with the Chiefs of all the Nations, and to collect their opinions, who have unanimously consented to the departure of the prisoners, on condition that the Governor-General would have great care taken of them, and have white bread and shoes given them. M. Marin has returned with a detachment of Indians and Canadians; he says he went as far as Fort Lydius; retraced his steps taking a guard of 30 men; drew from the fort and intrenchments a sortie of over 2,000 men of whom he killed more than 100; the Indians scalped 38 and took two prisoners.

<sup>1</sup> Now, Harbor Island, south of Sabbath-day Point. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 592.



26<sup>th</sup> The prisoners left for St. Frederic, escorted by a Lieutenant and 40 men who are to put them on board a schooner and conduct them to Montreal. The Marquis de Montcalm is gone to hold a Council with all the Nations, consisting of thirty-seven, and on his return has fixed the departure of the army.

27<sup>th</sup> Went to encamp at the Carrying place, to hold a Grand Council with all the Nations; to communicate to them his plan for the departure and march of the army, which they have unanimously approved. The Iroquois have received the great Belt and transferred it to the Outaouas.

29<sup>th</sup> All the troops, who had orders to march very lightly equipped, have carried their kit to Fort Carillon. The grenadier companies and pickets which are to compose Chevalier de Levis' detachment that is detailed to proceed by land to cover the march and landing of the army, repaired to the Burnt Camp,<sup>1</sup> where the entire detachment has been mustered and reviewed by the Marquis de Montcalm.

#### Composition of this detachment.

Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier of the King's armies, commander.	
M. de Senezergues, Lieutenant-Colonel of Lasarre.	
M. de Pause, Adjutant of Guyenne, commissioned to make the detail.	
Grenadier companies, .....	6
Pickets, .....	8
Brigades of Militia, .....	3
Indians, .....	600

30<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis' detachment marched at day-break. The Royal Rousillon brigade, composed of the battalion of that name, and of that of Bearn, came to encamp at the head of the Carrying place. The brigade of La Reine, composed of the battalion of that name, of that of Languedoc, and of that of the Marine; and that of La Sarre, composed of the battalion of that name, and of that of Guyenne, went to occupy the Burnt Camp. The Marquis de Montcalm, perceiving that considerable effects still remained to be transported, has ordered that a brigade of Militia should work all night; that the Royal Rousillon brigade, and one of Militia be wholly employed on that business the entire morning, of next day, and issued orders at noon that 200 men of the brigades encamped ahead, complete the transport of what remained. Fire having broke out last evening near the artillery bateaux on the portage road, and again to-day in the same place, the troops marched thither to extinguish it. The Marquis de Montcalm received news at noon from Chevalier de Levis, that he had accomplished, by evening, 4 @ 5 leagues over very bad roads; that the worst is passed, and he hopes to arrive on the first at the Bay of Ganaouské.<sup>2</sup> Six days' provisions have been served out to the Militia and Royal Rousillon brigades, and to the Marine battalion, and the bateaux in which they were to embark, were pointed out to them. The Indians to the number of 13 or 14 hundred, took their departure at two o'clock, to go and camp and wait for the army, three leagues from this place.

<sup>1</sup> Now Steamboat Landing or Howe's Point. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Now, Northwest bay.

First of August. The brigades at the Burnt Camp, came for their provisions and bateaux; the army embarked at two o'clock in the afternoon, and defiled in the following order:

	Bateaux.
The Staff, in .....	7
La Reine brigade, in .....	42
La Sarre brigade, in .....	30
Courtemanche's brigade, commanded by M. de Rigaud, in .....	24
Royal Rousillon and St. Ours Brigades with the officers and gunners attached to the artillery; with cannon, in .....	113
The Gaspé brigade; with cannon, in .....	32
A picket of the Royal Rousillon, forming the rear-guard, in .....	2
	<hr/> 250 <hr/>

Fire having again broken out near the artillery bateaux, the Marquis de Montcalm gave orders to shove off; doubled the Burnt Camp; left to the North, Bald Mountain,<sup>1</sup> *les Arbres matachés*, where we doubled a cape<sup>2</sup> and halted during a severe storm which lasted until six o'clock; we also tarried a short time opposite the Sugar loaf where we joined the Indians, and on the

2<sup>d</sup> Arrived, at break of day, at the Bay of Ganaouské; landed to the left of Chevalier de Levis' camp to cook; discovered an English barge traversing from one island to the other, observing our movements.

Chevalier de Levis started at 10 o'clock with his detachment. The Marquis de Montcalm put the army in motion at noon, a brigade of artillery having passed to its van; he halted at Great Sandy bay near which the Indians captured an English barge that was come to scout, in which they killed 4 men and took two prisoners. Left there at 6 o'clock and landed during the night at Chevalier de Levis' camp, one league from Fort George.

3<sup>rd</sup> The artillery did not arrive until day-break; all the troops landed, except those detailed to guard the bateaux, and placed themselves in order of battle. Chevalier de Levis constituted the van-guard and marched to the Lydius road to reconnoitre the enemy's position and prevent the arrival of reinforcements. He was followed to be sustained by the army in three columns, the General in the centre, the right commanded by M. de Rigaud and the left by M. de Bourlamaque. The Royal Rousillon brigade has been posted on the crest of a ravine which is opposite the fort, where it remained an hour in order of battle and received orders to join the army on a plateau beyond some heights to the left of the fort where all the troops remained until 5 o'clock in the evening, during which time the fort was reconnoitred as well as the intrenched camp which appeared too strong to be attacked sword in hand. The Indians have kept up a sharp fire on the fort, repelled several sorties, killed more than one hundred men, took 4 prisoners, killed a hundred beeves, 150 sheep, took 40 oxen and 20 horses. M. de Bourlamaque has ordered the La Sarre and Royal Rousillon brigades to encamp behind the ravine which the Royal Rousillon brigade had lined; the left rested on the cove where the artillery is to land and the right on the camp destined for the brigade of La Reine; and after having fixed the camp, ordered a guard of 50 men to be posted in the cove with

<sup>1</sup> Now, Rogers' Slide.

<sup>2</sup> Anthony's Nose. — Ed.



instructions to light fires at nightfall to serve as beacons for the artillery bateaux. The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis bivouacked with the remainder of the army near the fort and the road to Fort Edward.

The Marquis de Montcalm sent at 7 o'clock to notify M. de Bourlamaque that the scouts report having seen a body of troops leaving Fort Edward and coming by the mountains. The prisoners taken during the day, agree in saying that, on the 1<sup>st</sup>, the General had in the fort and intrenched camp only 1,300 men; that some arrived on the 2<sup>nd</sup>, and on the night of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup>, 500 of whom are in the fort, and the remainder in the intrenched camp, which is being fortified, and at which we hear them at work.

4<sup>th</sup> The La Reine brigade came to encamp on the right of the Royal Rousillon, with a brigade of Militia, and another of Militia behind that of La Sarre. The Marquis de Montcalm arrived at 7 o'clock in the morning at the camp; went to reconnoitre the fort with M. de Bourlamaque and the gentlemen of the *Corps Royal*, to decide where he would have the trench opened and batteries set up; sent orders at noon to Chevalier de Levis to call in his detachment to occupy the heights bordering on the right of the camp, with four brigades of Militia, the Independent company and Indians; to provide for its security and to have scouts continually on the Fort Edward road, so as to be notified in time of the enemy's movements. Tools were distributed to the troops, and requisitions were made for fascines and saucissons; 150 pioneers were commanded to commence, at one o'clock, a road from Artillery cove to the tail of the trench. The Marquis de Montcalm has given M. de Bourlamaque charge of the direction of the siege, who has demanded 450 workmen for nightfall; 300 men to support them, under the command of M. de Rocquemaure, Lieutenant-Colonel of the trench, and of Major de Sermonville. The working party was stationed at 8 o'clock within 350 toises<sup>1</sup> of the fort, to open a boyau on the border of the lake; to commence a battery at 80 toises from the tail of the trench;<sup>2</sup> a parallel to communicate with a second battery, 100 toises from that on the left, which includes all the front of the attack. The gunners who were going to the place, marked out for the right battery, not having answered the challenge of the pickets who were going there to cover it, created a small alarm, which passed off without any consequence. The pioneers struck the first blow of the pick-axe, in ground very easy to be moved, in other respects, full of trees, which it has been necessary to fell and saw; this had the effect of delaying the work; the enemy fired during the day a great deal of shell and shot; killed a soldier belonging to the Royal Rousillon, who was on duty, and at nightfall lighted large fires outside the intrenched camp, at which they have worked considerably.

5<sup>th</sup> At day-break, the working party of the night was dismissed as well as the pickets of the right battery; they have been replaced by a day party of 200, who have perfected the night work and greatly advanced the parallel. Several shell and shot having fallen in the camp of the La Sarre and Royal Rousillon brigades, and the Marquis de Montcalm finding it too much exposed, ordered them to go and camp, the former 400 paces in the rear of its camp; the second to the left of that of La Reine, and to open communications immediately with the trench in case of attack; the brigade of La Reine to the right battery, La Sarre to the tail of the trench, Royal Rousillon to support the head of the sap and Chevalier de Levis to descend the heights to take the enemy in flank. At 4 o'clock some scouts came to report to the General that 2,000 men were approaching from Fort Edward. The Marquis de Montcalm has sent

<sup>1</sup> A toise is equal to six feet.

<sup>2</sup> The spot where the besieging party commences to break ground, is called "The Tail of the Trench." — Ed.







three companies of grenadiers to Chevalier de Levis, with orders to go and meet them, and was himself preparing to follow with a portion of the army to sustain him, when the Indians brought a prisoner and the vest of a man they have killed, in which was found a letter from General Webb, Commander on the English frontier, to the Commandant of the fort, to the effect that, considering the position of Fort Edward, it did not appear to him prudent to march to the aid of Fort William Henry, or to send him any reinforcements; that he has learned from a French prisoner that the French army is composed of eleven thousand men, two thousand Indians, and is supplied with a considerable train of artillery; that he communicates this intelligence in order that the Commandant of the fort may profit by it to obtain a favorable capitulation, in case he cannot hold out until the arrival of succors required from Albany. The grenadier companies have returned, and have been to relieve the guards of the trench with two pickets under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel de Fonbonne and Major de la Pause. The other grenadier companies have been sent to the bateaux, which 'twas suspected the enemy were desirous of attempting to burn; 600 workmen, who proceeded at 7 o'clock to the trench, have been employed to complete the battery on the left, to continue the parallel and the Royal battery. Half the pickets bivouacked convenient to the trench, and the remainder at the camp ready to march.

6<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm went at day-break to the trench to witness the unmasking of the left battery, composed of 8 pieces of cannon and one mortar; it discharged several rounds consecutively, and afterwards fired every two minutes. The night party has been relieved by 300 men, who are occupied in perfecting the parallel and completing the Royal battery; the enemy's fire has been pretty brisk; one of our gunners and a soldier of Bearn have been wounded in loading a cannon, the vent of which they forgot to stop. The battalions have furnished 36 men to serve the artillery; the guard of the trench has been relieved at 4 o'clock by 3 companies of grenadiers and 3 pickets, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel de Privat and Major d'Herte and the workmen, at 7 o'clock, by 300 night men, who have completed the Royal battery, and opened a boyau running from the parallel towards the gardens of the fort.

7<sup>th</sup> The workmen have been relieved by 300 day men who have perfected the boyau. The Marquis de Montcalm came at six o'clock to the trench, the two batteries received him with a general salute, and kept up a brisk fire until 7 o'clock, when he dispatched M. de Bougainville, his first Aid-de-Camp to convey to Lieutenant-Colonel Monroe,<sup>1</sup> Commandant of the fort and of the intrenched camp, a letter from him with that of General Webb. The Lieutenant-Colonel answered, that he was highly flattered by that politeness and intended to make a gallant defence. The batteries opened again at 9 o'clock, and have continued every two minutes, to the great diversion of the Indians who uttered cries of joy on seeing the shot and shells falling in the fort. At 3 o'clock the English made a sortie with 500 men to establish a post on the road to Fort Edward, and secure that communication. M. de Villiers marched against them with his company and the Indians; repulsed them and forced them to reënter the intrenched camp, killed more than 50 of their men, and took 4 prisoners; the battalions furnished 72 men to serve the artillery, and have made a considerable number of fascines and saucissons, and the Militia, round sticks for the construction of a bridge. The trench guard has been relieved at 4 o'clock by three companies of grenadiers and 6 pickets under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel de Senezergues and Major Malartie. 230 working men

<sup>1</sup> Colonel GEORGE MONROE was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 35th foot, 4th January, 1750, N. S., and Colonel in America 1st January, 1758. He did not long survive either his misfortunes or his promotion; he died in February, 1758. *Army Lists*. — Ed.



arrived at 8 o'clock, 100 of whom are designed to repair the batteries, and the other to extend the boyau descending into the ravine, and to construct a small bridge over the little swamp; at 10 o'clock the Indians and Canadians ambuscaded in the garden, fired 7 @ 8 shots at two men who cried out that they were deserters and friends of France; they were taken and carried to M. de Bourlamaque.

8<sup>th</sup> The working party was dismissed at day-break; 300 other men have been employed in perfecting the night's work, in commencing a new battery, 100 toises in advance of that on the left, continuing the sap and forming an épaulement to cover the new bridge; a working party has crossed the swamp to construct a slope which terminates at the gardens. A Bearn soldier has been killed and 4 belonging to different regiments have been wounded. At three o'clock some men and the glitter of some arms were observed up one of the mountains. Scouts came to report to the General that relief was approaching. He dispatched three companies of grenadiers to Chevalier de Levis, with orders to proceed and oppose the arrival of reinforcements, and followed with the brigade of La Reine and one of Militia; left that of Royal Rousillon on the heights ready to support him or the trench in which the La Sarre brigade entered. M. de Bourlamaque made his arrangements to repel the sorties, ordered the artillery officers to bring two guns to bear on the gardens and plateau, to fire *à toute volée*<sup>1</sup> on the intrenched camp in which considerable movement was observed, and the troops were seen in line of battle. At 5 o'clock a considerable report of musketry was heard followed by whoops of Indians; M. de Montcalm sent, half an hour afterwards, one of his Aids-de-Camp to M. de Bourlamaque, to tell him that the relief had disappeared, and that the troops are about to return. At 7 o'clock 3 companies of grenadiers, and 7 pickets under the command of Chevalier de Bernetz, Lieutenant-Colonel, came to relieve the guard of the trench; at 8 arrived 550 working men, 100 for the new battery and the remainder to finish the bridge and post themselves on the exterior crest of the ravine, some toises from the ditch of the place. At 10 o'clock a deserter was brought in who states that the English thought we were going to attack them when they saw us march out.

9<sup>th</sup> At day-break the men of the working party found themselves sheltered by the lodgment established in the gardens and have been relieved by 300 who have completed it. Two soldiers were wounded during the night. Our artillery has continued firing as usual; at 7 o'clock the fort hoisted the white flag, and the Commandant sent to demand permission to capitulate, which has been granted on the following conditions, to wit:

That the garrison of the fort and the troops of the intrenched camp to the number of 2,200 men, shall march out with the honors of war, carrying away arms and baggage, and take with them one cannon, out of respect for the gallant defence they have made.

That they will not serve during 18 months against his Most Christian Majesty and his allies.

That within 4 months from this date they shall send back to Carillon the prisoners they have taken from the French and their allies, on the territory of North America, since the commencement of the war.

That they shall leave in the ramparts, arsenal and magazines, all the artillery, ammunition, provisions and other effects that are there.

The guards of the trench took possession, at noon, of the fort and intrenched camp in which were found 36 pieces of ordnance, 2,500 shot, 545 shell, 36 thousand weight of powder,

<sup>1</sup> To fire so as to propel the shot to the greatest possible distance by elevation. *James*. — Ed.

350 thousand rations, some other provisions and some merchandise; two sloops in the harbor, two on the stocks, 4 large flat bateaux and eight barges.

In this expedition we have had 13 men killed and 40 wounded.

The English say they have lost 200.

10<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis sent off the English at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, escorted by a detachment of Regulars, the officers attached to the Indians and by all the Interpreters. They did not proceed half a league when the Indians pursued them; killed some of them; took several, plundered almost all, killed one soldier and wounded three who endeavored to oppose their cruelty. The Marquis de Montcalm ran thither with almost all the officers; rescued out of their hands all the English he discovered with them, made all reënter the fort who had escaped their fury, and all those return, who could not reach Fort Edward without danger.

After this fine exploit, many of the Indians embarked with their prisoners for Montreal; others conscious of their error came to find their Father, to tell him that they had no sense and that they brought him back the English. The Marquis de Montcalm had them all brought together in the fort, had garments bought to clothe them. The officers of the Line conducted the officers to their quarters, and guarded them there. The soldiers have been sent to the intrenched camp, to the number of nearly 500; about 1,500 have arrived at Fort Edward and 200 have been carried off by the Indians. At 8 o'clock, relieved the guard of the fort of which M. de Bourlamaque was Governor, Chevalier de Bernier, King's Lieutenant and M. de Belcombe, Major.

Chevalier de Levis came to encamp in front of the intrenched camp, with the brigade of La Reine, 4 brigades of Militia and the Independent Company; Marquis de Montcalm with the other brigades near the fort which he has begun to have demolished on the same day, and on the 11<sup>th</sup>, continued the demolition. He has forwarded all the ammunition and provisions to the Carrying place; on the 15<sup>th</sup> sent back the English under a strong escort, after having showered civilities on them, and expressed his regret that 'twas not possible to restrain the Indians who often are beyond control. The fort having been demolished and razed on the night of the 15<sup>th</sup>,

On the 16<sup>th</sup> he sent the Royal Rousillon brigade to encamp on an Island, not having enough of bateaux to take them along, and left at noon with the army for the Carrying place.

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*M. de Bougainville to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Letter of M. de Bougainville to the Minister, with the Articles of capitulation granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, on the 19<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757.

Montreal, 19<sup>th</sup> August, 1757.

My Lord,

The Marquis de Montcalm's last two despatches, bearing date the month of July, prepared you for important events.

One announced to you his departure from Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July for the purpose of besieging Fort *George*, erected by the English in 1755 and 1756, at the head of Lake St.



Sacrament, and called by them *William Henry*. The other, written from Carillon, rendered you an account of the excursion of M. Marin, Lieutenant of the Colonial troops, against Fort *Lydius*, which the English name *Edward*; and of the fight on Lake St. Sacrament, in which M. de Corbiere, Lieutenant of the same troops, at the head of a party of Indians, had entirely defeated an English detachment of 350 men. Fort *William Henry* is taken, and the Marquis de Montcalm, occupied with the consequences of that conquest, has commissioned me to convey the news thereof to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and at the same time to render you an account of all the details relative to that expedition.

The Marquis de Montcalm, pursuant to the instructions of M. de Vaudreuil, had immediately on his arrival at Carillon, divided the Militia into brigades, distributed by companies mixed with some soldiers from the Marine, and commanded by officers of that corps. That arrangement introduced more order and facility into their service. He had also formed from the detached companies of the Marine, a battalion similar to ours and destined to act with them. His intention had been to place in this battalion the officers less qualified by their age, or by their want of strength, to accompany the Canadians and Indians in their excursions on foot. Sieur de Villiers, Captain of the Marine troops, distinguished by the role he had played in the last campaign, was at the head of a body of 300 Canadian volunteers.

The army was not entirely assembled at Carillon until the latter days of July. This was its force and its composition :

#### Royal army on Lake St. Sacrament.

Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General.

Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier.

Sieurs de Rigaud and de Bourlamaque, Colonels.

Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General.

Regulars.	
La Reine, .....	360
Languedoc, .....	322
Marine, .....	520
La Sarre, .....	451
Guyenne, .....	492
Royal Rousillon, .....	472
Bearn, .....	464
<hr/>	
Total, .....	3,081

Militia.	
La Corne's brigade, .....	411
Vassan's " .....	445
St. Ours' " .....	461
Repentigny's " .....	432
Courtemanche's " .....	473
Gaspé's " .....	424
Villiers' volunteers, .....	300
<hr/>	
Total, .....	2,946

## Artillery—Sieur Mercier, Commandant.

Officers, .....	8
Gunners, bombardiers, .....	180

## Engineers.

Sieurs Desandrouin and de Lobinière.

## Indians.

Domiciliated, .....	820
Upper country, .....	986
	<hr/> 8,013 <sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—Deducting the sick, the non-effectives of the battalions the garrisons left at Carillon, the Falls, and the head of the Carrying place, this army amounted to 5,500 fighting men exclusive of the Indians.

## Special Return of the Indians.

## Domiciliated Indians.

<i>Nations.</i>		<i>Officers attached to them.</i>	
Nepissings, .....	53	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Langris, Montegron.	
Algonkins, of the Lake, .....	47	M. de la Corne St. Luc.	
“ of Three Rivers, .....		Abbé Matavet, Missionary. <sup>2</sup>	
		M. St. Germain, Interpreter.	
Abenakis, of St. Francis, .....	245	Chevalier de Niverville, Hertel.	
“ of Bekancourt, .....		Father Oubal, <sup>3</sup> Jesuit Missionary.	
“ of Missisquoi, .....		Châteaueux, Interpreter.	
“ of Panoüameské, .....			
Iroquois, of Sault St. Louis, .....	363	De Longueil, Sabrevois.	
“ of the Lake of 2 Mountains, ..		Abbé Piquet, Sulpitian, Missionary.	
“ of La Presentation, .....		Pertuis, Laforce, Interpreters.	
“ Oneidas of the Five Nations, ..			
Micmacs, of Acadia, .....	4		
Hurons, of Detroit, .....	52	Chevalier de Niverville, Hertel.	
“ of Lorette, .....			
Amalecites, .....	56	Abbé Piquet, Sulpitian, Missionary.	
		Loniere, Interpreter.	
	<hr/> 820		

<sup>1</sup> Sic. But it foots up 8,021.

<sup>2</sup> Reverend JEAN CLAUDE MATHEVET, a Sulpitian Priest, arrived in Canada, 7th August, 1740. It appears that he was a Missionary to the Algonquins and Nepissings of the Lake of the Two Mountains, in 1757, and at some other period, to the Ottawas. He is represented as Missionary to the Iroquois, from 1758 to 1760, and is said to have died 4th August, 1781. *Liste Chronologique*, No. 649; *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, ed. 1819, IV., 147, 172; *Shed's Missions*, 500. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Sic.



## Indians of the Upper countries.

Tetes de Boule, .....	3	
Outaouais, Kiscacones, .....	94	Mess <sup>rs</sup> de Langlade, Florimont, Herbin. 337 Abbé Matavet, Sulpitian, Missionary for some Indians of Detroit and Michillimakanac.
“ Sinago, .....	35	
“ of the Forks, .....	70	
“ of Mignojan, .....	10	
“ of Beaver Island, .....	44	
“ of Detroit, .....	30	
“ of Saguinaw, .....	54	157 La Plante, de Lorimer. Chesné, Interpreter.
Sauteurs, of Chagoamigon, .....	33	
“ of Beaver, .....	23	
“ of Coasekimagen, .....	14	
“ of the Carp, .....	37	
“ of Cabibonké, .....	50	
Poutouatamis, of St. Joseph, .....	70	78 } Idem. 129 } Idem.
“ of Detroit, .....	18	
Folles Avoines, of Orignal, .....	62	
“ of the Chat, .....	67	
Miramis, .....	15	
Puans, of the Bay, .....	48	De Tailly, Interpreter.
Ayesais, .....	10	
Foxes, .....	20	Marin, Langus.
Ouillas, .....	10	Reaume, Interpreter.
Sacs, .....	33	
Loups, .....	5	
Total, .....	986	
Total, Indians, .....	1,806	

Before leaving for Fort William Henry the army was distributed in the following manner : M. de Rigaud occupied the head of the Carrying place and some advanced posts with the battalion of the Marine, Militia and Indians. The battalions of La Reine, La Sarre, Languedoc and Guyenne, were encamped three-quarters of a league lower down, at the Fall of the waters from Lake St. Sacrament under Chevalier de Levis' orders ; those of Royal Rousillon and Bearn were yet at Carillon, where they had opened the campaign with M. de Bourlamaque.

29<sup>th</sup> July. The Marquis de Montcalm posted himself, in person, at the head of the Carrying place to accelerate its work. With all the activity imaginable on the part of the troops, this portage of a considerable artillery, of munitions of war of every description, of provisions to victual the entire army for nearly a month, of 250 bateaux, of 200 canoes, could be completed only in the night of the 31<sup>st</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> of August. We had neither oxen nor horses. Everything was done by men's arms, and in the last days the entire brigades, headed by their Lieutenant-Colonels, relieved each other for this work as long as it was laborious.

As the number of bateaux would not suffice to embark the whole of the army ; as besides, 'twas necessary that the forest should be examined along which it was to sail ; that the landings be sure and reconitered, the Marquis de Montcalm made his arrangements for marching a body

of 2,000 men, exclusive of Indians, by land, under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, who, having near ten leagues to march in the woods and over almost inaccessible mountains, set out two days in advance of the army in order to arrive simultaneously at the Bay of *Ganaouské*, situate within four leagues of Fort William Henry, and marked as the first point of rendezvous, according to the advice of *Kanactagon*, a famous Iroquois hunter.

These arrangements being completed, the Marquis de Montcalm communicated them, on the 26<sup>th</sup>, to the Chiefs of the Indian Nations, in order that they may confer together thereupon, and be prepared to report their opinion of them to him, in the General Council fixed for the following day. In this Council, at which the Nations took their places according to the ranks settled among themselves, he presented them in the King's name, with a belt of six thousand beads, to bind all those different tribes to each other and to him, so that they may act together and not separate from each other, nor quit him before the close of the expedition. This solemn and customary act was, under existing circumstances, more important than ever. For during several days, hardly could those be retained who participated in the fight on Lake St. Sacrament; these people scrupling to incur again the risk of war after one success, pretending that such would be tempting the Master of Life and bringing down on them bad luck.

The Iroquois, to whom of right the Belt belonged, as being the most numerous of all the Nations present with the army, did the honors on the occasion, in their name, and that of the other domiciliated Indians, to the Nations from above, out of regard for their character as strangers. In this same Council, the Marquis de Montcalm asked the Nations for the answer to the propositions he had submitted to their chiefs the evening before, on the subject of the marching of the army, of the route to be followed in the woods, the day of departure and his other arrangements. For these independent people whose assistance is purely voluntary, require to be consulted; everything must be communicated to them, and their opinions and caprices are oftentimes a law for us.

The Iroquois, originally proprietors of this country, now the theatre of the war, and with which they consequently are thoroughly conversant, offered themselves to the Marquis de Montcalm to serve as guides to Chevalier de Levis. The Indians consented that about one-third of them should march by land with him, although, they observed, this march was very fatiguing, and they left the time of their departure to the option of the Marquis de Montcalm.

29<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis' division moved off at night and went to encamp about half a league beyond the portage, at a place called the Burnt Camp, on the left shore of Lake St. Sacrament.

Composition of the detachment under the command of Chevalier de Levis.

Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier.

M. de Senezergues, Lieutenant-Colonel.

M. de la Pauze, Adjutant.

	Men.
Six companies of grenadiers,.....	300
Six pickets of infantry,.....	300
Two pickets of the Marine, .....	100
Of La Corne's brigade, .....	312
Of Vassan's " .....	346



	Men.
Of Repentigny's brigade,.....	332
Villiers' volunteers,.....	300
Indians, about .....	500
Total,.....	<u>2,490</u>

30<sup>th</sup> This detachment marched in the morning from the Burnt Camp without tents, kettles or equipage, Villiers' volunteers and some Indians forming the van-guard. The Canadians and remainder of the Indians marching as flankers, the troops in the centre, in three columns, that is to say, files.

The same day the Royal Rousillon brigade came from Carillon with M. de Bourlamaque to encamp at the head of the Portage, and the brigades of La Reine and La Sarre occupied the Burnt Camp which Chevalier de Levis had just quitted.

31<sup>st</sup> The Indians destined to go by water, set out at night and were to wait for the army three leagues from the Portage; they were weary of their inactivity in a camp where there was neither brandy nor wine to drink. Our domiciliated Indians, in truth children of Prayer, afforded occupation to the Missionaries, to whom the day was scarcely long enough to confess them. But this pious exercise was not for the Upper country Nations, whose superstitious and excessively restless mind was juggling, dreaming and fancying that every delay portended misfortune. On marching, these Nations left suspended a complete equipment as a sacrifice to the *Manitou*, to render him propitious.

1<sup>st</sup> August. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the army embarked in 250 bateaux, and set sail in the following order: A bateau mounted with a 12-pounder, fixed by Lieutenant Jacquot of the Artillery, the brigade of La Reine, that of La Sarre, that of Courtemanche, the Militia, the Artillery, and, on pontoons\* the brigade of St. Ours, Militia to navigate them, and that of Royal Rousillon as an escort; the provision bateaux manned by the Gaspé brigade, the field hospital, and lastly, two pickets composing the rear-guard. The Marquis de Montcalm had left a garrison at Carillon of one hundred men, with 100 armed laborers under the orders of Captain Dalquier of the grenadiers of the regiment of Bearn; 50 men at the Falls in possession of a redoubt erected in the middle of the rapid itself, and 150 men at the head of the Carrying place, where a portion of our supplies were deposited.

Halted at 5 o'clock at a point above *Isle a la barque*,<sup>1</sup> where the Indians, who were waiting for us, took the lead in 150 bark canoes.

2<sup>nd</sup>. At three o'clock in the morning the army arrived at Ganaouské bay. Three fires lighted on the shore, which was the signal agreed upon, notified us that Chevalier de Levis was posted there, having arrived at four o'clock on the preceding evening, after a march which the excessive heats, the continual mountains, the fallen trees, the necessity of carrying everything on one's shoulders had rendered fatiguing even to the Indians. He resumed his march at ten o'clock in the morning; proceeded to a cove about three leagues from Ganaouské bay, and went immediately to reconnoitre the environs of the fort, its position, that of the enemy and the proper place to land the artillery. The army arrived at the same cove in the evening. During

\*These pontoons were nothing else than two bateaux coupled and united together by a platform which carried the gun or mortar mounted on its carriage; a species of pontoon of very great use in a lake such as Lake St. Sacrament, whose waters never rise, the chain of mountains which line both shores sheltering it from squalls.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 599, note.

the night, two English barks out scouting were discovered by the Indians, who gave them chase and made three prisoners, who on being interrogated on the spot, told us that the enemy numbered 3,000 men, 500 of whom were in the fort, the remainder in an intrenched camp on a height convenient to the fort, to relieve its garrison every day; that all the troops had orders to stand to their arms, and to come to meet us on the firing of the signal gun.

3<sup>rd</sup> At two o'clock in the morning a gun from the fort was heard and the Abenakis scouts gave notice at the same time that all was in motion in the English camp. The Marquis de Montcalm immediately gave orders to approach the fort and this order was repeated, to receive the enemy in case they came against us; and should they not come, to invest the place, and even to attack the intrenched camp, if it were considered susceptible of being taken by main force.

The St. Ours brigade, attached to the artillery, remained to guard it, and two men per bateau were left to guard the bateaux, all under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Privat.

The army moved at the dawn of day. Chevalier de Levis composed the van-guard with his detachment and all the Indians; the brigades followed in columns by battalions; M. de Rigaud on the right with the Canadians of Courtemanche's and Gaspé's brigades; M. de Bourlamaque on the left and M. de Montcalm in the centre. At ten o'clock in the forenoon, Chevalier de Levis took up a position on the road leading from Fort William Henry to Fort Edward, investing the place in the entire of that quarter; the remainder was invested by the main body of the army. The Marquis de Montcalm having proceeded in person to the front, perceived that it was impossible to attack the enemy's intrenchment without compromising all the forces of the Colony. At the same time, as the post occupied by the van-guard, although the best possible to completely blockade the English on that side, was not a post of war, and was besides too far from the siege, provisions and other stores, he sent out orders to M. de Bourlamaque to lay out the camp of the army, the left resting on the lake, the right on inaccessible ravines, and to conduct thither forthwith the La Sarre and Royal Rousillon brigades. For himself, he bivouacked through the night with the brigades of La Reine and Gaspé, within supporting distance of Chevalier de Levis' corps. Throughout this day the Indians fired into the farm of the fort, a manœuvre which they have continued throughout the siege, and killed all the horses, oxen and other cattle belonging to the enemy. The Commandant was also summoned and notified that if once our batteries were erected and cannon fired, perhaps 'twould not be in our power to restrain the cruelty of the Indians; this summons was without effect.

4<sup>th</sup> At break of day the troops posted on the road to Fort Edward drew closer to the fort. The Marquis de Montcalm brought back the brigades of La Reine and Gaspé to take their places in the camp laid out by M. de Bourlamaque; the grenadier companies and the pickets of Chevalier de Levis' detachment rejoined their corps, and the army of the siege, of which M. de Bourlamaque had the direction, was composed of seven battalions and of the St. Ours and Gaspé brigades. Chevalier de Levis, with those of La Corne, Vassan, Repentigny, Courtemanche, Villiers' volunteers and all the Indians, was intrusted with protecting our right, sending scouts on the Fort Edward road, observing the enemy on that side, and making them believe, by continual movements, that we were again occupying that communication, for it was impossible wholly to invest the place with less than an army three times more numerous than ours.



At eleven o'clock in the forenoon the army was entirely posted, and the Marquis de Montcalm having resolved to open the trench that very night, went reconnoitring with the Engineers and M. Mercier, Commandant of the artillery. 'Twas decided to attack the fort from the northwest, and orders were at once issued for the construction of the necessary fascines, gabions and saucissons; the establishing of the dépôt of the trench and making a road from the camp to that dépôt. In regard to the landing of the artillery, it was judged easiest and most expeditious to bring the pontoons and unload them in the night, according as they were needed, at a little cove at the end of the dépôt.

On the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> @ 5<sup>th</sup>, 800 workmen, supported by six pickets, opened a sort of 1<sup>st</sup> parallel within 350 toises of the fort, began two batteries, one at the right, the other to the left, and the boyaux communicating from these batteries to the parallel. In spite of the obstacles presented everywhere by soil encumbered by trunks of trees and abatis, which required the employment of the axe and saw, the work advanced rapidly, and at day-break the men were everywhere under ground, except at the battery to the right, where the work had been slower, because the ground was worse. 12 guns were landed also that night, some mortars and the ammunition necessary for their service; the working party for the day perfected the boyaux which had been commenced, and considerably advanced the batteries on the left. They could not continue that on the right, its communication with the parallel not being completed.

As the garrison consisted of 2,500 men, and was consequently well able to make sorties, and as movements in the forest were difficult, the army had encamped convenient to the trench, in order to be within sustaining distance of it, yet, the troops being in that position, too much exposed to the fire of the place, the shot and shell from which had killed some men in the tents, the Marquis de Montcalm had the camp of the Royal Rousillon and La Sarre brigades moved back; that of La Reine, which formed the right, remained in its first position.

On the same day, the Indians intercepted a letter from General Webb, commanding on that frontier, dated Fort Edward, the 4<sup>th</sup>, at midnight, wherein he informed the Governor of Fort William Henry that he could not march to his relief, in order to extricate him, nor forward him any reinforcement until the arrival of the Provincial Militia, to whom he had sent orders to come and join him forthwith; that should the Militia arrive too late to enable him to advance and engage the French army, the Commandant should look to obtaining the best conditions possible.

This letter determined the Marquis de Montcalm to hasten the construction of the batteries, convinced that the success of the expedition depended on the celerity of the works of the siege; the number of workmen were consequently augmented; he also called the Indians together to reproach them that, whilst more engaged in firing to little purpose around the fort than with the essential business of scouting, they were neglecting their Father's will; that the majority of them remained idle near their canoes, and that scarce any of them had joined Chevalier de Levis' camp, as they had agreed to do, and the good of the service required. The Indians, on their side, complained that they seemed to be despised; that they were not consulted on the actual operations and would be made march without any understanding with their chiefs.

'Twas easy for the Marquis de Montcalm to make them comprehend that the cause of their complaint was imaginary and groundless, and at all events could not be but the effect and consequence of experiencing some of those neglects inevitable in the hurry of vast occupations; therefore two Belts and ten Strings of Wampum were sufficient to efface the bad impressions, to clear the sight, cleanse the heart and restore the senses.



The Indians promised to join Chevalier de Levis' camp that very night, and to obey his orders in regard to scouting. The Marquis de Montcalm then communicated to them the news, the contents of General Webb's letter, the steps he proposed adopting in consequence, and finished by telling them that the big guns (so they call the cannon) would open fire next day; which diffused great joy throughout the meeting.

On the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> @ 6<sup>th</sup> our working parties finished the battery on the left, completed the communication of the parallel with the battery on the right, which they also considerably advanced. The former consisting of 8 guns, 3 of which were 18", and one, a 9-inch mortar, opened its fire at ten o'clock in the forenoon. It threw shot either parallel, or in an acute angle with (*écharpant*) the defences of the lake front, of the west front or the roadstead of the sloops.

On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> @ 8<sup>th</sup> our workmen ran a boyau of 150 toises forward towards the capital of the west bastion, and completed the battery on the right, which was unmasked at day-break. This battery of 8 guns, viz', 2 18s, 5 12s, 1 8, and two 7-inch howitzers, and one 6-inch mortar, threw shot in an acute angle with the front of attack, and swept the intrenched camp with a ricochet fire.

At 9 o'clock in the morning, after a double salute from the right and left batteries, which was accompanied by loud whoops from the Indians, the Marquis de Montcalm sent me to carry to the Commandant, General Webb's letter, which had been intercepted two days before. The perusal of that letter at a moment when our works were so advanced, might determine him to surrender, and the Indians had demanded the adoption of that course.

On the same day, the Marquis de Montcalm received with the list of the favors granted to the French troops, the despatch wherein you announce to him, my Lord, that the King has honored him with the Red ribbon. Every one feels his zeal for his Majesty's service redouble in consequence. Even the Indians came to compliment our General and to state to him, that they were delighted at the distinction with which the Grand *Ononthio* had just decorated him, as they knew how highly he appreciated it; that as for themselves, they did not love nor esteem him the more on that account, inasmuch as it was his person they loved and esteemed, and not what could be added to his exterior. 'Tis true, my Lord, that the Marquis de Montcalm has known how to win their affections. They themselves observed that he was acquainted with their customs and manners as if he had been reared in the midst of their cabins, and what is almost unprecedented, he has succeeded in managing them, throughout this entire expedition, without giving them either brandy or wine, or even an outfit of which they stood in the greatest need, but the army lacked. He did, indeed, take the greatest care of their sick and wounded, and he gave up his supplies to them to contribute to their restoration.

On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> @ 8<sup>th</sup> we continued the boyau commenced on the preceding evening, which was run to within about 100 toises of the ditch of the place. At the extremity of this boyau a crotchet was also opened, for the purpose of establishing a 3<sup>d</sup> battery or lodging some musketry there. The guard of the trench had been augmented; it was composed of three companies of grenadiers and 7 pickets. About midnight two deserters who were approaching our camp, fell into an ambuscade of Indians who had been posted on their bellies in front of the working party, and had fired on those two men. On the report of this fire all the mountains around the fort reëchoed with the whoops of the Indians who called and answered each other. This probably dissuaded the besieged from attempting a sortie which they were very near doing.



The night's work brought us to a swamp of about fifty toises in width, bordered by an acclivity that sheltered it from the batteries of the place, except eight @ ten toises which were exposed to their fire. Although broad daylight, the Marquis de Montcalm, to accelerate the works, ordered this passage to be effected like that across a wet ditch of a fort. The sappers applied themselves to it with so much activity that it was finished that same morning, notwithstanding the enemy's very brisk cannonading and fire of musketry; we were thus enabled to construct across the swamp, before night, a road of round sticks and hurdles capable of bearing artillery.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, some Indian scouts reported a considerable force marching by the Fort Edward road to the relief of the place. Chevalier de Levis repaired immediately to the spot with the greater part of the Canadians and all the Indians. The Marquis de Montcalm followed him at the head of the brigades of La Reine and Gaspé and of three companies of grenadiers. The other three, the brigades of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, St. Ours and the Militia, remained under the orders of M. de Bourlamaque, to cover our trenches, bateaux and the camp. At 6 o'clock the Marquis de Montcalm reached the Fort Edward road, where he joined Chevalier de Levis. Unfortunately the news of the enemy's march was false. An Abenaki became afraid and thought he saw them. The promptness of our movements, which astonished the Indians, contributed, at least, to increase still more their confidence in us, and to show them that they had reason to rely as much on the vigilance, as on the valor, of the French troops, whom they called their wall of support. Before the close of the day, all the troops had returned to the camp and the work of the siege was in nowise deranged.

On the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> @ 9<sup>th</sup> we issued from the swamp by a boyau communicating with the second parallel which was opened on the crest of the acclivity. This parallel was to be the starting point to establish the batteries for effecting a breach, and by its prolongation to encompass the fort and cut off its communication with the intrenched camp which had been open until then. This work was considerably advanced that night, although the fire from the fort had never yet been so brisk. The guard of the trench consisted, as on the night preceding, of three companies of grenadiers and seven pickets.

9<sup>th</sup> At eight o'clock in the morning, the besieged hoisted a white flag, and Colonel Young,<sup>1</sup> commanding one of the battalions of the Royal American regiments, was sent by the Governor to propose the articles of capitulation. The Marquis de Montcalm, after having agreed with him on the principal points, notified him that he could not pledge his word to any of them before the Indians had accepted them, for which purpose he forthwith called a General Council, where he explained the conditions whereon the English were offering to surrender, and those he was resolved to grant them. He demanded of the chiefs their consent and whether they

<sup>1</sup> Colonel JOHN YOUNG was Major in the Royal Americans, and on 26th April, 1751, was appointed Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, with the promise of being Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. On the reduction of Fort William Henry, he was shamefully stripped and plundered by the Indians, and it is a curious fact, that he afterwards recognized and recovered some of his property in 1759, on the reduction of Quebec. In 1758, he commanded the second battalion of the 60th regiment at the siege of Louisbourg, and was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment, with the rank of Colonel in America, 26th June, and in the campaign against Quebec, in 1759, commanded the third battalion. On the reduction of that city, he was, with great propriety, appointed Judge of the Police, in which office he acquitted himself with honor, to the general satisfaction of the British traders settled there and the French inhabitants. On 20th March, 1761, he exchanged into the 46th foot; on the 16th February, 1762, was promoted to be Colonel in the army, and died in November following. He was, says Knox, a man of great merit, an incomparable officer, of sound judgment, long experience, and was universally esteemed. *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, III., 176, 217; *Knox Journal*, I., 44; II., 58, 101, 166, 167, 187, 229, 238; *Army Lists*. — Ed.



could answer for their young men not violating the terms. The chiefs unanimously assured him that they approved all he would do, and would prevent their young men committing any disorder.

After this promise, solemnly given by the chiefs of all the Nations, the Marquis de Montcalm sent me to prepare the capitulation, copy whereof is annexed to this despatch. He would have provided that the garrison should surrender prisoners of war, and it had probably agreed to this condition; but how could the Colony feed 2,500 additional men, so long as the inhabitants of Quebec are reduced to a quarter of a pound of bread a day?

Before returning to the trench, I paid the greatest attention, according to the instructions I had received, to have the wine, brandy and all the intoxicating liquors spilt, and the English easily perceived how important it was for them to take this precaution.

At noon the garrison marched out of the fort with their effects, and retired, as was agreed on, to the intrenched camp, into which a detachment of our troops was sent, as requested, by the English themselves. M. de Montcalm likewise ordered the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians to remain until the departure of the English. M. de Bourlamaque took possession of the fort with the troops of the trench. He contented himself with stationing guards on the powder magazine and provision stores. The remainder was abandoned to pillage, which it had been impossible to prevent.

Notwithstanding all the precautions that had been taken, the Indians, who got into the intrenchment of the English, wished to pillage their chests; the latter, opposing such proceeding, 'twas to be feared that some serious disorder would ensue. The Marquis de Montcalm ran thither immediately; prayers, threats, caresses, consultations with the chiefs, interposition of the officers and interpreters, who have some authority over these savages; he made use of every means to stop and restrain them. About 9 o'clock at night, he appeared to have accomplished that object. In addition to the detachment of 300 men, and the officers and interpreters, stipulated by the capitulation, he even prevailed on two chiefs per Nation to accompany the English as an escort as far as the vicinity of Fort Edward. It was not until after this arrangement that he made me start for Montreal.

Such, my Lord, are the principal details of this expedition. You will receive, by the earliest ship, the plan of the fort and of the attacks, the list of the garrison, artillery and munitions of war, and provisions which have been taken in it. It does not become me to set a value on the merit of an operation in which 5,500 effective men, exclusive of the Indians, have captured a fort and intrenched camp, defended by nearly 3,000 men, and within reach of relief from all the forces of the English Colonies. Therefore, I leave it to my General to render you an account of the zeal and ardor evinced by every one on this occasion. I only know that the entire army was employed as long as the siege lasted, either in the camp, or in the woods for fascines, gabions and saucissons, or in the trench; that 600 toises of works had been constructed, the boyaux having been wide enough to admit the transportation of two pieces of cannon abreast, which was indispensable, inasmuch as the abatis, with which the ground was encumbered, did not permit of the passing of the artillery over the reverses.

Had the enemy postponed the surrender, everything would have been in readiness to batter in breach on the 11<sup>th</sup>, and the Marquis de Montcalm's plan was to have the fort assaulted and the intrenched camp attacked both at the same time. M. de Bourlamaque would have had charge of the first operation; Chevalier de Levis of the second, and the Marquis de Montcalm would have stationed himself between the two, ready to sustain the one or the other.



We have had about 60 men killed or wounded. The English are computed to have had 200 killed and 150 wounded. The extreme fatigue attendant on passing an army almost exhausted by fatigue and bad food over a portage, without oxen or horses, the want of munitions of war and provisions, the necessity of sending back the Canadians to their harvests already ripe, the departure of all the Upper country, and of almost all the domiciliated Indians; such were the insurmountable obstacles which prevented our immediate march on Fort Edward. The Marquis de Montcalm is now busy razing the fort and intrenchment, in evacuating and clearing out, and in making the portage at Carillon, whence he does not expect to return before the end of this month. Probably we shall wind up the campaign in that quarter with two battalions on the defensive. The other four will be employed in continuing the works begun at St. John, the road from that fort to Laprairie and that between St. Thérèse and Chambly.

The two battalions of Berry arrived at Quebec in very bad condition. An epidemic contracted on shipboard has caused the death of a great many soldiers, and several officers, and this sickness has not yet subsided.

Permit me, my Lord, to assure you that I anxiously seek every occasion to render myself of any utility to my General and country, and that my greatest desire is to merit your favor, and whatever distinctions it will procure me.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

P. S. We have just learned, my Lord, the news of the outrages committed by the Indians on the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup>. The English, who entertain an inconceivable fear of them, being impatient to get at a distance from them, wished to march before our escort was collected and in order. Some of their soldiers in spite of all the warnings that had been given on that point, had given them some rum to drink, and who in the world could restrain 2,000 Indians of 32 different Nations, when they have drank liquor? The disorder commenced by the Abenakis of Panaouamské in Acadia, who pretended to have experienced some ill treatment at the hands of the English. Their example operated on others; they flung themselves on the garrison, which instead of showing fight, were panic-stricken. This emboldened the Indians who pillaged them, killed some twenty soldiers, and carried off five or six hundred. All the officers ran thither on the report of this disorder, made the greatest efforts to put a stop to it there, so that some grenadiers of our escort were wounded by the Indians. The English themselves state publicly that the Marquis de Montcalm, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque and many others, ran the risk of their lives, in order to save theirs, for in such cases the Indians have no respect for persons. At length the latter were quieted, and the Marquis de Montcalm released immediately about 400 of those who had been taken, whom he caused to be clothed and sent back to Fort Edward under an escort, after the Indians had departed. Those whom the Indians have brought to Montreal have been ransomed out of their hands by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, at a great cost, and at the King's expense, and they will be immediately forwarded to Halifax by a vessel sent as an express. The Marquis de Montcalm has written two letters; one to General Webb, the other to Lord Loudon, to notify them that this disorder, which was involuntary on the part of the French, ought not to afford the English a pretext of disregarding the capitulation, and that he would expect from their honor, that they would observe it in all its points.

You will find hereunto annexed, my Lord, a copy of those two letters.

Articles of Capitulation granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Monra for his Britannic Majesty's garrison of Fort William Henry, the intrenched camps adjoining the same and their dependencies, by the Marquis de Montcalm, General of his Most Christian Majesty's troops in Canada, the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757.

ARTICLE 1<sup>st</sup>.

The garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops in the intrenched camp adjoining, shall march out with their arms and the other honors of war.

The baggage of the officers and of the soldiers only.

They shall proceed to Fort Edward escorted by a detachment of French troops and some Officers and Interpreters attached to the Indians, and march at an early hour to-morrow morning.

ARTICLE 2<sup>d</sup>.

The gate of the fort shall be delivered up to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty after the signing of the capitulation, and the intrenched camp, on the departure of his Britannic Majesty's troops.

ARTICLE 3<sup>d</sup>.

All the artillery, warlike stores, provisions, and in general everything except the effects of the officers and soldiers specified in the first article, shall, upon honor, be delivered up to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, and with that view an exact inventory of the property herein mentioned shall be delivered after the capitulation, observing that this Article includes the fort, intrenchment and dependencies.

ARTICLE 4<sup>th</sup>.

The garrison of the fort, intrenched camp and dependencies shall not be at liberty to serve for eighteen months, reckoning from this date, against his Most Christian Majesty nor against his allies; and with the capitulation shall be furnished an exact return of his troops, wherein shall be set forth the names of the officers, Majors, other officers, Engineers, artillery officers, Commissaries and employés.

ARTICLE 5<sup>th</sup>.

All the officers, soldiers, Canadians, women and Indians, taken on land since the commencement of this war in North America, shall be delivered at Carillon within the space of three months, on the receipts of the French Commandants, to whom they shall be delivered; an equal number of the garrison of Fort George shall be at liberty to serve, according to the return which shall be given in thereof by the English officer, who will have charge of the prisoners.

ARTICLE 6<sup>th</sup>.

An officer shall be given as an hostage until the return of the detachment, which will be furnished as an escort for his Britannic Majesty's troops.

ARTICLE 7<sup>th</sup>.

All the sick and wounded who are not in a condition to be removed to Fort Edward, shall remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm, who will take proper care of them and return them immediately after they are cured.



ARTICLE 8<sup>th</sup>.

Provisions for the subsistence of said troops shall be issued for this day and to-morrow only.

ARTICLE 9<sup>th</sup>.

The Marquis de Montcalm being willing to show Lieutenant-Colonel Monro and his garrison, some token of his esteem on account of their honorable defence, grants them one piece of cannon—a six-pounder.

Done at noon, in the trenches before Fort William Henry, the ninth of August, one thousand seven [hundred] and fifty-seven.

Granted in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, pursuant to the power I possess from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, his Governor and Lieutenant-General in New France.

(Signed), GEO. MONRO, Lieutenant-

Colonel 35<sup>th</sup>, and Commandant of his Majesty's forces in and near Fort William Henry.

(Signed), MONTCALM.

*M. de Montcalm to Brigadier-General Webb.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ] 1

Copy of a letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm to General Webb, the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757.

Sir,

Colonel Monrow's gallant defence has determined me to grant to him and his garrison an honorable capitulation. It would not have experienced the slightest alteration had not your soldiers furnished rum; had that troop been willing to march out with more order in the execution of what I had prescribed to it, and had the Abenakis of Panaouameské in Acadia not supposed they had reason to complain of some ill treatment.

You know what it is to restrain 3,000 Indians of 33 different Nations, and I had but too many apprehensions which I did not conceal from the Commandant of the fort in my summons. I consider myself lucky that the disorder was not attended by consequences as unfortunate as I had reason to fear. I am pleased with myself for having exposed my person as well as my officers in the defence of yours, who render justice to all that I have done on that occasion. I shall cause to be conducted to you, to-morrow, the prisoners and your officers whom I have collected together and rescued from the hands of the Indians. They will be escorted by two companies of Grenadiers and two hundred volunteers, and will be conducted as far as the Half-way brook. I request you will have a like detachment stationed there to receive them, which will bring back the detachment I send you for M. Ameltor's<sup>1</sup> safety.

All the wounded, among whom are two officers, being under my protection, have left with one of my surgeons and all possible help for Montreal.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Hamilton's. — Ed.

I have dispatched an express to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France, to rescue from the hands of the Indians all the prisoners of your garrison, and when I shall have them collected, they will be sent by an armed vessel or express boat, for their greater security, to Louisbourg. The Commandant of that post will forward them to Halifax. When the few Frenchmen and Canadians, whom you may have prisoners since the beginning of this war, will be collected together agreeably to the capitulation, I request you to have them sent to Halifax, to be exchanged for yours, whom I shall send to Louisbourg. The communication between Carillon and your frontier is always too much infested by our Indian parties on both sides, to be safe. I have kept until to-day, the prisoners and your officers whom I had collected, to allow the fury of the Indians to die out.

I have the honor to address you letters for his Excellency Lord Lawdon, to whom I give an account of what has occurred.

I shall not send any Indian party out to-morrow to fight.

I am, &c.

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*M. de Montcalm to Lord Loudon.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm to Lord Loudon, 14<sup>th</sup>  
August, 1757.

My Lord,

Colonel Monrow's gallant defence has determined me to grant him and his garrison an honorable capitulation. It would not have experienced the slightest alteration had not your soldiers furnished rum; had that troop been willing to march out with more order and not taken fright at our Indians, which emboldened the latter; in a word, had they been willing to put into execution what I had proposed to them for their own benefit. I regard as a real misfortune, the having with me the Abenakis of Panaouské in Acadia, who had supposed that they had reason to complain of some ill treatment. You know what it is to restrain 3,000 Indians of 33 different Nations, and I had but too much apprehension of them, which I did not conceal from the Commandant of the fort in my summons. I consider myself lucky that the disorder was not attended by consequences as unfortunate as I had reason to fear. I am pleased with myself for having exposed my person as well as my officers in the defence of yours, who render justice to everything that I have done on that occasion.

Therefore, my Lord, I request you to cause the capitulation to be executed in every particular. The least omission in its execution, on the slightest pretext, would be of still more fatal consequence for you than for us. I have withdrawn from the Indians over 400 prisoners and the few that remain in their hands shall be collected by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to whom I have dispatched an express, and will be sent by an armed vessel or express boat for their greater safety, to Louisbourg, the Commandant of which post will forward them to Halifax, when the few Frenchmen and Canadians that you may have prisoners since the commencement of this war will be collected agreeably to the capitulation. I rely



on your honor for the number, and I demand particulaly the man named Laforce, a Canadian, who ought to have been sent back according to the capitulation of Fort Necessity. I request you to have them conducted to Halifax to be exchanged for yours whom I shall send to Louisbourg,

I shall take great care of Captain Feeh who has remained as a hostage for the capitulation, as well as of the wounded Captain whom I have already sent to Montreal, with a Surgeon and all possible help. I annex to this letter one I have the honor to write you by Lieutenant-Colonel Yong, and which is a proof to you of the high esteem I entertain for your Excellency.

I am, &c.

*Order of March for the Expedition against Fort William Henry, 30th July, 1757.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Right column marching across the woods and starting on the 30<sup>th</sup>.

Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier.

M. de Sennezergues, Lieutenant-Colonel.

M. de la Pauze, intrusted with the detail of this column.

Six companies of grenadiers, .....

Six pickets of infantry of the Line, .....

Two pickets of the Marine, .....

Villiers' volunteer company, .....

La Corne's Brigade, .....

Vassan's " .....

Repentigny's " .....

Indians, about, .....

2,200 men.

600 "

Officers attached to the Indians :

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Langi, Longueil,

Sabrevois, Fleurimont,

Lorimiers, Hertel, Jun<sup>r</sup>.

2,800 "

Left column going on the lake, starting the 1<sup>st</sup> of August.

The Marquis de Montcalm.

M. de Rigaud, Governor of Three Rivers.

M. de Bourlamaque, Colonel.

Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General,

La Reine.

Languedoc.

Marine battalion.

M. de Roquemar, Lieutenant-Colonel.

M. de Sermonville, Brigade-Major.

La Sarre,	
Guienne,.....	3,800 men.
M. de Foubonne, Lieutenant-Colonel.	
M. de la Pauze, Brigade-Major.	
Royal Rousillon,	
Bearn.	
Chevalier de Bernet, Lieutenant-Colonel.	
M. de Malartié, Brigade-Major.	
Brigades of St. Ours, attached to the artillery.	
Courtemanche.	
La Perrière.	
Gunners, bombardiers and workmen.....	
M. Mercier, Commandant of artillery.	
Six artillery officers.	
Indians,.....	1,000
Officers attached to the Indians :	
M. de St. Luc, Commandant.	
Mess <sup>rs</sup> Marin, Niverville, Langlade,	
La plante, Herbin.	
	4,800 "
M. Desandrouin, Engineer, attached to the Land forces.	
M. de Lobbinere, Colonial Engineer.	

*Garrison of Fort William Henry.*

State of the Garrison of Fort George and of the Troops encamped at the  
Intrenchment 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1757.

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Detachment of the Thirty-fifth regiment sent from Old England :

Lieutenant-Colonel,.....	1	} ..... 607
Captains,.....	4	
Lieutenants and Ensigns,.....	38	
Sergeants,.....	32	
Corporals,.....	24	
Drummers,.....	11	
Soldiers,.....	507	



## Independent Companies.

Captain, .....	1	}	..... 113
Lieutenants, .....	3		
Sergeants, .....	5		
Corporals, .....	5		
Drummer, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	98		

## Regiments of the Province of Machisouss.

Colonel, .....	1	}	..... 80
Captain, .....	1		
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Surgeon, .....	1		
Secretary, .....	1		
Assistant Surgeons, .....	2		
Sergeant, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	69		
Corporals, .....	3		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 57
Lieutenants, .....	2		
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	3		
Corporals, .....	2		
Soldiers, .....	48		
Lieutenants, .....	2	}	..... 40
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	4		
Corporals, .....	3		
Soldiers, .....	30		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 52
Lieutenants, .....	2		
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, Corporals and Soldiers, .....	48		
Lieutenant, .....	1	}	..... 44
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	3		
Corporals, .....	2		
Soldiers, .....	37		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 46
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	3		
Soldiers, .....	41		

Captain, .....	1	}	..... 48
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	2		
Corporals, .....	2		
Drummer, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	41		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 61
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	3		
Corporals, .....	2		
Drummer, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	52		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 50
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	3		
Drummer, .....	1		
Corporal, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	42		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 74
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	4		
Corporals, .....	4		
Soldiers, .....	63		
Lieutenants, .....	2	}	..... 71
Sergeants, .....	3		
Soldiers, .....	66		
Captain, .....	1	}	..... 79
Lieutenants, .....	2		
Ensign, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	75		
Lieutenants, .....	2	}	..... 57
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, , .....	2		
Soldiers, .....	52		
Lieutenant, .....	1	}	..... 53
Sergeants, .....	2		
Soldiers, .....	50		



## Regiment of New Jersey.

Colonel, .....	1	}	..... 301
Captains, .....	2		
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Ensigns, .....	3		
Sergeants, .....	20		
Drummers, .....	7		
Soldiers, .....	267		

## Company of the New-York Regiment.

Captain, .....	1	}	..... 57
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	4		
Drummer, .....	1		
Soldiers, .....	50		

## Detachment of the Regiment of Royal Americans.

Lieutenant-Colonel, .....	1	}	..... 122
Captain, .....	1		
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Ensigns, .....	2		
Sergeants, .....	7		
Corporals, .....	5		
Soldiers, .....	104		
Drummer, .....	1		

## Company of Mounted Rangers.

Lieutenants, .....	2	}	..... 95
Ensign, .....	1		
Sergeants, .....	4		
Soldiers, .....	88		

## Detachment of Royal Artillery.

Captain-Lieutenant, .....	1	}	..... 24
Lieutenant, .....	1		
Corporal, .....	1		
Gunners, .....	4		
Bombardiers, .....	3		
Artillerymen, .....	14		
Muster-master, .....	1	}	..... 6
Clerks, .....	3		
Lieutenant-Engineer, .....	1		
Assistant Engineer, .....	1		

## Regiment of New Hampshire.

Lieutenant-Colonel, .....	1	}	..... 230
Major, .....	1		
Captains, .....	3		
Lieutenants, .....	5		
Ensigns, .....	3		
Sergeants, .....	12		
Drummers, .....	3	}	..... 5
Soldiers, .....	202		
Commissary of Provisions, .....	1	}	..... 5
Deputy Commissary and Assistant, .....	2		
Surgeons, .....	2		
Total, .....			2,372
Soldiers killed, to be deducted, .....			41
Remainder, including 71 wounded at the siege, .....			2,331

*Return of the Army commanded by M. de Montcalm.*

Return of the French Army before Fort George, called by the English William Henry, 3 August, 1757.

Regiments.	Officers.	Soldiers.	Canadians.	Gunners.	Indians.	Killed.	Wounded.
La Reine, .....	18	301					6
La Sarre, .....	24	344					3
Royal Roussillon, .....	28	420				1	4
Languedoc, .....	19	274				2	1
Guienne, .....	27	403				1	3
Bearn, .....	26	388				1	1
Marine, .....	29	476				1	1
Colonials, .....	71		2,980			2	3
Artillery, .....	6			172		2	
Savages, .....					1,600	3	18
	248	2,626	2,980	172	1,600	13	40

## Recapitulation.

Officers, .....	248
Soldiers, .....	2,626
Canadians, .....	2,980
Gunners or Bomb*, .....	172
Indians, .....	1,600
Total, .....	7,626

M. le Fevre, Lieutenant of grenadiers in the Royal Roussillon regiment, slightly wounded in the hand by the bursting of a shell.



*Stores and Provisions in Fort William Henry.*

Return of the Warlike Stores and Provisions found in Fort George after its capture, 9<sup>th</sup> August, 1757.

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

- 17 pieces of cannon, from 32 to five-pounders, of which two brass and three iron are unfit for service.
- 2 9-inch mortars, burst during the siege.
- 1 6-inch iron howitzer.
- 1 6-inch iron mortar.
- 13 small iron swivels.
- 1 shot grating.
- 227 barrels of powder, of 100<sup>lbs</sup>..... } 22,700
- 226   "   "   "       50 ..... } 11,300 } 34,000.
- 2,308 shot, of divers calibre.
- 360 6 @ 9-inch shell } 345.
- 185 12-inch       "    } 345.
- 4 cases of balls, of 200<sup>lbs</sup> = 800.
- 1   "   of grenades.
- 6   "   of fire-works.

*Artillery of the Intrenchments.*

- 6 brass guns, viz., 2 of 12, and 4 of 5<sup>lbs</sup>.
- 4 iron swivels.
- 214 shot.
- 75 barrels of powder, of 25<sup>lbs</sup> = 1835.
- 80 gun charges, in *caissons*.
- 600 lbs. of ball.
- 50 lbs. of match.

*Recapitulation.*

- 23 cannon, of which 8 are brass.
- 1 fire howitzer.
- 1 mortar.
- 17 swivels.
- 35,835 lbs. of powder.
- 2,522 shot.
- 1,400 lbs. of ball.
- 1 grenade chest.
- 6 chests of fire-works.
- Grapeshot of divers calibre, and
- 3,000 barrels of flour or pork.

All this property has been conveyed to Carillon.

*Detail of the Campaign of 1757.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

North America—Detail of the Campaign of 1757, from the 30<sup>th</sup> of July to the 4<sup>th</sup> September.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil having formed a plan of offensive operations towards Lake St. Sacrament, to secure Forts Carillon and St. Frederic, sent, in the month of March, a corps of fifteen hundred Frenchmen, Canadians or Indians, under the command of M. de Rigaud, Governor of Three Rivers, to burn the sloops, bateaux and storehouses under the guns of Fort George, called by the English, William Henry.

That expedition having been attended with all the success that was anticipated, the Marquis de Vaudreuil determined to open the campaign by the siege of Fort George, and consequently ordered betimes the necessary preparations.

The delay of the fleet and the want of provisions rendered this operation very doubtful, the ships which arrived at the end of June and in the course of July having been insufficient, the Marquis de Vaudreuil ordered a strict inquiry to be made among the farmers as to what provisions they might have in their possession.

Each farmer reduced himself to a small allowance until the harvest, and gave the surplus, which supplied what was lacking for this enterprise.

After assuring himself in the matter of provisions, M. de Vaudreuil issued his orders to collect the troops destined for the siege in the course of July at the portage of Lake St. Sacrament, where a corps of Canadians was stationed since the month of May, under the orders of Mr. Gaspé, a Colonial Captain.

The army being assembled at the appointed time at the portage, which is half a league in extent, was occupied from the moment of its arrival in transporting artillery, bateaux, munitions of war and provisions.

July 30<sup>th</sup> Everything being ready, Chevalier de Levis set out with two thousand eight hundred Frenchmen or Indians on his overland march for the Bay of Ganaouské, to await there the Marquis de Montcalm, who was to embark on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August with four thousand eight hundred Frenchmen or Indians.

August 2<sup>d</sup> At three o'clock in the morning, the army, consisting of seven thousand six hundred men, formed a junction at the Bay of Ganaouské, whence it took its departure on the same day. Chevalier de Levis' detachment led the van to reconnoitre a favorable place for landing the artillery and the force commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm.

3<sup>rd</sup> At four o'clock in the morning all the troops landed within two leagues of Fort George.

At seven o'clock in the morning the artillery being arrived, the army set out to invest it.

Meanwhile, the Marquis de Montcalm having been informed by two prisoners taken the preceding evening, that the enemy proposed to come and meet him, marched with the intention of giving them battle.

Chevalier de Levis, commanding the van-guard, approached the fort without opposition. He advanced towards an intrenchment, which appeared well fortified and guarded by a considerable force. After having reconnoitred it, he made a report of its condition to the Marquis de Montcalm, who did not deem proper to attack it, being unwilling to expose his troops.



But on the same day caused the Commandant to be summoned, who gave him for answer, that his troops were determined to defend themselves to the death. After that answer, arrangements were made for the siege, and the army was encamped.

The troops of the Line, resting on the lake, formed the left wing; the Canadians and Indians formed a separate camp at some distance on the right of the troops, so as to be ready to repair promptly to the road from Fort Ledijs, called by the English Fort Edward, at the earliest notice that may be received of the enemy having dispatched a corps from that quarter to the relief of this place.

Chevalier de Levis, intrusted with that duty, was continually sending Indians out, in order to be informed of the enemy's movements.

Every time he marched with his force, on the intelligence he received from his scouts, M. de Montcalm set out immediately with a certain number of Regulars to support him, and left behind only enough to secure the trench, which he had ordered opened near the lake on the night of the fourth and fifth.

The success of this expedition, depending on the celerity of the works, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered that the greatest number of workmen possible be furnished, and that they be paid daily from the Military chest, on the certificate of the Engineers, or officer in charge of the detail of the trench, countersigned by Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General.

6<sup>th</sup> We had eight guns and two mortars in battery.

7<sup>th</sup> One of our Indians intercepted a letter which General Oueb was sending to Colonel Monrau, Commandant of the troops of the intrenchment and of the garrison of Fort George.

Notifying him that he had dispatched orders to the Militia to march with the greatest diligence possible; as soon as any should arrive, he would not lose a moment in sending him a reinforcement.

He solicited him to surrender his post on honorable conditions, should he be forced to do so by the delay of the Militia.

This General, who commanded a corps of four thousand men, encamped before Fort Lidijs, within six leagues of Fort George, informed the Commandant that, owing to the situation of his fort, 'twas out of his power to send him any troops.

8<sup>th</sup> M. de Montcalm, correctly judging the effect such a letter would produce, forwarded it to the Commandant of the post this morning, after having ordered a second battery, equal to the first, to be discharged.

The Commandant of the post, after having thanked M. de Montcalm, continued his fire; our two batteries kept up, in like manner, a continual cannonade during the day.

9<sup>th</sup> The Commandant of the fort, seeing our works so far advanced, demanded to capitulate. M. de Montcalm offered him the honors of war and one cannon, with the clause not to serve for eighteen months.

Whilst these things were proceeding, he had the Indian chiefs called together to whom he communicated his design, which they approved.

The capitulation having been accepted, Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General, repaired immediately by orders of M. de Montcalm to the fort and intrenchment, to take a list of the troops, and to see to the security of the provisions and warlike stores.

The grenadiers and pickets of the French were ordered to proceed and relieve the garrison of the fort, which was to march out to join the troops encamped in the intrenchment.

Nepissings.	Abenakis.	Iroquois.
Algonkins.	Amalecites.	Hurons.



## Indians of the Upper country.

Tetes de Boules.

Outaouats.

Chagouamigon.

Mississagués.

Aôais, from the Western sea,

who never before appeared in the country. Delawares.

Pouteouatamis of St. Joseph and Detroit.

Folles Avoines.

Miamis of St. Joseph.

Puants of the Bay.

Foxes from the Mississippi.

Sacs.

NOTE.—The capture of Fort George has been preceded by the defeat of 300 English, who were taken or killed on Lake St. Sacrament, the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, by 400 Indians or Canadians without the loss of a man.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1757.

My Lord,

M. de Bougainville, my Aid-de-Camp, whom I had sent to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to convey the intelligence of the fall of Fort William Henry, and whom I had instructed, at the same time, to write to you by the ship which M. de Vaudreuil was to dispatch to France, has, it appears to me, left nothing to desire in the Relation he has had the honor of addressing you. Therefore will I content myself with transmitting a duplicate of it to you, annexing thereto a return of what composed the English garrison which is not to serve for eighteen months after the capitulation; a return of the artillery, vessels taken from the enemy, and provisions; the article of provisions forms, under the circumstances, a most precious object for a Colony where we are suffering a real scarcity; finally, a return of the killed and wounded. I also annex thereto a letter from Sieur des Androins, the Engineer, with whom I am more and more satisfied. He has the honor to address you a most exact plan of the fort and of his approaches, with his journal of the siege.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, being apprehensive that the English, whose bad faith is only too well known to us, would seek to elude the capitulation and to justify themselves by ill-founded reproaches, in consequence of the inconsiderate attack of the Indians, after the capitulation had been signed, has most readily communicated the most trivial circumstances to the Secretary of State for the department of the Marine. I have drawn up a letter in the name of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which he has been pleased to adopt. I have the honor to transmit you a copy of it and of the Articles of the capitulation. I believe the simple recital of the facts will place him in a position, should the English wish to ascribe any odious imputation to us, to prove to the entire of Europe that the conduct of the troops, of their General, and of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, is not only exempt from all reproach but may merit some eulogiums and much gratitude on the part of the English, who saw me expose myself much more to save them from the fury of the Indians than to capture their fort.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has annexed to his letter for M. de Moras, copy of divers letters mentioned in the one he writes to that Minister. I have not the honor to send them to you; they add nothing to the reality of the facts; besides, I paid great attention in writing them, to exhibit therein to General Webb and Lord Lawdon the dignity, firmness and politeness which appear to me proper.

I am, respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. You will perceive, my Lord, by the extract of a letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> of August, from M. Bigot, Intendant of Canada, that circumstances obliged me to stop after the capture of Fort William Henry.

"The resolution you have taken not to besiege Fort Edward and not to make the garrison prisoners of war, is the wisest in every point of view; we could not feed them. 'Twould be greatly to be feared that the harvest in the government of Montreal would have been lost had you detained the farmers any longer. You had not provisions enough at Carillon for that enterprise. I could not have subsisted our army on Lake St. Sacrament after the month of August. We must consider ourselves very fortunate to have been able to set on foot the army that you commanded and to have provided for its subsistence for forty days in a year in which people are, so to say, without bread. The Colony must feel all the obligations it is under to you."

The English, my Lord, will be only too well informed of our situation as regards provisions; therefore, should they intercept my despatches, they will learn nothing from me; they suppose us, in truth, much worse off than we are.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Copy of the despatch written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Secretary of State for the Marine.

Montreal, the 7<sup>th</sup>, 1757.

My Lord,

I could not refrain from informing you succinctly, by my despatch of the . . . . ., of everything connected with the capitulation granted by the Marquis de Montcalm to Fort William Henry.

If the English possess the least spark of justice, they cannot make us any reproach on that occasion; they will believe their own officers in regard to it, who are satisfied with our proceedings, as far as they are concerned, and the capitulation will be respected, on their part, in every particular. As, however, that Nation, who has given us but too many proofs of its bad faith, may wish not to execute it, and may even seek to justify itself by ill-founded reproaches,



I thought it my duty to supply you with means to prove to all Europe, if necessary, that the conduct of the troops, of their General and mine, is entirely irreproachable, and may even merit some eulogium. The simple exposition of the facts suffices, without proceeding to recrimination, and without entering into the detail of all their treacheries towards the Indians, a people who forget and forgive nothing, that the English have violated almost all the capitulations concluded in America, particularly at Fort Necessity, which was reduced by us in . . . , and at Beausejour, which was taken by them.

The Marquis de Montcalm, who had already experienced the difficulties of making the Indians observe the exact laws of a capitulation at the time Chouaguen was reduced, was afraid he should be less able to control them at a siege, where there were 2,000 of them, of 33 different Nations. Therefore, he caused the Commandant to be summoned on the very first day Fort George was invested; you will see by his letter annexed to this report, that he was led to that course by humanity, and that he did not conceal the apprehension created in his breast by the cruelty of the Indians.

The Commandant of the fort having sent Lieutenant-Colonel Yonck,<sup>1</sup> commanding a battalion of the Royal American regiment, to him on the morning of the ninth, with an offer to capitulate, and the Marquis de Montcalm having agreed with him respecting the terms, stated to Lieutenant-Colonel Yonck, that the sincere desire he felt to observe his capitulation, the uneasiness created in his mind by the Indians on that point, and his honor did not permit him to make any promises before holding a Council with these Nations and obtaining their promise. He immediately convoked, in that officer's presence, the Nations to a General Council; explained to them the conditions on which the English offered to surrender, and those he had resolved to grant them; asked the consent of the chiefs, and whether they could answer to him that their young men would not violate those terms. The chiefs unanimously assured him that they would approve whatever he would do, and that they would prevent their young men committing any disorder.

After this promise had been solemnly given by all the chiefs, the capitulation was signed. In order not to omit anything that prudence dictated on a like occasion, the Marquis de Montcalm had ordered Sieur de Bougainville, his Aid-de-Camp, who was with Lieut<sup>t</sup>-Colonel Monro the Commander of the fort, to have the wine, brandy, rum and all the intoxicating liquors spilt; to confine the troops to the intrenched camp, where they were to remain, according to the capitulation, until the next day, when they were to be conducted to Fort Edward, notifying him that otherwise, 'twould not be possible to restrain that multitude of Indians; a precaution, the importance whereof ought to be perceived, however so little it had been attended to in America. He sent to the intrenchment, for the security of the English, as had been agreed on, a Lieutenant-Colonel with 200 men; finally, he ordered the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians to remain in it until the departure of the English. Such was the position of affairs at noon of the 9<sup>th</sup>.

Lieutenant-Colonel Yonck having, at the time of the capitulation, told the Marquis de Montcalm that he had the honor to be attached to my Lord Lawden, and that he was afraid the clause not to serve during 18 months might militate against his promotion, as he was to be Governor of Virginia, the Marquis de Montcalm, who had anticipated herein my intentions, gave him a letter to Lord Lawdon, copy whereof I transmit you, permitting Lieutenant-Colonel Yonck, notwithstanding the capitulation, to be at liberty to perform the civil functions of

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* See note, *supra*, p. 614.—Ed.

Governor of Virginia. The Marquis de Montcalm ran to the intrenchment on the afternoon of the 9<sup>th</sup>, on being notified that the Indians wished to plunder the baggage belonging to the English officers, and that the latter had made several of them drunk with rum; had recourse to prayers, menaces, caresses, councils with the chiefs, interference of the officers and interpreters who possess some authority over these barbarians; to everything to stop and restrain them. This beginning of disorderly conduct appeared in fine abated, and the Marquis de Montcalm retired to his camp at 9 o'clock at night, after having agreed that the English should march at the break of day with an escort, all the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians and two chiefs of each nation, to restrain the young men; a precaution which was superadded to all those that had been adopted in the morning.

During the night several Indians got drunk on the rum which, notwithstanding all that could be recommended to the English, the latter were furnishing, under the supposition that they would by such course render those people more favorable to them, of whom they entertain an inconceivable terror. The same dread determined them to set out on their march before our escort was entirely assembled and ready. The Abenakis of Panaouské in Acadia, who pretend to have experienced, this very year, some ill treatment on the part of the English, ran to insult them. Scarcely had they uttered their whoop, than the English troops, in place of evincing an air of confidence, took fright and fled helter-skelter, throwing down arms, baggage, and even their clothes. The great number of women this garrison was bringing back, contributed not a little to increase its terror. The Indians, emboldened to excess by this very panic of the English, set about plundering them, and I know not what would have been the result, had it not been for the promptness with which all the officers ran forward. The escort, which commenced collecting, opposed the outrage; we even had some grenadiers wounded on the occasion. The English themselves publish that the Marquis de Montcalm, Chevalier de Levis, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Rigaud, de Vaudreuil, de Bourlamaque and several others, had run the risk of their lives to save them, for in such cases the Indians respect nobody. Finally, the Marquis de Montcalm calmed the riot, put the entire of that garrison on its march somewhat worried, and on the same day, had more than 1,400 English conducted to Fort Edward, with very few officers indeed, for the dread of the Indians caused all, beginning with the Commandant, to prefer remaining in the camp. He recovered also on the same day, and made the Indians surrender about 400 English. The majority of the Nations gave them up to him with the greatest respect, and the most ample apologies on the part of the chiefs. The Marquis de Montcalm had all the clothing possible repurchased to fit out the English. Agreeably to Article VII. of the capitulation, he sent all the wounded to Carillon, and the greatest care was taken of them. He next sent me advice of what had just happened, and notified me that those of the Nations who were unwilling to surrender the English to him, had even gone away, contrary to usage, without taking leave, and carried their prisoners to Montreal. He retained the English he had recovered and all their officers, the 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, to allow the fury of the Indians to die out. During the whole of that time, he paid all the attention to that garrison that you may expect from any one who thinks like the Marquis de Montcalm; but I can tell you, from the acknowledgment of the English, that he was well seconded by all the officers.

14<sup>th</sup> Everything appeared to him quiet, and as there was only a few domesticated Indians with the army, he sent M. Amilton,<sup>1</sup> an English officer, under the escort of 30 grenadiers,



commanded by Lieutenant Savourin, of the La Sarre regiment, with Sieurs de St. Luc and Marin, officers attached to the Indians and two interpreters, and confided to them two letters, one for General Webb, who was at Fort Edward, and the other to be forwarded to Lord Lawden. I have the honor to transmit you copies thereof and of General Webb's answer. The English, and all the officers recovered by the Marquis de Montcalm from the Indians, set out on the following day, the 15<sup>th</sup>, escorted by 250 men, commanded by Captain de Poulhariès of the Royal Roussillon grenadiers, who delivered them up to a like detachment, sent half way by General Webb. These troops took with them the cannon which had been allowed to them, agreeably to the 9<sup>th</sup> Article of the capitulation.

The Marquis de Montcalm requested of Lieut-Colonel Monro to furnish him an officer whom he might send to Montreal to me to witness there the exactness with which I should observe the capitulation, by collecting together again all those whom the Indians might have carried thither. Captain Fesch, of the Royal Americans, was selected and immediately sent to me. That officer has seen with what zeal I have ransomed all the English, not those included in the capitulation of Fort George, but all those, also, of that garrison who had been previously taken in the fight that occurred on Lake St. Sacrament on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July. The latter were, incontestably, prisoners of war and belonged even to the Indians according to the laws of war established among the most civilized nations. It has cost the King considerable, but I am too well aware of the intentions of his Majesty, who has always won the respect and admiration of his enemies by his moderation in the midst of his triumphs, not to have employed every means to enforce the capitulation granted by the Marquis de Montcalm and to afford proofs of his exactness in keeping his word, and of the generosity and humanity which seem to form, if I may be allowed the expression, the special character of our nation.

It had been agreed, by the 1<sup>st</sup> Article of the capitulation, to send back the English to Fort Edward, but at their request and for greater security, I have just armed a vessel or express boat, and sent them to Halifax with Captain Fesch. Of that garrison there remain with me only one wounded Captain and about 50 sick or wounded, of whom I shall take great care until they be in a condition to be sent back agreeably to Article 7 of the capitulation. The English, far from complaining, ought to feel the more grateful for what we have done on that occasion, inasmuch as all belonging to that garrison, whom the Indians had taken, are restored to them, and as, thanks to the activity of the Marquis de Montcalm and of all his officers, the disorder has been promptly arrested and only 6 or 7 English soldiers killed. I annex to this letter, copies of those I have just written to the Commandant of Halifax and to Lord Lawden, in sending back M<sup>r</sup> Fesch; of that which the Marquis de Montcalm wrote to that General; of M. Fesch's receipt, on delivering the English over to him to be carried away, and of a note explaining to you the proceeding of which the Abenakis of Panaouské complain, and which has been one of the principal causes of the event, all the particulars whereof I have just now detailed to you.

I am, &c.,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant WILLIAM HAMILTON was appointed to the 35th foot, 15th April, 1756. — Ed.

*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Letter of M. de Montcalm to the Minister, with a copy of the circular letter from  
M. de Montcalm to the Commander of the battalions, of the 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

Quebec, 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1757.

My Lord,

By my last, of the fifteenth of August, 8<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, and that of M. de Bourgainville of the twentieth of August, you have been rendered a most exact account of everything relative to the capture of Fort William Henry. I now continue the detail of the little that remains to be written to you up to this day, when the packets are to be put on board the two men of war, *Le Bizarre* and *Le Celebre*, which are returning to France, after touching at Louisbourg.

The demolition and evacuation of Fort William Henry being entirely completed on the fifteenth of August, I brought back the army on the 16<sup>th</sup> to occupy the camp of the Lake St. Sacrament portage. I left that place on the 29<sup>th</sup> in order to repair to the Marquis de Vaudreuil at Montreal.

Chevalier de Levis organized a detachment on the 31<sup>st</sup>, with six companies of grenadiers, seven pickets and 100 Canadians, with the sole view of reconnoitring Wood creek, the head of the Bay and the defiles towards the enemy. He left the camp at Carillon, himself, on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, and brought back the battalions of La Reine, La Sarre, Languedoc and Guienne encamped at Carillon until the close of the campaign, together with the Royal Rousillon and Bearn battalions, some Colonial troops and Canadians. There exists the greatest dearth of provisions. We have lost so great a number of ships and the harvest is so bad, that this interesting item excites serious apprehension.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil proposes to terminate the campaign this year somewhat earlier than last, viz<sup>t</sup>, about the fifteenth of October. The winter quarters are already fixed upon; four battalions in the government of Quebec, four in that of Montreal. I have determined to station in the Quebec government those of La Reine and Languedoc, to approximate them to their companies which arrived only a few days ago after a long voyage. These companies have landed in a very feeble condition, with few sick, having only 255 men. Such is not the case with the two battalions of Berry, which will remain also near Quebec. These, including 91 men left at Louisbourg, are reduced to 913 men, having lost 141 men since sailing from Brest. The four battalions of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Guienne and Bearn will be stationed at Montreal and in its environs. The military hospitals have been as effective as they were bad last year, a circumstance owing to the attention which has been paid by the Intendant to my representations and memoirs and to those of M. Doreil. The latter, who performs his duty as well as any man can, spent the summer in Quebec, where his presence has been much needed, in order to receive our recruits and companies. On the arrival here of Sieur de la Grive, Commissary of War at Louisbourg, who, you state in your letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, is to come hither, M. Doreil will see to the regulation of the duties he will have to perform.

The latest intelligence from Louisbourg is of the 20<sup>th</sup> of August. It appeared that the English fleet was preparing to cope with ours, or to attempt a landing. That enterprise is a mad determination.



Our latest news from Fort du Quesne and Niagara are of the 15<sup>th</sup> of August. They only make mention of small parties which continue to harass the enemy, and it appears that the Five Nations are always favorably disposed and at least inclined to an exact neutrality; many of their young men go out to fight on our side.

I came to Quebec to review the regiment of Berry, to see the new companies of La Reine and Languedoc and our recruits. I shall wait for the Marquis de Vaudreuil who is coming hither in the early part of next month. Considerable has been done to the fortifications at Quebec in setting up batteries there. I have not been consulted. I had offered to come and pass eight days here in the beginning of spring. Neither have the officers of the *Corps Royal*. Nevertheless I am now going to see actually what has been done. It might have been of more use to have instructed me to look at it before. M. Levis has remained at Montreal, near the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and within hail of our four battalions at St. John and Chambly.

I annex to this letter the return of our six battalions, according to the reviews I made of them on the 22<sup>d</sup> and 23<sup>d</sup> of August. Since our receipt of 326 recruits, I am enabled to raise all the companies to 39, including the new ones of La Reine and Languedoc. You perceive, my Lord, that we are very far from thinking of the augmentations authorized by the order of the 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1757, to fix all the companies at 50. Up to the present time we have received only 1,100 recruits, 750 of whom have been taken by the troops of the Colony for their ten augmentation companies, or to render them complete. 'Tis asserted that the English have captured about 600 recruits in divers ships; 'tis much to be feared that no more will arrive.

I annex to this despatch copy of a letter I have written to Mess<sup>rs</sup> the Commandants of the corps, when I marched on the expedition against Fort William Henry. 'Twill afford you an idea, my Lord, of the difficult circumstances under which the war has to be waged.

I also annex hereunto a memorandum of those letters you have done me the honor to write to me, and which I have received this year, and another of those I have had the honor to write you.

I have received the commissions and letters for the nominations to the vacant employments.

I have filled up, according to your intentions, those blank ones you have sent me, and shall forward you a memorandum thereof by the latest ships, with a memoir of the proposals for the situations which will be vacant in the course of this year.

I have received the duplicate of the despatch advising that the King had granted me a place of Commander in the Order of St. Louis, and the list of favors granted to the officers who are serving in Canada. I have to repeat to you my thanks, and to assure you of my entire gratitude; but I have as yet received neither the private letter respecting the favors, nor the Crosses; not even that of Commander, which was announced to me by your despatch of the 11<sup>th</sup> of March.

I have received the Colors I had the honor to request of you for the regiments of Guienne and Bearn.

It only remains for me to express to you my entire satisfaction with the assurance of your approval of my conduct, which you are pleased to give me in the letter you have honored me with on the 20<sup>th</sup> of May; and I have to thank you no less for the letter with which you honored me on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April. It requires a special answer which I have the honor to send you.

I am, with respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

Copy of the circular letter written from the camp at Carillon, on the 25 July,  
by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Commandants of Battalions.

Sir,

You are not ignorant of the nature of the expedition we are about to undertake; your experience in the profession sufficiently informs you that celerity principally must cause its success. Besides, the circumstances of detail, peculiar to this Colony and which are not unknown to you, render it indispensably necessary for us to act with promptness. You are also aware what are the difficulties, embarrassments, and consequently the slowness inseparable from transport in this country. We have few bateaux; the warlike stores and provisions fill the greatest portion of them to such an extent that we are obliged to make a large division of the army march overland. Is it not rendering justice to your zeal, Sir, and to that of the officers, to be convinced that they will coöperate cordially and heartily in whatever will hasten the termination of our expedition? They will themselves perceive that what, under other circumstances, might be regarded as a matter of necessity, would on this occasion be a luxury prejudicial to the good of the service. The following, then, is the regulation, which I consider it my duty to make, respecting what each person will carry along.

1<sup>st</sup> All the soldiers will leave their vests here; they will march with their coats and blanket; they will carry tents and kettles, and as the companies of the Regular troops are reduced, they will carry only three tents per company. They will be aware that it will be necessary for them to carry several days' provisions; therefore 'twill be for their advantage not to overload themselves with articles of superfluity.

2<sup>nd</sup> Officers of whatever grade will carry with them a canvass awning (*canonnière*) for every two, and I shall furnish the example in this instance as I have done in the Chouaguen campaign; for servants, one awning for every eight. A blanket and bearskin are the bed of a warrior in such an expedition. Yet, I forbid not a mattrass. Age and infirmities may render it necessary to some. I shall not carry any, and I doubt not but all who will be able, will willingly imitate me. Provision will be made for some in the suite of the army for the sick and wounded.

3<sup>d</sup> Every sort of coop is absolutely prohibited, and the Majors will receive orders on embarking to throw away those which might be presented. Some fowls can be conveyed in a less cumbersome manner; it even seems that a soldier's fare ought to be sufficient for us; every two officers 15 quarts of wine, or if they prefer it, a case of wine per mess.

4<sup>th</sup> Finally, as soon as the order of marching is issued, and it becomes known who those are that are to go by land, arrangements will be made in the battalions for those going in bateaux to take charge of the provisions and baggage of their comrades, so as not to delay rejoining them.

Such, sir, are the regulations which circumstances render necessary for an expedition which, in other respects, is to be regarded as a tour of 15 days, or 3 weeks at farthest. I request you to communicate it in advance to the officers of your regiment.

I have the honor to be, &c.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 18<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1757.

My Lord,

I owe an answer and thanks for the private despatch with which you honored me on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April. You write me graciously; I shall omit nothing to render me worthy thereof. You order me to write you with confidence; I would not have awaited your letter, for I would be as inviolably attached to you as to the Count d'Argenson, and that is saying everything. I had been so already; I shall be so all my life, to whatever will bear your name, and I should disown my son were he not of the same mind. Your uncle and I had agreed on an address which I made use of, and will again have recourse to, should you write me that it is not subject to any inconvenience. Meanwhile, I shall write you particularly, making use of the cipher with which he had furnished me. You will receive, by the last ships, a very lengthy and very minute despatch, which will leave you nothing to wish for in point of the most interesting details. You will receive it in triplicate and therein will consist the greatest security.

The wise counsel you give me proves to my mind how much you are pleased to interest yourself for the success of my mission. You can assure the King that what you so strictly recommend on his part is exactly followed on mine; therefore have I acquired to the highest degree the confidence of the Canadians and Indians. With the former, when I am on the march or in camp, I have the air of a Tribune of the people; my success, which any other might have had, and the intimate acquaintance with the manners of the Indians, the attention I pay them, has won for me their affection. This is so strong that there are moments when, perhaps, my General is astonished at it. He is a native of Canada, and his system and that of his friends has ever been to proclaim that his name alone would suffice to attract the confidence of the Nations. I should fancy that I am now as sure of mine. The officers of the Colony esteem, consider and believe me to be just and severe, and many fear me; but these are neither a Villiers, nor a Contrecoeur, nor a Ligneris, nor many others. In regard to our troops, I have established the greatest political harmony. There will never be anything else between our officers and theirs. Nothing remains to be wished for on this head, as far as we are concerned, for we meet all the expenses and are prodigal in officiousness to serve. Our officers are not all qualified to accompany the Indians, and the Governor-General does not care about my sending any of them out often; he would fain retain this, at least as an exclusive merit for the Colony; nevertheless I send some out occasionally and I select them judiciously. M. de La Rochebeaucour is gaining a great reputation in this line, and is about to enter on his 5<sup>th</sup> detachment. Although but few of our officers are qualified to accompany the Indians in war, all are attentive in treating them in camp with much kindness and affability. As for our soldiers, they are like brothers with the Canadians and Indians, who esteem them much more than the soldiers of the Colony, called detached troops of the Marine. In regard to the latter, who are good but unsteady, our soldiers do not entertain sufficient respect and esteem for their officers; therefore, and I have always omitted to render you an account of it, I very soon held a court-martial and ordered a Corporal of La Sarre to be hung on the 14<sup>th</sup> of last month, who was wanting in respect to a Colonial officer. This is the exact truth. I neglect nothing to please my General and to deserve his confidence. The letter you wrote him

wherein you mention whatever I had written to his brother's advantage, has had a marvelous effect, and<sup>1</sup> if M. de Moras, his Minister, from whom I have not as yet received a letter, and who, in his despatches to him, has not yet mentioned my name, ever speak to him of it, so as to inspire him with confidence, the King's service will be benefited thereby.

His brother, 'tis said, is to have the government of Montreal. The Colony has received a great many favors, proportionably more than we, seeing that they number only 30 Captains. Five Crosses of St. Louis; two pensions; they never have had any; a sum of two thousand *écus* in gratuities for the subalterns. They have, 'tis true, more service than we. People are persuaded that the reports I have rendered of their services have had a considerable share in this. As for the rest, nothing is better than to have given Montreal to M. Rigaud; that government is worth 11 @ 12,000 *livres*. It must be reserved, for the sake of emulation for the officers of the Colony, but at least of superior talents; 'tis not necessary that the Governor of Montreal should go higher, and I believe this to be the case in point. For the rest, should the Governor-General happen to die, as the government of the Colony belongs to the senior Governor, by devolution, and so on, even down to a simple Captain, certainly I cannot be subject to their orders. The case will not occur; but at all events 'twill be one for despatching a sealed packet to be then opened to confer the command on me, and in my absence on Chevalier de Levis. I write to this effect to M. de Moras, in a letter which will not pass through his office, but indeed through the hands of M. de Herault; for the Colonial office has too many relations of interest and correspondence with the Colonies.

Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque are good seconds. The former, indefatigable, courageous, possessing an excellent military routine; the latter, a man of talent, of detail, gains immensely this winter and this campaign, in public esteem. I greatly desire their promotion, but to speak to you of it seems to be mentioning my own, on which I have only to say two words to you, and to meet two objections. The King has treated me so well that I have nothing to ask; should he make me Lieutenant-General only in the ordinary course, I have nothing to say; should he do so, I shall never make a precedent of it; I am about entering on my 36<sup>th</sup> year of service; I date from 1721. I am the only Major-General<sup>1</sup> commanding in chief a corps of troops and small armies 1,500 leagues off, having made two successful campaigns and sieges. But if I be made Lieutenant-General, can I be under the orders of a Captain of a ship; he is Governor-General, and I was well whilst Major-General. Can I be promoted without favors being conferred on the Marquis de Vaudreuil; I know not. At all events make him Commodore; he ranks the Captains of ships; this grade was conferred on him *ad honores*, without his ever having served at sea; or, what he will like better and does not cost any money, give or promise him the honors of the Grand Cross. Had I not been advanced in years, I should feel less desire for the grade; but a man of rank who serves his master to the best of his ability, and who on his return from America will go to Africa, if desired, must have some hope of reaching the highest step in his old age. However, whether I be made Lieutenant-General or not, [I shall feel] the same zeal for the service, the same attachment for my Minister, and let not the consideration of what concerns me ever stop the promotion of the superior officers under my orders.

The Major-General<sup>2</sup> is a very worthy man, but he will never be a Major-General. Fortunately I have here some very good adjutants. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de la Pauze and de Malartic are

<sup>1</sup> Maréchal de Camp.

<sup>2</sup> Chevalier de Montreuil; *Major-General*, or *Brigade Major*. — Ed.



of the 1<sup>st</sup> order, and M. d'Hert is very good; yet I shall ask you, at the close of the campaign, to pension him; he has performed that duty during three years in America.

M. Doreil, on the contrary, is a good Commissary, a great worker. 'Tis a pity he has not more to do, for the Commissaries of the Marine do, as it were, the whole. All the favors you will consider it proper to confer on him will be well conferred; I shall be very glad of them. There is one, he has greatly at heart, and which many who love you will solicit at your hands; 'tis the Cross of St. Louis; you will find me as forward as they can be in asking it of you when we arrive in France, but it is of importance that you should not grant it to him as long as he will continue in America. The Cross of St. Louis is held in greater veneration here than the Red ribbon is in France, and the latter is more esteemed than the Blue ribbon. Should the Colonial officers and the Marquis de Vaudreuil see it conferred on him, they would be confounded, and I believe you will be obliged to me for advising you of the fact beforehand.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

If you have any particular order to give me, you can write to me, my Lord, earlier by way of Louisbourg. Despatches are received there at all seasons, and letters are sent us by land which we receive by the end of February or March.

Document annexed to M. de Montcalm's despatch.

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 18<sup>th</sup> September, 1757.

Want of provisions. The people reduced to a quarter of a pound of bread. It will be probably necessary to reduce still further the soldier's ration. Little powder, no shoes; those that were coming have been taken. We have apprehensions for Louisbourg; it would require a principal man of more strength than those who are there. Is M. Franquet as able as is reported? Saint Julien doubts it. He has good sense and experience. The seamen of the fleet may be interrogated. Provisions, powder, ball and shoes early. Some ought to be sent in the very commencement of March.

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*An Account of the Campaign of 1757 in North America.*

[ Annexed to the letter of M. d'Abadie de St. Germain. ]

The Marquis de Vaudreuil having formed a plan of offensive operations in the direction of Lake Saint Sacrament, for the security of Forts Carillon and Saint Frederic, sent, in the month of March, a body of fifteen hundred Frenchmen, Canadians or Indians, under the orders of M. de Rigaud, the Governor of Three Rivers, to burn the sloops, bateaux and storehouses,

placed under the cannon of Fort Saint George, called by the English, William Henry, situate at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, six leagues from Fort Ledijs, called Fort Edward.

That expedition having had all possible success, M. de Vaudreuil determined on opening the campaign with the siege of Fort George, and consequently gave orders early for the necessary preparations.

The delay of water conveyance and want of provisions rendered this operation very doubtful; as the first ships that arrived at Quebec in the end of June and in the course of July did not bring sufficient to allow the siege of Fort George to be undertaken, M. de Vaudreuil commissioned *Sieur de Martel*, the Inspector of the King's stores, to make a strict search in the farmers' houses for all the provisions they might possess.

Every farmer, full of zeal for his country, voluntarily reduced himself to a very small portion, barely adequate for his support until the harvest, and whatever was over, supplied the wants of the siege.

M. de Vaudreuil, after being sure in the matter of provisions, issued his orders for the concentration of the troops in the course of July, at the Little Carrying place of Lake Saint Sacrament, which is half a league long, where a corps of Canadians had been stationed since the month of May, under the orders of Captain de Gaspé of the Colonials.

The army being assembled there at the appointed time, was employed after its arrival in transporting artillery, bateaux, warlike stores and provisions.

27<sup>th</sup> July. The Marquis de Montcalm had the chiefs of the Indian Nations assembled, and presented them, in the King's name, with a belt of 6,000 beads of Wampum to bind all the Nations to each other and to him, in order that they might not separate from one another nor quit him before the expedition was terminated.

30<sup>th</sup> July. Things being ready, Chevalier de Levis set out with two thousand eight hundred Frenchmen, Canadians or Indians, on his march by land for the Bay of Ganaouské, situate on the left shore of Lake Saint Sacrament, four leagues from Fort George. He had orders to wait there for M. de Montcalm, who proposed embarking on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August with four thousand eight hundred men, to be followed by the entire artillery.

These two divisions having formed a junction at three o'clock in the morning of the second of August, again advanced during the day. Chevalier de Levis commenced his march at ten o'clock in the morning, and proceeded within a league and a half of Fort George. M. de Montcalm set out at noon, and arrived at five o'clock in the morning of the third, with the troops and artillery at the place of landing, which had been reconnoitred by Chevalier de Levis; he was told by two prisoners on arriving, that the enemy, informed of our new movement, were to march from Fort George on a signal gun being fired, to come and meet us.

He merely had his troops landed, and prepared to march against the enemy whenever the first gun would be heard.

At seven o'clock in the morning several guns were, indeed, fired at Fort George.

M. de Montcalm immediately marched out at the head of his army, and left five hundred men, under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Privat of the Languedoc regiment, to guard the bateaux and artillery.

Chevalier de Levis, forming the van-guard with a party of Canadians, all the Indians, and the same detachment he had had previously under his command, approached unopposed within cannon-shot of the fort, and took up a position on the Fort Lidijs road to intercept all relief.



M. de Montcalm repaired to the van-guard at one o'clock in the afternoon, and having perceived with Chevalier de Levis that 'twas impossible to attack by main force an intrenchment which communicated with Fort George, without compromising the King's troops, concluded to have the Commandant summoned; who returned him for answer, that the troops of his garrison and those of the intrenchment which he commanded, were resolved to defend themselves to the death.

M. de Montcalm issued the necessary preparations for the siege.

The trench was opened on the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> @ 5<sup>th</sup> of August, close to the Lake, within 350 toises of the fort.

The troops of the Line and Marine were encamped at a short distance from the tail of the trench, with their left flanked by Lake Saint Sacrament and their right in the depths of the forest.

The Canadians and Indians commanded by M. de Rigaud, M. de Vaudreuil's brother, under Chevalier de Levis, formed a camp at some distance from the right of the troops of the Line and Marine, in order to be ready promptly to repair to the Fort Lidius road on receipt of the first notice of the enemy marching to the relief of Fort George. Every time Chevalier de Levis marched out on the occasion of some alarms, M. de Montcalm and the Major-General followed him very closely at the head of the brigade of La Reine, composed of three battalions, one of which was formed of the soldiers of the Marine. The La Sarre and Royal Rousillon brigades, of two battalions, remained each in camp under the orders of Colonel de Bourlamaque, to defend the trench in case of a sortie.

5<sup>th</sup> The Indians intercepted a letter of General Web, written at Fort Lidius, and dated at midnight of the 4<sup>th</sup>, informing the Commandant of the fort that he would advance to give battle to the French army immediately on the arrival of the Provincial Militia, which he had ordered to come and join him at once; in case, however, the Militia should arrive too late, the Commandant was to look to obtaining the best conditions possible; he added, that the situation of Fort Lidius did not permit him to detach any of his troops. 'Twas known, however, that that General was in command of a camp of four thousand men.

6<sup>th</sup> We have eight guns and one mortar in battery, which fired with considerable success.

7<sup>th</sup> A second battery of eight guns, one mortar and two howitzers was finished from which a fire was opened at eight o'clock in the morning.

After the first salvo, M. de Montcalm had a Red flag hoisted and sent General Web's letter to the Commandant of the place, who, after having thanked him in writing for it, waited for the first shot on our part before opening his fire.

On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> @ 8<sup>th</sup>, our working party was occupied constructing a road with a quantity of fascines across a swamp 30 toises in width, which a hill protected from the guns of the fort.

The works on the night following were advanced to within about sixty toises of the fort.

9<sup>th</sup> At eight o'clock in the forenoon, the Commandant of the fort had the White flag hoisted and demanded to capitulate.

M. de Montcalm consented on the following terms:

1<sup>st</sup> That the troops of the garrison and intrenched camp should march out with their baggage and the honors of war.

2<sup>d</sup> That they should retire on the following morning to Fort Lidius; and in order to be protected from the Indians, they should be escorted by a detachment of our troops and the principal officers and interpreters attached to the Indians.

3<sup>d</sup> That these troops should not be at liberty to serve for eighteen months either against his Majesty or his allies.

4<sup>th</sup> That within the space of three months, all the French, Canadian and Indian prisoners taken on land in North America since the commencement of hostilities, should be brought back to the French forts.

The capitulation having been approved by the Indian chiefs assembled for that purpose, was signed at eleven o'clock, after which Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General,<sup>1</sup> proceeded immediately to the fort and intrenchment to prepare a list of troops and to provide for the security of the provisions and warlike stores.

The troops of the garrison were relieved by the grenadiers and pickets of the trench, and conducted to the intrenchment where a guard of our troops was posted.

Chevalier de Montreuil proceeded to execute the orders of the Marquis de Montcalm and when everything was arranged, the Commandant demanded to march out with his troops at nightfall, in order to avoid the Indians.

M. de Montcalm immediately ordered an escort and directed M. de Saint Luc de la Corne, commandant of the Indians and several Colonial officers who were conversant with their language, to accompany it, that he and his troops may protect the English against all insult on the part of the Indians.

These officers having learned that the greatest portion of the Indians were lying in ambush on the Ledijs road, where they must necessarily pass, advised the Commandant to postpone his departure till day-break.

The next morning the English were attacked on their retreat by the Indians who plundered the greatest part of their baggage, took about six hundred men whom they carried to the camp and killed some thirty.

The Marquis de Montcalm, Chevalier de Levis, M. de Bourlamaque, Chevalier de Montreuil and several officers rescued about three hundred of them from the hands of the Indians and had them placed in safety in the fort.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil ransomed at Montreal those English which could not have been rescued out of the hands of the Indians.

The former have been sent back from the camp of Fort George to Fort Ledijs; the others from Quebec to Alifax, by sea.

The loss of the French, Canadians and Indians during the expedition amounted to thirteen men killed and forty wounded; that of the enemy to forty-one men killed and seventy-one wounded.

The French army, including the Indians, numbered 7,626 men, and the troops of the garrison and intrenchment to 2,372.

Our artillery consisted of 31 guns, 2 mortars, 3 howitzers, 10 grenade mortars, 70 thousand weight of powder, shells and shot in proportion.

In the fort and intrenchment were found 3,000 barrels of flour or pork, 23 cannon, of which 8 were brass, 1 iron howitzer, 1 mortar, 17 swivels, 35,835 pounds of powder, 2,522 shot, 545 shell, 1,400 pounds of ball, 1 grenade case, 6 cases of fire-works, and some grape-shot of divers calibre.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2, p. 639. — Ed.



The capture of this fort had been preceded by the defeat on Lake Saint Sacrament on the 24<sup>th</sup> July, of 300 English, who were taken prisoners or killed by 400 Indians or Canadians, under the orders of Lieutenant de la Corbière of the Colonials, without losing a man.

16<sup>th</sup> Fort George being entirely destroyed, our artillery, that of the enemy and all the warlike stores and provisions having been transported to the Little Carrying place of Lake Saint Sacrament, the army embarked and proceeded thither on the same day.

M. de Montcalm not having enough of bateaux to accommodate the whole of his army sent the Royal Rousillon and Bearn battalions to one of the Islands of Lake Saint Sacrament to encamp until the return of the bateaux which he sent them the day after his arrival.

17<sup>th</sup> The Canadians were sent home to save the harvest.

The Land and Marine forces remained at the camp of the Little Carrying place to transport the artillery, bateaux, warlike stores and provisions, after which they have been detached to work at the fortifications of Fort Carillon and Saint John and at the Chambli roads.

The expedition against Fort George is the most brilliant ever made in Canada; its success is due to the excellent arrangements of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to the experience of the Marquis de Montcalm and to the activity with which Chevalier de Montreuil executed his orders.

The troops of the Line and those of the Colony, as well as the Indians, furnished on the occasion the greatest proofs of their zeal and courage.



### *Summary of the preceding Accounts.*

Capture of Fort George, called by the English William Henry, situated on Lake St. Sacrament.

The army destined to attack this fort, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm, was composed of 7,300 men, viz: 5,500 French Regulars and Militia, and 1,800 Indians.

The enemy, including those in the fort and in the intrenched camp, who could continually recruit the garrison of the fort, numbered 2,500 @ 3,000 men.

It was invested on the 3<sup>d</sup> of August; the trench was opened on the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> @ 5<sup>th</sup>; and at 8 o'clock of the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> the besieged hoisted the White flag.

The principal conditions of the capitulation were:

That the troops, both of the garrison and of the intrenched camp, should retire to Fort Edward with their baggage and the honors of war.

That they should not be at liberty to serve for 18 months either against the King or his allies.

That they should be escorted to Fort Edward to guarantee them against the Indians.

And that, within the space of 3 months, all the French prisoners taken on land in America, since the commencement of the war, should be sent into the Colony of Canada.

The French have had only 13 men killed and 40 wounded.

The enemy have lost 108 men. In the fort were found 23 pieces of cannon, some of which were 32-pounders, 4 mortars, 1 howitzer, 17 swivels, 34 thousand weight of powder; shot, shells, grenades, fire-works and implements of artillery.

Likewise a considerable quantity of provisions of every description; but there was some pillage on the part of the Indians, which was inevitable on this occasion.

In spite of the escort furnished to the enemy to conduct them to Fort Edward, the Indians fell on them; the Marquis de Montcalm has been obliged to expose himself in order to restrain them. He has advised Lord Lowdon and General Webb of the fact. M. de Montcalm was busy razing the fort, and had already sent away the Militia for the purpose of saving the crops.

In consequence of the destruction of Fort George the English have remaining on that frontier only Fort Edward.

18<sup>th</sup> October, 1757.

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*Reduction of Fort William Henry.*

An Account of the Capture of Fort George, or William Henry, situate on Lake Saint Sacrament, and of what occurred this year in Canada.

[From the printed Pamphlet.]

The ill success which the English have experienced in the attempts they have made, either in profound peace or since the declaration of war, to invade Canada, have not discouraged them. No one is ignorant of the immense preparations they had made to attack it this year simultaneously by sea and land. The naval force which the King has destined for the defence of that Colony has caused the miscarriage of their sea project; and the arrangements adopted in the country, have equally put it out of their power to make any attempt against the frontiers.

At the close of last year's campaign, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, set about making all the arrangements in his power to enable him to repel them on every side.

He adopted measures to have parties of Canadians and Indians continually in the field during the winter. The incursions of these detachments on the enemy have cost the latter a great many people, and spread alarm throughout the Colonies, which have been extensively ravaged.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil likewise applied himself to managing the favorable dispositions of the Indian nations, which, in general, rose up against the injustice of the pretensions and the violent proceedings of the English. Those in ancient alliance with France have not ceased to furnish new proofs of their fidelity, and have been continually in the field against the enemy. Other numerous nations have entered into this alliance, and have taken part in the war. The Iroquois themselves, those nations whom the English represent to Europe as their subjects, animated by similar motives to the other Indians, have taken the same side, notwithstanding all sorts of efforts the English Governors have had recourse to, in order to persuade them to observe the neutrality to which they had adhered in the preceding wars between France and England.

It was in view of the advantages the Marquis de Vaudreuil saw himself in a position to derive from the dispositions of all those Nations, that he regulated these operations.

He had come to the conclusion that the enemy would direct their principal efforts towards Lake Saint Sacrament and Lake Champlain; and he has paid particular attention to strengthen



the forts which defend that frontier. The enemy having been informed that some provisions were to be conveyed from Fort Saint Frederic to Fort Carillon, under the escort of a small detachment, sent a party of eighty picked men, which captured the advanced sleighs of this convoy and seven soldiers; but the Commandant of Fort Saint Frederic dispatched another detachment which intercepted that of the enemy on its way, utterly defeated it, three men only escaping, and recovered the sleighs that had been seized and three soldiers, the remainder of those that had been captured. This action took place in the month of January. Captains de Basserode and de la Grandville of the regiments of Languedoc and La Reine, performed the principal parts in it.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil learned at the same time, that the enemy had been again collecting considerable supplies of all sorts at Fort George, on Lake Saint Sacrament, and had had built under the cannon of that fort a large number of sloops, bateaux and other craft, not only for the transportation of these supplies, but also to secure the navigation of that lake to themselves. He was of opinion that all these preparations were intended for some operations which the enemy were proposing to execute in the spring. To deprive them of the means to accomplish their design, he dispatched in the month of March, a detachment of fifteen hundred Regulars, Canadians and Indians, under the orders of *Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil*, Governor of Three Rivers, who succeeded so well in his expedition that he burned all the water craft, all the stores which were filled with every description of munitions of war, and implements for an army of fifteen thousand men, and generally whatever the enemy had collected under the fort, which remained isolated.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil did not confine himself to the obstacles he was opposing at that point to the execution of the enemy's projects on Lake Saint Sacrament; he renewed the garrisons of the posts on that frontier, and, by means of the reinforcements and other aid the King had ordered to Canada, found himself in a condition to operate offensively against the enemy.

In the direction of the Beautiful river, he caused many small forts to be destroyed which they had erected in that quarter.

In order to profit effectually by the advantages of *Sieur de Rigaud's* expedition, and of the situation in which the Colony was placed on the sea-board, he formed the plan of seizing on Fort George.

The erection of that fort which is only of quite a recent date, was one of those invasions the English are in the habit of making in times of peace on their neighbors' possessions, and afforded them the greatest facilities to attack Canada by its centre.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil committed this important expedition to the Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General (*Maréchal de Camp*). The troops destined therefor consisted of six battalions of infantry of the Line, one detachment of Colonial troops, several detachments of Militia, and many parties of Indians. All these troops were collected together on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July at Carillon, where Colonel de Bourlamaque of the infantry had already made the preliminary arrangements for the march of the army.

The Marquis de Montcalm had repaired thither some time previously. Before the army was ready to march, he had detached *Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil* to occupy the head of the portage of Lake Saint Sacrament, with a corps of Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians.

*Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil* having established himself in that post, sent out three scouting parties.

The first, which consisted of only ten men, was attacked on Lake Saint Sacrament by several canoes containing one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty Englishmen. Although Lieutenant de St. Ours of the Colonials, who commanded the party, was wounded at the first volley, he defended himself with so much firmness as to oblige his enemies to retire.

The second, which was pretty considerable, was commanded by Sieur Marin, another Lieutenant; he sent ahead eight Indians who composed his van-guard, and fell in with forty English. At the first brunt they let fly at the enemy, killed their Commandant and put the rest to flight. Sieur Marin, having rejoined his van-guard, reduced his detachment to one hundred and fifty picked men; reached the vicinity of Fort Edward, a few leagues from Fort George, without being discovered, where he first defeated a patrol of ten men; next, an ordinary guard of fifty men and several laborers. He showed himself before the camp of the enemy, who marched out to the number of three thousand men firing at him, which he sustained during two hours. Indeed, 'twas with difficulty that he obliged the Indians who accompanied him to retire. In this action, he killed more than one hundred and fifty men, forty of whom the Indians scalped. He did not lose a man, and only two Indians were wounded.

The third detachment, commanded by Sieur Corbière, another Colonial officer, lay in ambush during one day. At nightfall, he descried on the lake twenty barges and two skiffs containing more than three hundred and fifty English under the command of Colonel Parker, five Captains and six other officers. The Indians who accompanied M. Corbière raised their whoop and fired at the same time. The enemy offered a feeble resistance. Two barges only escaped; the others were taken or sunk. Sieur Corbière returned with one hundred and sixty-one prisoners; more than one hundred and fifty Englishmen were either killed or wounded; whilst of the French detachment only one Indian was slightly wounded.

The Marquis de Montcalm was in the meantime busy arranging his march. He divided the Militia into several battalions, the command of which he gave to some officers of the Colonials; and of the detached companies of the latter troops he formed a battalion to roll with those of the Regulars. He also gave a corps of three hundred Canadian volunteers to Captain de Villiers of the Colonials, known by various expeditions he has led in the course of this war, so that the army consisted of three brigades of Regulars, viz: the brigade of La Reine, composed of the battalions of La Reine and Languedoc, and of that of the Colonials; the brigade of La Sarre, formed of the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne; that of Royal Rousillon, composed of the battalions of Royal Rousillon and Bearn; of six brigades of Militia; of three hundred of Villiers' volunteers, and of one detachment of Artillery and Engineers, consisting of seven officers and about one hundred and twenty gunners, bombardiers and laborers. All these, notwithstanding, formed altogether but five thousand five hundred fighting men, exclusive of the Indians who numbered about eighteen hundred, because the Marquis de Montcalm was obliged to take some detachments from the troops both to garrison Fort Carillon and for some other posts.

It was necessary to convey by land, and on men's shoulders, from Carillon to Lake Saint Sacrament, not only the artillery, warlike stores and provisions of all sorts, but even more than four hundred bateaux and canoes; and that operation was attended by so much zeal that it was accomplished on the night of the 31<sup>st</sup> July and 1<sup>st</sup> of August.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, the Marquis de Montcalm dispatched Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier, at the head of a corps of two thousand five hundred men, composed of six companies of grenadiers,



eight pickets of Villiers' volunteers, about one thousand Canadians and five hundred Indians, to march across the woods, secure the passage of the army by water, reconnoitre and cover its debarkation. Which officer, notwithstanding the difficulties and fatigues of that march, took up his post on the evening of the following day at the Bay of Ganaouské, four leagues from Fort George.

On the first of August the army embarked and, at three o'clock on the morning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> arrived in the same bay. Chevalier de Levis marched from there with his detachment at ten o'clock, repaired to a cove about a league from the English fort, and went to reconnoitre the fort, the position of the enemy and the landing proper for the artillery. The army arrived about eleven o'clock at night in the same cove, and everybody bivouacked.

Some prisoners, taken by Canadians and Indians in the course of the night, reported that the number of the enemy may amount to three thousand men, five hundred of whom were actually in the fort and the remainder in an intrenched camp located on a hill within two hundred toises of the fort and convenient for the continual relief of the garrison. They added, that all the troops were to take to their arms on the firing of a signal gun.

On this report, which corresponded with the observation Chevalier de Levis had taken of the enemy's position, the Marquis de Montcalm issued, at once, the order of march for the army, which was adapted to receive the enemy in case they came to meet him, and should they not come out, to invest the place and even to attack the intrenched camp, were it considered capable of admitting of an attack by assault.

3<sup>d</sup> The army marched at day-break, Chevalier de Levis forming the van-guard with his corps, a part of the Militia and all the Indians. The battalions and the remainder of the Militia marched next in column, Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil on the right, Sieur de Bourlamaque on the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm in the centre. Lieutenant-Colonel de Privat had been left with five hundred Regulars and a brigade of Militia to guard the bateaux and artillery.

At noon the place was completely invested. The Marquis de Montcalm, who joined the van-guard, having perceived the impossibility of attacking the enemy's intrenchment without compromising his forces too much, sent orders to Sieur de Bourlamaque to lay out the camp of the army with the left on the lake, the right on some almost inaccessible ravines, and to convey thither, at once, the brigades of La Sarre and Royal Rousillon. For himself, he bivouacked throughout the night with the brigade of La Reine and one of Militia, convenient to the camp occupied by Chevalier de Levis with the van-guard on the road between Fort George and Fort Edward.

4<sup>th</sup> As the van-guard was posted at too great a distance from the siege, bateaux and provisions, it drew nearer this morning. The Marquis de Montcalm brought back the two brigades he had with him to take their place in the camp. The army destined to form the siege was then posted and consisted of seven battalions of Regulars, and of two brigades of Militia. Chevalier de Levis and Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, with the rest of the Militia, Villiers' volunteers and all the Indians, were ordered to cover the right of the camp, to observe the enemy's movements in the direction of the Fort Edward road, and by continual movements to impress them with the belief that that communication was still occupied.

In the afternoon of the same day, the 4<sup>th</sup>, the depôt of the trench was laid out; the road from this depôt to the camp was made; also, the fascines, gabions and saucissons necessary for this first night's work; and a cove where the depôt terminated was put in order so as to be able to land the artillery there in course of the night according as it would be needed.

In the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> @ 5<sup>th</sup> the trench was opened within 350 toises of the front of attack, embracing the northwest front; this trench was a sort of first parallel; two batteries were also commenced with their communication to the parallel.

During the day of the 5<sup>th</sup> the day-squad perfected the night work, but the left of the camp of the army, which was found to be too much exposed to the fire of the fort, had to be withdrawn a little farther back.

On the same day the Indians intercepted a letter from General Webb, written at Fort Edward and dated the 4<sup>th</sup>, at midnight. He advised the Commandant of Fort George, that he would advance to give battle to the French army immediately after the arrival of the Militia from the Provinces, to whom he had sent orders to come immediately and join him; if, however, these Militia should arrive too late, the Commandant should so manage as to obtain the best conditions he could. This letter determined the Marquis de Montcalm to accelerate further the construction of the batteries; and the working party was increased.

On the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> @ 6<sup>th</sup>, the left battery was completed and in condition to open its fire at day-break. It consisted of eight guns and one mortar and battered the front of attack and the harbor; the communication between the right battery and the parallel was also completed, and that battery considerably advanced.

On the night of the 6<sup>th</sup> @ 7<sup>th</sup>, a boyau was run 150 toises forward towards the capital of the Western bastion and the right battery was completed. It consisted of eight guns, one mortar and two howitzers; its fire formed an acute angle with the front of attack and ricocheted the intrenched camp. It was unmasked at seven o'clock in the morning, and after a double salute from both batteries, the Marquis de Montcalm thought proper to transmit by *Sieur de Bougainville*, one of his Aids-de-Camp, General Webb's letter to the Commandant of the fort.

On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> @ 8<sup>th</sup>, the working party, advancing towards the place by continuing the boyau commenced the evening before, which was run to within 100 toises of the fort, also opened at the end of this boyau, a *crochet* in order to set another battery on, and to lodge some muskets in it. About midnight, three hundred men made a sortie from the intrenched camp. *Sieur de Villiers* fell on them with a small number of Canadians and Indians, killed sixty, took two prisoners and forced the remainder to return to the camp.

The night's work had led to a marsh of about 50 toises in width, which was protected by a hill on its margin, from the batteries of the fort, except for a distance of 10 toises where it was exposed to the fire of those batteries. Although broad daylight, the Marquis de Montcalm had that passage constructed like one over a ditch filled with water. The sappers applied themselves to it with so much vivacity that, notwithstanding the fire of the enemy's cannon and musketry, it was completed that very morning, and before night a road was constructed across the swamp capable of bearing artillery. The musketry of the Canadians and Indians who aimed at the embrasures of the fort, silenced considerably that day the enemy's fire.

At four o'clock in the evening the Indian scouts reported a strong body of men coming to the relief of the place by the Fort Edward road; *Chevalier de Levis* proceeded thither forthwith, with the greatest part of the Canadians and all the Indians. The Marquis de Montcalm did not delay joining with the brigade of *La Reine* and one brigade of Militia. He was advancing in order of battle, ready to receive the enemy, the battalions in column on the high road flanked by the Canadians and Indians in the woods, when he learned that it was a false alarm. He dismissed the troops to their camp. This movement did not interrupt



the operations of the siege; and the promptness with which it was executed, produced a good effect on the minds of the Indians.

In the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, the men issued from the swamp by a boyau communicating with the second parallel which was opened towards the crest of the hill, and pushed considerably forward in the night. This parallel was to form the starting point whence the breach batteries were to be set up, and, by prolonging it, the fort was to be enveloped and its communication with the intrenchment cut off which up to that time had been open. The besieged did not give time to carry this plan out. They hoisted the White flag at eight o'clock in the morning.

The Marquis de Montcalm told Colonel Yong, who was sent by the Commandant to negotiate the capitulation, that he could not sign any, without having first communicated its articles to the Indians. Two motives led him to be thus cautious; he considered he owed it to the confidence and submission with which they had applied themselves, since the commencement of the expedition, to the execution of the orders issued, and of all the proposals made, to them; and he wished to place them thereby under an obligation not to do anything contrary to the capitulation which would be agreed to. He thereupon immediately called together a General Council of all the Indians; explained to the chiefs the terms on which the English offered to surrender, and those he had resolved to grant them. The chiefs submitted to whatever he would do; promised to conform thereto and to prevent their young men contravening it either directly or indirectly.

The Marquis de Montcalm, immediately after the council, sent Sieur de Bougainville to prepare the capitulation with Colonel Monro, the Commandant of the fort and of the intrenched camp. The principal articles were:

That the troops, both of the garrison and of the intrenchment, should march out with their baggage and the honors of war and retire to Fort Edward.

That in order to be protected from the Indians, they should be escorted by a detachment of French troops, and by the principal officers and interpreters attached to the Indians.

That they should not be at liberty for 18 months to serve either against the King or his allies.

And that all Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians, taken prisoners by the English on land in North America, since the commencement of the war, should within three months be conducted to the French forts on the frontier.

This capitulation was signed at noon, and the garrison immediately marched out of the fort to join the troops of the intrenchment; and Sieur de Bourlamaque, with the troops from the trenches, took possession of the fort. The Marquis de Montcalm sent a guard at the same time to the intrenched camp, at the request of Colonel Monro, and ordered the officers and interpreters attached to the Indians, to remain there until the departure of the English, who numbered 2,264 effective men. In spite of all these precautions, and notwithstanding the assurances given by the Indian chiefs when the capitulation was discussed, the Indians created some disorder in the English camp. The Marquis de Montcalm ran thither with a detachment of his troops. The Indians had already made a great number of prisoners, some of whom they had even carried away. He caused those that remained to be given up, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil had the others sent back.

The Marquis de Montcalm ordered the fort to be razed, and everything connected with it to be destroyed, agreeably to the instructions the Marquis de Vaudreuil had given him. In the fort and intrenched camp were found twenty-three cannon, several of which were thirty-two

pounders, four mortars, one howitzer, seventeen swivels, about thirty-six thousand weight of powder, a great quantity of shot, shell, grenades, balls, with all sorts of ammunition and artillery implements. A pretty considerable stock of provisions was also found there, notwithstanding the pillage committed by the Indians.

The French had only thirteen men killed and forty wounded during this siege. Lieutenant le Febvre of the Royal Rousillon grenadiers is of the latter number, from the bursting of a shell; his wound is in the hand. No other officers have been either killed or wounded. The enemy have lost one hundred and eight men on the occasion, and have had two hundred and fifty wounded.

During the entire siege the army has been, almost night and day, on service either in the trenches, or in the camp, or in the woods constructing the necessary fascines, gabions, and saucissons. With the pick, the axe and the saw, six hundred toises of trench were made sufficiently wide to admit of two guns being carried abreast; the fallen trees with which all the ground was encumbered prevented them being carried around. The success of this expedition is due to the wisdom of the Marquis de Montcalm's arrangements, and to the activity with which he followed up the execution of them. He has been perfectly seconded in all his operations by Chevalier de Levis, Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil and Sieur de Bourlamaque. The particular details of the artillery and engineering have been very well performed by Chevalier le Mercier, who commanded the artillery and Sieurs Desardouin and Lotbinière, Engineers. The officers and soldiers of the Regulars and Colonials, as well as the Militia and the officers who commanded them, have furnished the greatest proofs of valor and good will, and never did the Indians manifest so much firmness and constancy; they had applied to mount the breach with the grenadiers and were waiting with impatience for the moment to do so.

This new triumph which has diffused a general joy throughout the Colony of Canada, has animated, more and more, the zeal wherewith the farmers are endeavoring to respond to the measures the King has the goodness to occupy himself with for the defence of that Colony, and to second the care the Marquis de Vaudreuil unceasingly bestows on everything that may concern it.

## PARIS:

From the Bureau d'Adresse, at the Galleries of the Louvre, opposite Saint Thomas-street;  
the 18th of October, 1757.

With Royal Privilege.

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*M. Doreil to M. de Paulmy.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 25<sup>th</sup> of October, 1757.

My Lord,

As I am, this year, within reach of the Intendant when he is making out his requisition on his Minister for the wants of the Colony, of every description, he has consulted me in regard to the necessaries for the French troops. I have given him my opinions and Memoirs, whereof



I have informed the Marquis de Montcalm who, on his side, has been pleased to occupy himself seriously with that matter. We are assured that nothing has been omitted; therefore, my Lord, I shall not enter into any detail here on this subject, persuaded that M. Bigot writes conformably to all that has been agreed to. It appears to me sufficient, my Lord, to supplicate you on my part, to induce M. de Moras to order all the demands of that Intendant to be supplied.

But I must not dispense treating of one very interesting article relating to the cessation of the payment of the French troops in specie; have the goodness, my Lord, to cause the Memoir I had the honor to address you in the fall of 1755, to be laid before you again, also my letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> of October, 1756, to Count d'Argenson. You will see the difference it makes for the troops to be paid in French coin or in paper of the country, and the means I had proposed last year to M. de Machault as well as to Count d'Argenson to continue the payments in specie, without however having the trouble of sending any from France; a very advantageous means, besides, for the King's interest, since they would save not only the expense and risks attending the transport of silver, but even advancing the necessary funds one year. The Marquis de Montcalm having made the same representations, it could not be supposed that I was alone in my opinion. The critical moment is arrived; the funds are exhausted; the battalions of La Reine, La Sarre, R. Rousillon, Languedoc, Guyenne and Bearn no longer receive their pay in French coin since the first of September, and the two battalions of Berry, respecting which I have had the honor to write you, my Lord, a letter in detail on the 15<sup>th</sup> of August last, which I beg you to cause to be laid before you again, have not been able to get their pay due since the 11<sup>th</sup> of April, the day they embarked, except in paper of the Colony.

We cannot doubt that the Court has paid attention to all our representations, and, being perfectly aware of the time the funds would be exhausted, if it has not judged proper to transmit some new ones, that it has at least issued provisional orders equivalent thereto. But we must believe and are persuaded in fact, that the letters which determined an object so important, have been lost on the passage, like the list of the promotion of the Colonial Staff and the Ribbons and Crosses of St. Louis granted to the two corps.

By paying in specie, the King intended to procure for the expatriated French troops an advantage, and it was real. With coin the officer procured all the necessities of life cheaper, either by purchasing them in the Colony, or by causing them to come from France, by means of some merchants' bills of exchange which he could procure for specie without any discount, and could not obtain with the country bills of credit, except by submitting to delays and discounts which are scarcely compatible with the small fortune of the soldier. To afford you, my Lord, a clear idea of the difference, suffice it to inform you that the bills of exchange drawn this year by the Treasurer of the Colony, for value of the bills of credit and notes which constitute the currency of the country, have been, as has been proved for some years, viz. payable in three terms, one-fourth in 1758, one-half in 1759, and the remaining fourth in 1760; which, in negotiating these bills necessitates a discount of 18 per cent on one-fourth, of at least 12 per cent on one-half, without speaking of the first term for one-fourth which falls due only next June. By what fatality does it require that the pay of the officers should diminish in consequence of the prolongation of the sojourn of the troops in Canada? And that, by a concatenation of circumstances which succeed each other, which concur therein, and one after another render themselves so much the more sensible. ' Things have reached the point that such pay can no longer be regarded as advantageous; on the contrary, it is



at present nowise proportionate to the excessive dearness of every commodity, which is daily increasing and will advance higher, whereby the officers are, after having exhausted the King's allowance, reduced more and more to means so much the more difficult and burdensome, inasmuch as their resources are in another hemisphere. In regard to the soldier, I propose no additional pay; his allowance in Canada is only too good whilst that of the officer is insufficiently so.

These considerations, the zeal of the troops, their usefulness in a country they defend so well, the multiplied successes which have crowned their valor and labors, are titles to which we hope the King will not refuse an indemnity for the disadvantageous differences the officers have already sustained, at divers periods, in their pay, and in the last place, on account of the change in the nature of the payments and of the dearness of articles indispensable to life, which the scarcity afflicting the Colony, joined to the war, carries to an excessive rate. Whether his Majesty, when granting that indemnity, will determine to make it by an augmentation of salary, or, what would, perhaps, be still better, in the form of an annual gratuity, I am of opinion, my Lord, that one-tenth increase of the actual pay of each officer, might be the rule to follow in this regard. This tenth, which is the very least that can be granted, would give about 300<sup>l</sup> to each Captain, and so in proportion to all the officers of the superior or inferior grades, as well of the troops as those which compose the General Staff. Should this augmentation not render the officers' lot as advantageous as you appeared to me, my Lord, to desire, when I took leave of you, it will place them at least in a condition to support with less regret and trouble the excessive expenses, extraordinary fatigues and other disagreeablenesses they necessarily experience in a country so rude and so bare of resources as Canada.

I have had the honor to inform you, my Lord, that all the scourges are at one and the same time afflicting this poor country, which is on the eve of being of itself destroyed, if measures as prompt as they are just, be not adopted for its relief. Upon the troubles of war has supervened an epidemic disease which has been introduced by the ships that brought the soldiers. It has already committed great ravages, and apprehensions are entertained for the consequences. To these two misfortunes is superadded the most frightful famine, the horrors of which we are suffering for several months past, capped as it has been by an ungrateful harvest. This misfortune might and ought to have been anticipated. The harvest of 1750 had been bad; the number of mouths was considerably increased; 'twas notorious that additional reinforcements in men were demanded for 1750, and that the number of Indians which were to come down from the Upper countries would be considerable; nor were people ignorant of the English prisoners and Acadian refugees. Under these circumstances a bargain is made with a contractor who was to enter on duty on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1750; that contract as well as the conditions and prices, of which we are still ignorant, was kept secret until the vessel had sailed. 'Tis reported that this contractor, who the year preceding was the butcher employed to furnish meat to the troops, had sent to France for immense quantities of flour and . . . . ., seventeen ship loads of which were to come to him alone; not a bit of it, only three of them have made their appearance, and they are not loaded exclusively for him. The extreme want of provisions that prevails, and the delay in the arrival of the first ships, prevent the Marquis de Montcalm opening the campaign, the first operations of which he cannot commence before the middle of July, and he is obliged to terminate it with the capture of Fort William Henry. At the very beginning of the winter, each inhabitant of Quebec was restricted to a certain quantity of [bread]; this was further diminished in the month of April and finally in July, some persons



were reduced to four ounces. People were consoled by the hope of the arrival of the contractor's flour and an abundant harvest. The one and the other have failed, and the troops, like the inhabitants, are exposed to perish of hunger before the winter is over. When September came, there was no means to dissimulate. This melancholy condition had then to be looked straight in the face. 'Tis only at this moment that the Marquis de Montcalm has been called; it became necessary to reduce the soldier and his authority was required. This General, who is directed by no motive but zeal for the King's service and the preservation of the Colony, has been obliged to consent to this reduction and to other arrangements without example and unknown elsewhere. As I am aware that he renders you an account of them, my Lord, I cease here the recital of facts, but I cannot refuse to my zeal the taking respectful leave to invite you to converse with M. de Moras, verbally, on our melancholy situation. Ignorance exists as to its true cause which it is not proper for either the Marquis de Montcalm or me to attempt to instruct him on, the rather as our representations would not probably reach him. The remedies must be powerful and prompt, for if unfortunately a British squadron blockade the entrance of Virginia<sup>1</sup> early in the spring, all would perish here of hunger and misery, and it would be beyond our power to oppose the most trifling surprise on the part of the enemy. If all the King's subjects served him with the same zeal and disinterestedness as we, his possessions, his service and the glory of his armies would not be thus compromised. These are sad truths, my Lord, which I consider it my duty to deposit in your breast. Were it suspected here that I give you the least hint of them, I should be regarded with a very sinister eye, and the mission I have been given in charge would suffer thereby. I am easy on that head. I aspire only to the happy moment when, with the King's permission, I shall be at liberty to return to France, and be no longer an idle spectator of things so monstrous as those which are passing before our eyes.

I have received, my Lord, the two packages of *cartouches* which I had demanded last year, and which you had the goodness to have sent to me; I thank you for them. I have already commenced distributing them among the Majors. None of them has had the precaution, on coming to Canada, to bring printed muster-rolls (*contrôles de revue*), and up to the present time they have been obliged to furnish them to me in writing. Besides the trouble of making them up, they use paper of various sizes and such as they can procure here, and when they send them to me, the most of them are informal and such as I am obliged to have made over again. Although I am aware that 'tis the duty of the corps to supply themselves with these sorts of blanks, I shall be personally very much obliged to you, my Lord, to have the goodness to have sent me next spring, by three different ships, three packages of them of 200 sheets each. This will be sufficient for one year and something more.

I am, with profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

P. S. I had caused to be addressed at Brest some printed blank muster-rolls, but they are nearly exhausted. Dare I beg of you, my Lord, to give orders that 300 sheets of them per battalion may be sent to me, and 60 for two battalions, in two packages, by two different ships. We have no printing press here, and I have too much writing to be able to have these abstracts made by hand. I sent some to Louisbourg in 1755.

DOREIL.

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

*Memoir of Chevalier Le Mercier on the Artillery of Canada.*

## ARTICLE FIRST—Concerning Quebec.

The town is at present sufficiently provided with cannon, but it is highly necessary that it should have a proportionate quantity of shot. Seventeen iron mortars arrived this year, 4 of which were of 12-inch, 5 of 8, and 8 of 6-inch, and only a few shell came, the most of which have not the necessary vent. A requisition was made last year for four Cominge brass mortars and for four mortars of 12-inch 4li. diameter, with conic chamber capable of containing 11 @ 12<sup>lbs</sup> of powder; they have not been sent; 'tis certain, however, that had we mortars of this description, no ships could anchor in the basin of Quebec.

The mortars which we received were intended for sieges and for the forts; this was the reason that they were required to be brass, as they were easier of transportation; they are of iron, and 5 and 8 inches; some of them had their trunnions broken in France, the thickness of the metal is lessened nearly an inch at this point. They had to be fastened to their carriages with iron bands, which renders the transport of them difficult; it is, moreover, impossible to elevate them, as they are immovable.

2<sup>nd</sup>.

Although there are none in Canada who can manufacture shell and shot, some might, however, have been made at the forges of St. Maurice; but that establishment can scarcely supply the metal necessary for the castings needed for the service in the Colony. Therefore 'tis useless to think of it; should the King order it, however, 'twould be necessary to send from France some moulders in clay and sand for the shells.

3<sup>rd</sup>.

Men have been employed in putting in order the batteries as well on the river side as on that of the country; and the guns are mounted on their carriages and placed in battery. The greatest part of the plank in store has been used for the construction of the platforms and for the city gates and posterns. The General had given that business in charge to M. de Léry in the absence of the artillery officers.

4<sup>th</sup>.

A small wharf has been built in the direction *Pointe à Quarcy*<sup>1</sup> for the reception of three pieces of cannon which bear on the basin, until the projected battery at that point be erected. This is so necessary that there is reason to believe that the Engineer will set about it as soon as circumstances will permit.

5<sup>th</sup>.

It is absolutely necessary to send to Quebec by the first ships the munitions demanded in the list, marked N°

<sup>1</sup> Point à Carcy is that part of Quebec where the River St. Charles unites with the River St. Lawrence. It is a large, irregular ridge of flat rock, now covered by docks and wharves, the latter called Aylmer and Leadenhall streets, and in the immediate vicinity of the Exchange. *Plan de la Cité de Quebec*, par P. L. Morin, 1854; *Bouchette's Topographical Description of Lower Canada*, 8vo., ed. 1805, p. 462. — Ed.



## Artillery at Montreal.

This town is wholly bare of any, yet 'tis capable of serving as a general dépôt. It would, therefore, be desirable that a good arsenal, a handsome armory, a workshop with large powder magazine be located there. All the platforms are to be remade, and as 'tis fortified only against a coup de main, a great many small guns are required there.

## At the Beautiful river.

The artillery of Fort Duquesne is always the same. That post is too small to be able to sustain a siege, but 'twill oblige the enemy to make some preparations and to open trenches. Should the King desire to secure his possession on the Oyo, 'twill be necessary to have a respectable fort there to deprive the English of all desire to go thither.

## Of Niagara.

This fort is sodded (*en gazon*); 'tis reported good; it has thirty pieces of cannon, 12 of which are 12<sup>l</sup>. Its artillery is mounted on campaign guns; in other respects 'tis pretty well provided.

## Of Fort Frontenac.

It is in itself very bad and 'twill never be possible to make anything good of it without vast expense. 'Tis the arsenal for the vessels on Lake Ontario, on which account it is well provided, particularly as 'tis not probable that the English will be able to get up an attack on that side, so long as they will not be in possession of Choueguain. Frontenac is the entrepôt of the Upper countries around the lakes.

## Of Carillon.

By the return of the artillery at this post, it may be seen that 'tis well provided. As the fort is not yet finished the batteries are, for the most part, merely temporary. 'Twill always sufficiently annoy the enemy, who cannot possibly besiege it without the Colony concentrating succors there.

## St. Frederic

Has as much artillery as it needs, but the place is by nature such as not to confer honor on the Commandant and officer of artillery who will be stationed there, should it ever be attacked.

## Of St. John.

The equipage of the field train is being repaired here so as to be fit for use, should the Marquis de Vaudreuil judge such to be necessary either for offensive or defensive operations. But 'twill be observed that 'tis impossible to make any attack until shells and a part of the other munitions of war required, be received from France.

Done at Quebec, the 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1757.

(Signed), Chevalier LEMERCIER.

Seen.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*Ministerial Minute on a Scheme to attack Quebec.*

## CANADA.

His Majesty has been informed last winter of the advice received by Count D'Affry,<sup>1</sup> his Ambassador in Holland, on occasion of a plan pretended to have been furnished the English to surprise Quebec.

A Canadian named Du Souchet, and known in Holland by the name of La Salle, was suspected of having furnished that plan.

Which consisted of sending up the river, as far as Quebec, a great number of Indian canoes having on board some Regulars dressed like Indians, who were to seize in one night some of the principal posts of the place. The expedition was likewise to be sustained by 6 men of war.

Though this plan appears undeserving of any attention, at least as submitted, his Majesty considered it his duty to order advice thereof to be sent to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, with directions to find out if the individual reported to be the author of it had correspondents in the Colony, as 'tis pretended he boasted of having such, to the Minister of England in Holland,

The Marquis de Vaudreuil's answer, annexed, demonstrates more and more that the project, supposing it ever to have been presented, would have been really impracticable.

The information furnished by that Governor confirms that already received in regard to the man named La Salle.

Moreover his Majesty has, in like manner, been instructed that the information which had been given him against this individual by the man named Mesnil, sent hither with the details thereof, was soon disproved, at least in part, since La Salle, instead of crossing to England as Mesnil has assured he intended to do, took the road to Petersburg, where he is at present. He has even found means to introduce himself to the Marquis de L'hospital and to insinuate himself into his confidence.

In regard to Mesnil, he is still in the Bastille, whither his Majesty had ordered him at the time of his committal.

1<sup>st</sup> November, 1757.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, the 13<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757.

My Lord,

I have received the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 11<sup>th</sup> of April, with the detail annexed by you thereunto of information you had received respecting the

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS AUGUSTE AUGUSTIN D'AFFRY belonged to one of the most ancient families of Fribourg. He was son of Lieutenant-General François d'Affry, and was born at Versailles in 1713; was appointed Captain of the Guards in 1734, and served at the battle of Guastala, where his father was killed in 1746. He served with distinction also in the campaigns of 1747 and 1748, at the close of which he was appointed Major-General. In 1755, he was sent Ambassador-Extraordinary to the States-General, and remained at that court until 1762, when he was sent to the army of Hesse as Lieutenant-General. In 1780, he was appointed Colonel of the Swiss Guards. He served Louis XVI. with zeal at the breaking out of the French Revolution in 1789, but when the King set out for Varennes, General d'Affry offered his services to the National Assembly. He retired from public life in 1792, yet was arrested and put in prison in August of that year. He was liberated sometime afterwards, and retired to his seat in the Canton de Vaud, where he died in 1793. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.



enemy's plans. I have carefully examined it. The plan submitted to the English Ambassador residing in Holland, for attacking Canada this year, is so ill conceived that it would be impossible to execute it, at least from the sea.

In fact, my Lord, it would be impossible for the English, in consequence of the care I take, to find a number of Indians, such as they would require, to put on board 50 @ 60 canoes with the same number of Regulars dressed like them. For such a purpose they would require Mikmacs or Abenakis, who alone are accustomed to make their appearance in the River St. Lawrence, and these two nations are positively, even in time of peace, at war with the English. Besides, our Canadians who are settled at the mouth of the river are certain, from experience, that no other nation ever appeared there except Mikmacs and Abenakis, whose attire even differs from that of our other Indian nations; they could not have failed to take umbrage at those of the enemy.

1<sup>st</sup> They would not have understood their language. 2<sup>nd</sup>. They would not have recognized any of them, from which moment the project of the English would incontestably have aborted.

For the same reason it would not have been any easier to surprise the inhabitants of Quebec. 'Tis the invariable custom with Indians, when they arrive, to present themselves to the Commandant, who is always able to speak to them of the quarter they came from, and who is acquainted with what transpires there. The English Indians could not escape this custom; they would then at once have been recognized as enemies.

The six English ships which would have followed these Indian canoes, could not have made their appearance simply at the mouth of the river without my being informed of it, and then all the Militia along the banks of the river would have taken up arms. The orders I had given would have been executed at the same time, and the enemy would have very quickly discovered that he had gone on a wrong expedition.

How would it have been possible for those Indians, or the Regulars who would accompany them, to seize, at night, by consent or force, the principal posts of the town of Quebec at the hour appointed and set fire to the powder magazine and some houses? For, supposing that those Indians should comport themselves so as to deprive us of all suspicion, they could not leave their designated quarters without the Commandant of Quebec being notified of the circumstance, and without their being even arrested by the patrols he has out by my orders.

How could a mine be made to blow up the Royal bastion without our knowledge? That's absolutely opposed to common sense.

As for the attack by land, I perceive in it sufficient similitude and conformity with the reports of prisoners.

1<sup>st</sup> 'Tis certain that Lord Lawdun's plan was to render himself master of Carillon and St. Frederic at the opening of the navigation. All his preparations were made and nothing desirable remained but the breaking up of the ice, when my brother burnt all the outer establishment around Fort George, the barks, galleys, barges, bateaux, and generally the provisions of all sorts, clothing, arms and field implements destined for an army of about 15,000 men.

2<sup>nd</sup> That General had sufficiently meditated cutting off our communication with Fort duquêne, and for that purpose had caused some 500 bateaux to be constructed at a fort opposite and about 100 leagues distant from Fort Machault, but he has not been able to keep his plan a secret; I have been informed of it by the Delawares of Theoga, whom I have attached to me, although settled among the English and who never had the least connection

with the French. You will have observed, my Lord, by the letters I have the honor to write you on this subject, that I have broken up that plan by the attention I paid to having Indian parties constantly in that quarter, who have even carried consternation into the rural settlements and obliged the English to abandon them.

3<sup>rd</sup> I was likewise preadvised that Lord Lawdun was to dispatch a considerable party of English and Indians to attack Fort Duquêne, but that project did not succeed any better for him; he derived no other advantage from it than some scalps, but they cost him very dear, as you will have seen by the reports I have had the honor of rendering you of whatever occurred of interest in that quarter; I even hope they will not get off so cheap.

The author of that project has been very easily recognized, my Lord, by the portrait of him which you have drawn for me; he is one Dusouchet, who was a clerk of the India Company at the Quebec office. The estate of M. de la Gorgeandière has been obliged to pay a sum to that Company on account of the malversations of the said Dusouchet, who went to France in 1751; he sojourned sometime in Paris where he had himself called the Marquis de Rivet; he spent some money there which had been intrusted to him by an individual of this town, and, doubtless, having no further resource nor expectation of playing any new tricks at Paris, he withdrew to Holland where he has imposed on the English Ambassador by entertaining him with chimerical projects; but his imperfect knowledge of the Colony will soon make him be found out as an impostor, and, I think, in the end, the English will have him hanged.

As for the rest, my Lord, I have known that the said Dusouchet has no correspondents at Quebec, the Island of Orleans, Fort Saint Frederic or in any other part of the Colony.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Ministerial Minute on the neglect of the Marquis de Montcalm to attack Fort Edward.*

CANADA.

His Majesty is already informed that the Marquis de Montcalm was, pursuant to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's orders, to attack Fort Lidius or Edward, after having reduced Fort George or William Henry.

Such was the plan of the expedition laid down in the Marquis de Vaudreuil's instructions to M. de Montcalm, and the attack of Fort Lidius was the object of a special letter he wrote him on the seventh of August, in consequence of the information he had received that General Loudon had gone to Acadia.

Copies of that letter and of the instructions transmitted by M. de Vaudreuil are annexed hereunto.

M. de Montcalm's reasons for having confined himself to the capture of Fort George are, the fear of wanting provisions, the necessity of sending back the Canadians to save their crops and



the difficulties of reducing Fort Lidius, which was defended by a strong garrison, and within reach of prompt succors.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil submits in his letter, which is also annexed, some observations that do not accord with those of the Marquis de Montcalm.

He appears much pained that Fort Edward had not been attacked, persuaded, as he is, that it would have been taken.

The destruction of that fort would have been, in fact, highly important. As long as it will stand, 'twill not be possible for any peace to exist on that frontier. 'Twill facilitate whatever expeditions the enemy will wish to execute there, and more than that, whatever diversions they will like to set on foot in case they will attempt the attack of Quebec.

Could it have been destroyed like Fort George, the enemy would have been obliged to make Albany the entrepôt of their expeditions, where 'twould have been easy even to force them to keep on the defensive, since nothing would have prevented our attacking that place or making other attacks in that quarter.

1<sup>st</sup> November, 1757.

*Copies of Letters transmitted by M. de Vaudreuil.*

N<sup>o</sup> 1. M. de Montcalm to M. M. de Moras.

Montreal, 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1757.

[ For this letter, see *supra*, p. 576. ]

N<sup>o</sup> 2. Extract of the letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Marquis de Montcalm, the seventh of August, 1757.

I am confident that this courier will join you at Fort Lidius; circumstances are more favorable for your laying siege to it; you know that General Lawdun is at Alifax with all the troops, and he is so much the less to be feared, as he is blockaded by Count Dubois de la Motte's squadron, which intercepts all his succors.

Should we fail to reduce Fort Lydius this year, we may give it up, as we shall never again have such a fine opportunity. Indeed, General Lawdon and all the Regulars will occupy it next campaign, and then, far from it being in our power to assume the offensive, we shall be constrained to confine ourselves to the defensive, and consequently it will be the same expenses and the same movements in the Colony over again.

You hence perceive, Sir, that tranquillity depends directly on the reduction of Fort Lydius; nothing ought to be an impediment to you in that regard, even though the Canadians should not return soon enough to save their harvest, we shall not want provisions, and besides, 'twould be better for them to be a little short than to be obliged next year to see themselves at the same trouble to guard their frontier.

I communicate my thoughts to you, Sir, with so much the more pleasure, as I am fully persuaded that you will receive them as evidence of my attachment, &c.

True copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

N° 3. Instructions for the Marquis de Montcalm, Marshal of the Camps and Armies of the King.

Our success last campaign in the reduction of Forts Chouaguen and the continual incursions of the Indian Nations we had collected together at the Beautiful river, on several English forts and on the rural settlements, justly warranted us in supposing that General Lawdun was occupying himself particularly with the Lake St. Sacrament quarter, and that he would succeed in completing the great preparations he had commenced the last year at Fort George, to enable him to attack Forts Carillon and St. Frederic with a considerable army, before our rivers were navigable and we should be able to send from the Colony the necessary forces to defend these two forts, especially as our situation in regard to provisions was so critical that we could not victual them.

Such were the considerations which led us to dispatch a detachment of about fifteen hundred men, Canadians and Indians, under the orders of M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, Governor of Three Rivers, in the month of March, when the enemy would be least on his guard, to destroy his preparations and reduce him to the absolute necessity of restoring them before he could be able to undertake anything against our frontier.

This expedition succeeded so far that Fort George remained totally isolated, and its sloops, galleys, barges, bateaux, storehouses and other establishments were reduced to ashes by the flames.

We have not lost sight of that event which gave us the advantage over the enemy, but we have not been able to profit by it in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, before receiving our first despatches from the Court; the different advices we receive therefrom, joined to the report of English prisoners, and to the circumstances in which we are placed, prove to us that it is vastly the interest of the Colony to act offensively against Fort George.

For which purpose we have ordered a levy of provisions in all the parishes of our government, where we have had the inquiry for them made as exact as it was easy through the good dispositions of our Canadians, in consequence of the confidence with which we have assured them, and we ourselves feel, that the supplies the Court designed for this Colony, and we urgently demanded in our last despatches, will not fail to reach us.

The forces we destine for this important expedition, the command whereof we confide to the Marquis de Montcalm, will consist of about eight thousand four hundred men; viz<sup>t</sup> two thousand five hundred Regulars; twelve hundred of the Marine detachment; three hundred Canadians and seventeen hundred Indians, exclusive of a company of bombardiers, a company of pioneers, the recruits we sent to Carillon from Quebec, and the Indian Nations we are daily expecting from the Upper countries.

This army will be completely collected at Fort Carillon between the fifteenth and eighteenth of this month; the Marquis de Montcalm will find there also a suitable train of artillery for the siege of Fort George, and all the other preparations relative to this expedition.

We doubt not but that the portage road has been constructed, and the artillery and bateaux transported thither, having given our orders accordingly to M. de Bourlamaque, and successively to Chevalier de Levis and to M. le Mercier, but in case the whole be not done, the Marquis de Montcalm will not lose an instant in completing all these works, so that nothing may delay his departure with all his forces for Fort George.



We leave him to entrust the command of Fort Carillon to such officer as he will think proper with the number of men he will consider necessary.

We observe to the Marquis de Montcalm that the Fort George expedition is the most essential object we could have in view for the benefit and security of this Colony. We have communicated to him all our reflections in the conferences we have had together on this subject; we have taken pains to hand over to him an army capable of not being intimidated by the enemy, whatever its situation may be, and with that view have selected the best men in the Colony.

We leave the order of march of this army to the Marquis de Montcalm, but we recommend him not to divide it.

We have handed him the sketch of the distribution we have made of the Marine troops and of the Canadians, as well as of the Indian Nations.

We have attached to them officers of the Marine whose experience is known to us; therefore 'tis for the good of the service that such arrangement be carried out.

We have appointed M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil to march at the head of the Colonial troops, Canadians and Indians under the Marquis de Montcalm's orders at his request; we have reason to hope that these Indians will keep the word they have given us, and that they will not separate until after the expedition.

We likewise hope that the Marquis de Montcalm will not delay making himself acquainted with the real state of the enemy at Fort George; but whatever reports prisoners or English deserters may make him, he will not postpone his march. And supposing that he perceives, beyond a doubt, on his arrival at Fort George, that the enemy's force is superior to his, he will make such manœuvres as he will judge best to endeavor to force them from their position and to fight them with advantage.

Should the Marquis de Montcalm succeed in reducing Fort George, by force of arms, or in case the enemy surrender by capitulation, he will grant terms more or less favorable, according as circumstances will require.

He will pay particular attention to the careful preservation of all sorts of provisions, artillery, arms and warlike stores, and will cause the best measures to be adopted for the safe transportation of the whole to Fort Carillon.

We will not doubt, should the Marquis de Montcalm be successful in the first instance, but Fort Lydius will be intimidated to the degree that 'twill offer only a feeble resistance; therefore, the Marquis de Montcalm will leave some troops at Fort George, and consider nothing more pressing than to present himself with his army before Fort Lydius and lay siege to it, unless it be evident that the forces of the Colony would be compromised by this second expedition. He perceives as fully as we, that so long as Fort Lydius stands, the English will always possess means to threaten our frontier, whilst, should that fort be razed, they would be forced to abandon that project, and by a necessary consequence, all their ambitious projects against this Colony would vanish.

Fort Lydius being reduced, the Marquis de Montcalm will execute what we have prescribed to him in relation to Fort George, regarding the provisions, artillery, arms and warlike stores; he will have Fort Lydius and its dependencies burnt to the foundations, and will treat Fort George in the same manner, as soon as he will return thither.

In regard to the Indian Nations, he will then permit them to depart and to divide themselves into platoons, to each of which he will attach officers, cadets and soldiers belonging to the

detachment of Marine troops, and some Canadians, for the purpose of laying waste the English settlements, either in the vicinity of Orange or Corlar.

But in case the Marquis de Montcalm perceive it really impossible to reduce Fort George and be under the absolute necessity, in consequence of the too great superiority of the enemy's forces, to retire under Fort Carillon, he will occupy the most favorable position there to prevent the enemy making any progress; we warn him beforehand that 'twill not be in his power to avoid sending back about the end of the month of August, the Upper country Nations and the greatest part of the Canadians, to have our crops saved.

The Marquis de Montcalm will be at liberty to assure the officers belonging to the detachment of the Marine, that we shall pay most particular attention to the reports he will be pleased to make of the manner they will distinguish themselves under his orders.

As for the rest, we shall rely entirely on the Marquis de Montcalm's knowledge, prudence, experience and zeal, in all what concerns the important mission we have confided to him, and in all the cases we cannot foresee.

We are well assured that nothing will escape his foresight, and that he will adopt the best measures to protect himself against repulse.

He will inform us of everything of interest that will occur, and on our side we shall diligently communicate to him all the news which will relate to the situation of the Colony and our expedition.

Done at Montreal, the ninth of July, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Lower down is written :

Copy, and

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

N° 4.

M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.

Montreal, the eighteenth of August,

One thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven.

My Lord,

I flattered myself with reason that the success of M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil's campaign on Lake St. Sacrament, would determine that of my expedition against Fort George, which was the more important to this Colony, as on it and the reduction of Fort Lydius, depended the peace of our frontier.

The success of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Marin and Corbière's detachments, organized by M. de Rigaud, supplied M. de Montcalm with a confidence equal to that I had always felt.

But, my Lord, his expedition has terminated by the reduction of Fort George, on the ninth of this month, he transmitted to me by M. de Bougainville, one of his Aids-de-Camp, the Relation of that affair, whereby you will be informed of the order of his march, his arrangements and operations up to the moment the place surrendered.

I must, however, my Lord, report to you divers facts which are omitted or badly reported in that Relation and of which I have been informed by the Marquis de Montcalm's letters.



At nightfall, on the second of August, some barges appeared; our Indians had nothing more pressing than to go in pursuit of them, and however alert the English were in throwing themselves ashore, our Indians took three prisoners who reported that twelve hundred men had just arrived at Fort George and that all the English Militia were to arrange themselves in battle array at the discharge of the signal gun, in order to come to meet us.

'Tis certain, my Lord, that, instead of scouts, could M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil have succeeded in obtaining permission to proceed forward with a strong detachment of our troops, Canadians and Indians, not a single Englishman would have entered Fort George; 'twould have been fortunate for us to defeat the twelve hundred men in question, because Fort George would then have been incapable of resistance; but 'twas not even until after many entreaties that M. de Rigaud had permission to go and join Chevalier de Levis on the Fort Lydius road.

On the third of August the Marquis de Montcalm decided on summoning Lieutenant-Colonel Monro, the Commandant at Fort George, who answered him like a soldier. (This is omitted in the Relation.)

It was not until that day that they began making fascines and saucissons; our Canadians were not those who made the fewest.

Therein they displayed their natural genius, and proved that their good will and zeal for the King's service, were equivalent to experience at this description of work.

The Canadians and Indians fired the whole day into the intrenched camp; some detachments of the enemy sallied out of it, but were obliged to return very quick with loss. Our Canadians and Indians took two hundred oxen and a hundred sheep under the cannon and musketry of the enemy whom they, thereby, obliged to burn their outworks.

M. de Rigaud was ordered to attend to the safety of the army, with our Canadian volunteers, four brigades of our troops and Canadians, and a party of our Indians.

The Canadians and Indians whom the Marquis de Montcalm had retained by him, constantly covered the workmen and continued firing. The justice is due them that if they had annoyed the besieged less, the work of the night of the fourth and fifth would not have been so considerable.

The affair of the seventh is badly reported. Three hundred men made a sortie from the intrenched camp; M. de Villers attacked them with a small number of Canadians and Indians and called for a reinforcement, holding the enemy in check and securing unto himself the liberty of entering and carrying the intrenchment.

But notwithstanding all his entreaties he could not obtain any reinforcement. There is no doubt but M. de Villiers, had he had a strong detachment of Canadian troops and Indians, would in an instant, have carried the intrenchment; but he had no other success than to kill sixty Englishmen and to take two prisoners in the stead of the two deserters already mentioned.

Our Canadians contributed at least as much as the Regulars to accelerate the works constructed over a little swamp for the passage of our artillery.

Our Indians posted themselves within sight of the embrasures of the fort, and took such good aim that the gunners abandoned the guns; were it not for this, 'twould not have been possible to work at the swamp.

The dread the English entertained of our Indians, who were excited to such a degree that they would not have yielded to the grenadiers the honor of being the first to mount the breach, did not contribute less to the reduction of the place, than the celerity of our works and the circumstances, which were most favorable for us.

At the moment Lieutenant-Colonel Monro asked to capitulate, our Indians handed to the Marquis de Montcalm a letter they had intercepted, wherein the Commandant was advised that Colonel Johnson had arrived at Fort Lydius with two hundred Indians and two thousand men, and that an additional reinforcement of Militia was expected. As it was not possible that Colonel Johnson had any Indians with him, this letter was looked on with suspicion.

The most essential articles of the capitulation are :

1° That the garrison of Fort George shall march to Fort Lydius with the honors of war; and not serve for eighteen months either against his Majesty or against his allies.

2° That all the French, Canadian, and Indian prisoners taken on land since the commencement of the war in North America, shall be surrendered at Carillon within three months.

It is very unfortunate, my Lord, that the soldiers belonging to the garrison of Fort George, had, by their own fault, put some of our Indians in the condition to insult them. Had the Indians not been furnished by the English with rum, with a view to appropriate their plunder to themselves, they would have remained quiet.

The Marquis de Montcalm took, alone, the precautions he considered proper; he consulted only his own judgment, and perhaps the occurrence would not have happened had he condescended to devolve on M. de Rigaud, the Missionaries, Officers and Interpreters the care of restraining the Indians; but he was so prejudiced, that he placed confidence in himself alone; as he wrote me as early as the sixth of that month :

“The Officers, Interpreters and Missionaries are in general Republican spirits, and I have “the misfortune that the Indians appear to have confidence only in me.”

I have ransomed, on the King's account, the English who are in the hands of our Indians, whose obedience I cannot but commend. They wished to justify themselves, and one of their reasons is, that they have not had the same liberty to pillage as the troops who entered the fort.

The Marquis de Montcalm has written to Lord Lawdun and General Webb on the subject of this little incident; it appears that he sent back to Fort Lydius the prisoners who remained in his power.

I am making arrangements, at present, to send back also those whom I have delivered from the Indians. I shall neglect nothing in order that the English may execute, on their side, the articles of capitulation.

I am fully persuaded, my Lord, of the satisfaction you will feel in informing the King of the reduction and total destruction of Fort George; mine would have been complete had such reduction been followed by that of Fort Lydius. The instructions I had given the Marquis de Montcalm, will prove to you the desire I had that such should have been effected, and I hope that you will recognize therein the zeal which animates me for his Majesty's service and the glory of his arms.

I have no reproach to make myself on this head; I even wrote to the Marquis de Montcalm, on the seventh of this month, to make him more easy and to impress upon him still more the importance of this second expedition; you will perceive, my Lord, that I took pains politically to reassure him in regard to provisions, so that he might act without the least uneasiness.

He had only about six leagues of a very fine road before reaching Fort Lydius, and I am confident that the reduction of the first fort would have inevitably drawn down that of the second.

I would have only wished that the Marquis de Montcalm had presented himself; he had everything according to his desire, and was sure at all events of his retreat.



The Marquis de Montcalm wrote me that he learned from eleven deserters that the Provincial Militia and Cavalry had left Fort Lydius; that Colonel Johnson had likewise returned from it, and is it natural to suppose, after the precipitate retreat of these Militia, at a time when they did not know even of our being on the march to attack them, that they would have offered any great resistance?

The worst we had to apprehend on going to Fort Lydius, was to be obliged to turn back

But whatever had happened, our Indians were too much excited and too well disposed to abandon the party, and ultimately, could the enemy's camp protect itself against their attacks?

It cannot be objected that it would have cost us provisions; this objection would have been of very trifling weight, especially when we consider the pile of them we would have been able to collect at Fort Lydius.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Bigot to M. de Moras.*

Quebec, 3<sup>d</sup> November, 1757.

My Lord,

Read to the King,  
21st January, 1758.

I have received the letter you honored me with on the 27<sup>th</sup> July. You have appeared satisfied with last winter's campaign on occasion of Fort George on Lake St. Sacrament, but not with the expenses incurred in Canada. Those incurred in building forts and works both on the Beautiful river and at other posts, cost the King many millions,\* without my being able to know whether the money be honestly laid out; it is expended by orders of the Commandants, whose judgment must be relied on. As to the expenses incurred under my eyes and by my authority, I do my best to maintain order therein, and by that means produce a diminution of them; but I shall not succeed in that, since we must continue to purchase in the Colony this year and in the beginning of spring, our supplies of merchandise for the posts. The British took, in the ships *La Superbe* and *La Renommée*, one thousand tons belonging to Sieur Gradis, to our serious injury. The dearth will occasion the King additional expense, without my being able to avoid it.

Besides, the number of rations for the King's account has considerably increased, and, instead of ten thousand persons whom I had calculated were rationed throughout the whole of last year by the King, I estimate the number to have been between 14 and 15 thousand, including the posts, regard being had to the last augmentation of troops and of Indians, who coöperate with us. They are more numerous in summer, but as they are less in winter, I reduce them on the average to that number. This alone forms an item of about 5 millions.

For the rest, a part of the expenses (which have been immense this year, inasmuch as the bills of exchange have nearly doubled those of last year), has been caused by the preparations

\* The bills of exchange drawn in 1757, amount to 12,337,741li. 4s. 6d.

made for the siege of Fort Williams Henry and the arrival of 2 or 3 thousand Indians from the Upper countries; their sojourn and return have cost considerable sums.

I hope, however, that the expenses will not amount so high next year, as I do not anticipate such vast movements. Should circumstances draw us into them, I have the honor to assure you I would not regard the cost, but solely the glory of the King's arms, and I shall always contribute as much as will be in my power, both in advice and the execution of my charge, to render them glorious in this Colony. I study that much more than economy, although this latter object greatly interests me, and I am persuaded that you will approve my mode of thinking.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), BIGOT.

*Captain Pouchot to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, this 3<sup>rd</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1757.

My Lord,

I arrive from Niagara where I have been relieved by the Marquis de Vaudreuil. I may say I have finished that place, according to the plan I had the honor of transmitting last fall, on the 18<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>. There remain to be sodded only a small portion of the interior parapet; the épaulement from the gate to the covert-way along the river, and both the traverses of the place of arms, salient from the half moon.

It will be essential, my Lord, to sod the scarps and counterscarps of the ditches, in consequence of the nature of the soil which, notwithstanding its hardness, wastes extremely the moment 'tis exposed to the air.

I would have wished much, my Lord, to be able to transmit to you a plan of the present situation of that place; I could never find a moment to draw it, in consequence either of the details attached to the command for the Indians, or the assiduity those works required, as I was alone to superintend them.

I am astonished, my Lord, at being able to bring them to their present perfection, with the few men I have had for so many different operations as were necessary to be executed. I have had them done with all the economy of a gentleman cultivating his farm, and I dare assert that I have saved more than fifty thousand *écus*, according to the estimate of connoisseurs.

I have made some changes in the location of the buildings on the plan I had the honor to transmit you last year. There are now two large barracks, one church, one powder magazine, one store for provisions and merchandise. Barracks will have to be built in the course of the winter to lodge one hundred men additional. I can assert, my Lord, from all I have seen, that that fort influences extremely all the bordering Nations. 'Tis not for me, my Lord, to praise my work. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the M<sup>te</sup> de Montcalm will have the goodness to render you an account of it, which, I dare believe, will be of advantage to me. They have not allowed



me to remain ignorant of the favor the King has been pleased to grant me. Might I hope from your goodness, my Lord, that you will be pleased to procure me an augmentation of it. I am fortunate enough to be in a peculiar position, which may procure for me some exception to what his majesty has proposed to do, and when I desire the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, 'tis to procure for myself the advantage of serving his Majesty still more usefully, and my time is passing, my Lord, for I am 46 years of age. You have had the goodness to promise me in Paris that you would be favorable to me; I dare hope for your confidence.

My Lord, when I assumed the command at Niagara, the Marquis de Vaudreuil wished me to engage the Five Nations to observe neutrality. I dare flatter myself that I have, by my proposals to, and treatment of, them, contributed not a little to embroil them with the English, and to make them decide on waging war against the enemy. I do not pretend, my Lord, to detract from the merit therein of M. Chabert Joncaire, a Colonial officer, who is much beloved by the Senecas.

I have been in the same position in regard to the Loups who were become very cold since last year. I dare say that I had gained their confidence as well as that of all the Nations with which I have had to treat. The number of parties, prisoners, and scalps I have had are solid proofs thereof. They have principally infested New Jersey and Pennsylvania which have been laid waste by them.

I applied myself, my Lord, throughout the whole of my mission, to be in a position to render an account of the state of the country as regards the frontier of the English; of the disposition of the Indians, and of the advantages that can be derived from them, as well as of the arrangements for the safety of those parts.

I ardently desire, my Lord, that the knowledge I have acquired may merit your approbation and the honor of your confidence.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

POUCHOT,<sup>1</sup>

Captain in the Bearn.

<sup>1</sup> Captain Pouchot, whom Meusel styles the French "Mante," was born at Grenoble in 1712, and entered the service as a volunteer Engineer in 1733. In the following year he was transferred to the regiment of Béarn. He soon attracted the notice of M. de Maillebois (*supra*, p. 577) by his acquirements, and was set to work at the intrenchments of Borgo-forte, and at those of Ferrara on Mount Baldo. He was next employed in fortifying and laying out roads in Corsica, and served in Italy, Flanders and Germany. In 1744, he was appointed to reconnoitre the Tyrol road, of which he prepared a map; and in 1746 intrenched the camp of Tournay. He was, in return, promoted to a Captaincy and decorated with the Cross of St. Louis. M. Pouchot accompanied his regiment to Canada, and was for the most part employed on the Lake Ontario frontier. He acted as Engineer at the siege of Oswego in 1756, and planned and superintended the erection of Fort Niagara in 1757. In 1758, he distinguished himself at Ticonderoga, and, though recommended for a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel, was only rewarded with a small pension, as he had no friends at Court. In 1759, he sustained a siege of 19 days at Niagara, and capitulated after a loss of 117 out of 450 men, when he was conducted prisoner of war to New-York, where he was detained until November, when he was exchanged, and joined M. de Vaudreuil at Montreal on Christmas eve of 1759. In 1760 he made another gallant defence at Fort Levis, which was situated on an island a little below Ogdensburgh, and reduced by General Amherst after about a week's siege, when Captain Pouchot, with his little garrison, was sent by way of Oswego to New-York, whence he returned to France 8th March, 1761. Here, instead of rewards, he encountered most base calumnies, and whilst enjoying some repose in the bosom of his family at Grenoble, learnt, with some astonishment, that an order was made out to commit him to the Bastille. He presented himself at once to the Minister, and by his frank and honest bearing removed all suspicion. Sometime after, Captain Pouchot was sent to Corsica where he was suitably employed. Whilst reconnoitring a post on that island, he was killed by some Corsicans lying in ambush, on the 8th of May, 1769, in the 58th year of his age. *Eloge* prefixed to *M. Pouchot's Memoires sur la dernière Guerre de l'Amerique Septentrionale*. — Ed.

*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 4<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1757.

My Lord,

My last letters were of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>. Nothing of much interest has since occurred in this Colony. We have remained, on both sides, in a state of inactivity. Our troops have begun to defile from the camps of Carillon, St. John and Chambly, on the 20<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>; they will all have arrived in their quarters in the forepart of November; we shall have four battalions in the government of Montreal and four in that of Quebec. Chevalier de Levis will be at Montreal; M. de Bourlamaque here. As for me, my Lord, I shall divide my time between both these towns. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who is at present here, and who will return shortly to Montreal, has seemed desirous of my remaining sometime at Quebec during his absence, so that he might have a chief man there in the sad circumstances in which we find ourselves through want of provisions.

M. de Bourlamaque, whom I cannot too highly praise, has closed the campaign at Carillon. That officer, who is extremely zealous, writes me that he will not leave for a few days after the troops. He will remain with the garrison and some workmen to try and finish the works necessary for their quarters and for the security of some external stores.

Chevalier de Levis continues always to aid me in my necessity, with as much zeal for the King's service as friendship for myself.

I have been to make the inspection on the North shore. I have handed the Marquis de Vaudreuil, in consequence, a Memoir of what I thought, in case the English would wish to make an attack on Quebec. If the arrangements I propose are well followed, I believe 'twould be desirable they should come there, and I annex to this letter my opinion, in a few words, in cipher, on a separate sheet.

M. Doreil has the honor to transmit to your address an exact return of the strength of our battalions on the 1<sup>st</sup> of 8<sup>ber</sup>. You will see that our companies are only 39 strong, one with another; that the two battalions of Berry have lost considerable; therefore, estimating the reinforcements necessary to complete the regiment of Berry on its original footing; our battalions on their ordinary standing, we shall require 500 men, and 750 more to place them on the footing of the augmentation ordered. There is a great fatality this year in the transmission of reinforcements and provisions; besides, the Marine troops are not completed, and have taken preference of us for their augmentation.

We have received news from Louisbourg by Sieur de Pontleroy, Captain *en 1<sup>er</sup>* of the *Corps Royal*, who is come with a commission of Engineer-in-Chief of New France, in place of Sieur de Lery, who died two years ago. His presence here will be of great utility, if he performs his duty as he appears to me to wish, and if he be allowed to do it, which I do not warrant. He reckons on belonging always to you and to write you on whatever concerns himself. If he have no better advantages than Sieur de Lery, his place (which will furnish him considerable work, and perhaps also some little bickerings, notwithstanding the good dispositions I perceive in him to avoid them), is not worth him more than 2,000<sup>l</sup>, one hundred *écus* lodging money, and 30 cords of fire-wood.

This Engineer left Louisbourg on the 27<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>; he has reassured us for this year against all attack on Isle Royale on the part of the English, the more especially as there was a squall on



the 25<sup>th</sup>, which wrecked some English ships, and must have caused great damage and inflicted injury on their fleet. You will be advised of it from Louisbourg. No exact account had been received when this Engineer left. Will not the English winter their troops at Halifax and in New England, in order to be beforehand with us next year, if they can?

[ Here follows, in the original, a paragraph in cipher, which is omitted in the French text. ]

We have recently had news from Louisiana of the month of April. Everything is quiet there.

Our latest dates from Fort Duquesne, of the 7<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, confirm the good dispositions of the Indians, the continuance of their forays, which spread desolation throughout the English Colonies. *Sieur de Liniery*, a Colonial Captain in command there, writes me that the different parties brought him in recently 200 prisoners or scalps. The same is nearly the case at Niagara, according to the letters of *M. Pouchot*, who commands there. That officer, having finished the fortifications and buildings which were to be erected at Niagara, returns to his regiment and is relieved by Captain *Vassan*, of the Colonial troops. We have only one solitary Commandant belonging to the Regulars on the frontier this winter—Captain *d'Hebecourt*, of the regiment of *La Reine*, who will be in command at *Carillon*, where the garrison will, for the greatest part, consist of our troops. My esteem for that officer and my confidence in his activity and intelligence, led me to select him. Besides, he is conversant with the manner the Indians are to be managed, and some of these are coming and going throughout the winter at that post.

Although the English have only a few Mohawks and Mohegans on their side, some occasionally make their appearance and take scalps. We had four soldiers killed by one of their parties a few days before the close of the campaign.

The *Onnontagues* pretend that bateaux are building night and day at *Corlar*; that Colonel *Johnson* is urging on this work. *M. de Pouchot* gives almost the same intelligence, and adds that the Indians of the Five Nations have told him that it was proposed to surprise one of our forts, by means of the Indians of the Five Nations who would come there under pretext of trading. It must be observed that the Five Nations appear generally disposed in our favor since we have been successful; but the English, who are nearer to them than we, have a great many partizans and emissaries among them. However that be, the *Marquis de Vaudreuil* sent off a canoe immediately to advise all the Commandants of the posts to be particularly on their guard, and as there are Colonial officers who know more about field service than of the precautions to be taken to avoid a surprise of a post, I have also written to them. Our garrisons there are very weak, but the scarcity of provisions and difficulty of transportation do not admit of their augmentation.

We have at present in the direction of *Corlar* a war party of 300 men, commanded by *Sieur de Belhetre*, a Colonial officer. Two hundred belong to our domiciliated Indians; the remainder are officers, cadets, Canadians and soldiers. This detachment, which left *Montreal* in the forepart of October, will not return before the end of November; it proceeds by *Lake Ontario* as far as the *River Choueguen*, which it will ascend, in order to penetrate into the English possessions. It will traverse that of the Five Nations, and an officer belonging to that detachment will be sent with Belts and Strings of Wampum to invite their young men to follow us, in order to strike the English. Should that detachment not effect anything considerable, at least it will run no risk. We shall have more reliable news of what is going on in that quarter, and its march might well derange the projects of the English, should they have any.

You know, my Lord, that it had been agreed that the Regulars should be paid, in Canada, in silver coin. The failure in the transmission of specie causes their not being paid except in paper since the 1<sup>st</sup> of September.

The ship *La Liberté* has brought us clothing at the end of three years, for all the Regulars, even on the footing of the augmentation; therefore, we have nothing to wish for, on that head, between this and 1761. I hope we shall have returned to France before that time. A portion of the cloth required for distribution among the officers on paying therefor, has arrived at the same time. I write on all these various points to M. de Moras, by agreement with M. de Bigot, Intendant of Canada, and I content myself with annexing to this despatch a memorandum of my demands and representations. Our campaign hospitals have been very well administered this year, and this good administration is due to the confidence M. Bigot has been pleased to repose in Sieur Arnoux, Surgeon-Major of the Regulars; the Montreal and Quebec hospitals have always been very good, thanks to the attention of the Hospital Nuns who have charge of them.

We would have nothing to desire, were it not for the frightful scarcity of provisions occasioned by the intercepting of the succors and a bad harvest. This Colony is lost unless France make powerful efforts to procure us, very early in the season, salted and other provisions, by having them conveyed at least to a certain latitude. 'Twould be well, also, were some seed wheat to arrive at the end of April, there would yet be time to sow it in the government of Quebec, and in order to be adapted to that purpose, it should be Northern wheat, as the French grain does not succeed in this quarter.

[ Here is omitted another paragraph in cipher. ]

The Marquis de Vaudreuil is come to Quebec to hold a general Court-Martial which had been ordered in February, 1756, to try the Colonial officers who had surrendered Fort Beausejour and the pretended Fort Gaspareaux to the English in 1755. Although the affair was not mixed, as the Marquis de Vaudreuil showed me an order empowering him to call to it some of the principal officers of the Regulars, Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General, Sieur de Trevis, Commandant of the second battalion of the Regiment of Berry, and Captain d'Aiguebelle, of the Grenadiers of the Regiment of Languedoc, took seats at it. The unanimous finding has been to send them back acquitted. In the case of Fort Beausejour, regard was principally had to the fact that the Acadians have forced the Commandant to capitulate to save their lives. They had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to the English, who had threatened to have them hanged for violating it. In regard to Gaspareaux, a large stockaded inclosure, with only one officer and nineteen soldiers, it could not be considered a fort capable of sustaining a siege; accordingly the English burnt it and preserved only Beausejour, which they placed in a better condition than it was in when we occupied it.

This, my Lord, is all that is to be communicated to you. The sheet in cipher, hereunto annexed, will detail to you what I think on the next campaign. As I write you by the last vessels, this is probably all until the end of April, when we shall transmit our earliest despatches by way of Louisbourg.

I am with respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This unsigned letter is presumed, by the copyist in Paris, to have been written by the Marquis de Montcalm. — Ed.



*Memorandum of the Representations and Requisitions made to M. de Moras.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Document annexed to the letter presumed to be from M. de Montcalm to the Minister, and dated Quebec, 4<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1757.

You know, my Lord, that when the troops of the Line were sent to this Colony, orders had been given that they should be paid in silver. They ceased to be so paid on the 1<sup>st</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>; the allowance which had been made to them in the preceding campaign has been stopped on this one. I request you to call for the communication of the Memoir of my representations on that occasion. I had addressed it on the 4<sup>th</sup> of 9<sup>ber</sup> of last year to M. de Machaut. I see, with pain, that according as the prices of all sorts of provisions increase, the allowance granted to the officers diminishes. 'Tis, nevertheless, the King's interest not to hazard sending any more specie, and to pay them in paper, but would it not be more just, my Lord, to indemnify them for that alteration in the mode of payment, and for deducting the allowance determined on at first during the campaign, by allowing them supplementary pay, in form of a gratuity. The pay of a Captain, which amounts to 2760<sup>li</sup> might be raised to one thousand *écus*; the same proportion to be observed for the other grades.

The ship *La Liberté* having brought wherewith to renew the clothing of our troops at the end of three years on the footing of being complete, including the augmentations, and to furnish uniforms to a certain number of officers, at the cost price in France, I requested M. Bigot to ask you for a supplement for what regards the officer, in order that each may share that advantage, otherwise the officers cannot be obliged to wear the uniform regularly. I have also requested that Intendant to apply to you for something to renew, on the footing of an establishment, what is called the soldier's small equipment, such as belt, cartouch, powder-horn, etc. I have likewise asked him to request of you an immediate supply of shoes. They cost ten francs a pair, and the country, besides, would not supply enough of them.

*French Attack on the German Flats, 1757.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Summary of M. de Bellêtre's Campaign; 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1757.

M. de Bellêtre with his detachment of about 300 of the Marine troops, Canadians and Indians, arrived notwithstanding all the obstacles of the season and the greatest scarcity of provisions, at the River *à la Famine*, where he met seven or eight Nontagués who, on a message which he gave them in the General's name, expressed delight in uniting with him.

He continued his route and after inexpressible fatigues and suffering, reached the vicinity of the Oneida village, whither he sent four influential Indians as bearers of the General's word.

He continued his march as far as the River Corlaer, and had the satisfaction of examining five English forts abandoned, by command, for that erected, since the reduction of Chouaguen, on the site of old Fort Bull.

The Indians when informed that there was a garrison of 350 men in a fort named Kouari, situate on the said river about a quarter of a league from the village of the Palatines, did not fail to exhibit fear, but M. de Bellêtre having told them that their Father dispatched a picked detachment, so well selected, only to strike a blow of some interest, they recovered their courage and evinced a lively ardor, except some young warriors and aged men who gave in, already fatigued by a weary march.

The four Indians sent to the Oneidas returned with the six warriors of that tribe, who joined our detachment, and told M. de Bellêtre that they had no other will than that of their Father.

11<sup>th</sup> November. At three o'clock in the afternoon M. de Bellêtre, preceded, as was his custom, by scouts, crossed the River Corlaer with his detachment, partly swimming, partly in the water up to the neck. He encamped at nightfall in the woods, a league and a half from the first of the five forts that covered the Palatine settlements.

12<sup>th</sup> At three o'clock in the morning he gave his detachment the order of march and attack, so as to surround the said five forts and the entire Palatine village, consisting of sixty houses.

Though M. de Bellêtre knew that the English got notice the day preceding, yet, in order that the courage of the Indians may not receive the least check, and to show them that he would not rashly expose them, he liberated an Indian of the Five Nations whom he had until then detained under suspicion. But this Indian could not injure M. de Bellêtre, because he commenced at the same time to attack the five forts and the Palatines' houses.

At sight of the first fort he determined to take it by assault. The enemy kept up the most active fire of musketry, but the intrepidity with which M. de Bellêtre, with all the officers and Canadians of his detachment, advanced, coupled with the warwhoop of the Indians, terrified the English to the degree that the Mayor of the village of the Palatines,<sup>1</sup> who commanded the said fort, opened the doors and asked for quarter.

M. de Bellêtre lost no time in repairing to the second, the third, the fourth and fifth, which were not less intimidated than the first by his intrepidity and the cries of the Indians. They all surrendered at discretion and were entirely burnt.

During this time a party of Canadians and Indians ravaged and burnt the said 60 houses of the Palatines, their barns and other out-buildings as well as the water-mill.

In all these expeditions about 40 English perished; they were either killed or drowned. The number of prisoners is nearly 150 men, women and children, among whom is the Mayor of the village, the Surgeon and some Militia officers. We had not a man killed; but M. de Lormier, an officer, was wounded in the right side by a ball, and three or four Indians slightly.

The damage inflicted on the enemy is estimated, according to the representations of the English themselves, to wit:

In grain, of all sorts, a much larger quantity than the Island of Montreal has produced in years of abundance.

The same of hogs.

3,000 horned cattle.

3,000 sheep.

All these articles were to have been sent, in a few days, to Corlaer.

<sup>1</sup> JOHAN JOST PETRIE is supposed to have immigrated to this country in 1710, and to have moved to the German Flats in 1720. His is the first name in the patent of that tract, where he was one of the leading men. He remained in Canada a prisoner until the close of 1758, and died before the breaking out of the war of the Revolution. He was one of the co-patentees of the tract called Henderson's purchase, in the present towns of Columbia and Warren. *Benton's History of Herkimer County*, 176. — Ed.



1,500 horses, 300 of which were taken by the Indians and the greater number consumed for the support of the detachment.

The property in furniture, wearing apparel, merchandise and liquor, might form a capital of 1,500,000 *livres*. The Mayor of the village alone has 400,000.

The French and Indians have acquired as rich a booty as they could carry off. They have in specie more than 100,000 *livres*. One Indian alone has as much as 30,000. There was likewise plundered a quantity of Wampum, silver bracelets, &c., scarlet cloth and other merchandise, which may form a capital of 80,000 more.

All this damage could not be done short of 48 hours. M. de Bellêtre made provision to be always able to resist the enemy, who, as has been observed, were to the number of 350 men in the said Fort Kouari, about a quarter of a league from the field of battle.

In fact, on the 13<sup>th</sup>, at 7 o'clock in the morning, 50 Englishmen, accompanied by some Mohawks, left the said fort, but as soon as they were perceived, our Frenchmen and Indians went to meet them double quick, and forced them to swim across the river, after receiving several discharges of musketry. The number that perished cannot be estimated. At noon, the same day, M. de Bellêtre gave orders to his detachment to commence their return march.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> he sent an Oneida, who is much attached to the General, with some chiefs from the Sault and St. Francis, to bear his message to the Oneidas, by which he communicated to them the success he experienced; invited them to persevere in their good sentiments and not to fear the English. Our Oneida delegate rejoined M. Bellêtre at the River *Au Sable*, and told him that the Five Nations had sent three Belts to the Oneida villages, which they wished him to take as a present to the General. By these they demand assistance to resist the English, being about to experience their resentment, inasmuch as they refused to allow four of their chiefs to enter Fort Kouari, having fired several shots at them. This had obliged the Oneidas to withdraw their women and children from the lake side, hoping their Father will protect them.

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### *Topography of the Country between Oswego and Albany*

Itinerary from the the mouth of the River Chouëgen, in Lake Ontario, to Lake Oneida; then up Vilcreek to the summit level, which is the source of the River of the Moack, or *des Agniés*, by which we can descend to Corlar or Chenectedi, whence Albany or Orange can be reached.

The entrance of the River Chouëgen is easy; the harbor is formed of a cove. The English had a fort on each side of this river, by which this entrance was defended.

From Chouëgen to the Great fall is an ascent of four leagues. In this space the navigation is intricate, the river rapid and encumbered by large rocks. Good pilots, familiar with the shoals, are requisite to be able to pass through it. Bateaux must be unloaded at the Great fall, where a portage occurs of about 40 to 50 paces. The bateaux are dragged along the ground.\*

\* From Chouëgen to Fort Bull is estimated to be about 36 leagues. The ordinary bateau load is only 14 to 1,500 weight. It takes five days to ascend the river from Chouëgen to Fort Bull, and three and a half from Fort Bull to Chouëgen. The river of the Five Nations rises in little lakes near which, about six leagues from its entrance into the River Chouëgen, the Indians of the Five Nations reside. That river divides into two branches. That from the right rises in the lake of the Senecas and Cayugas; that from the left beyond the lakes of the Onontagués.



It is estimated to be about four leagues from the Fall to the mouth of the river of the Five Nations, which mouth is called the Three Rivers; its navigation is good. About a quarter of a league before coming to the Three Rivers, there is, however, a current, where precaution is requisite.

From the Three Rivers to Lake Oneida is computed at 8 leagues; the navigation is good; the river is about 60 paces wide; it is passable at all times with loaded vessels. This river is the outlet of Lake Oneida. There is neither fall nor rapid at its entrance.

Lake Oneida is twelve leagues long by about one league wide. Its navigation is beautiful and practicable at all times, unless there be a strong contrary wind. It is best on the right of the lake, which is on the north side.

From Lake Oneida we enter the River Vilcrick,\* which empties into that lake, and ascend nine leagues to Fort Bull. This river is full of sinuosities, narrow and sometimes embarrassed with trees fallen from both banks. Its navigation is difficult when the water is low. It is, however, passable at all times with an ordinary bateau load of 14 to 1,500 weight. When the waters of this stream are low, an ordinary bateau load cannot go by the river further than a league of Fort Bull. It becomes necessary then to unload and make a carrying place of the remainder by a road constructed to the Fort, or to send back the bateau for the other half load.

Fort Bull, which was burnt in 1756 by a detachment under the orders of M. de Lery, was situated on the right bank of this river near its source, on the height of land.

From Fort Bull to Fort Williams is estimated to be one league and a quarter. This is the Carrying place across the height of land. The English had constructed a road there over which all the carriages passed. They were obliged to bridge a portion of it, extending from Fort Bull to a small stream near which a fort had been begun though not finished; it was to be intermediate between the two forts, having been located precisely on the summit level.

Fort Williams was situated on the right bank of the River Moack or *des Agniès*, near the source of that river on the height of land. It was abandoned and destroyed by the English after the capture of Chouëgen.

Leaving Chouëgen, there is a road over which the English used to drive horses and cattle. It follows the border of the left bank of the River Chouëgen. The Five Nations' river is passed at a fall near its outlet into the River Chouëgen, after which the road proceeds along the edge of the right bank of the Five Nations' river to the village of the Onnontagués, whence it proceeds across the country to the village of the *Caskarorins* and Oneidas† whence we can go to Forts Bull and Williams; also to fort Kouary without being obliged to pass the said two forts. The path or road taken by M. de Belhêtre in his expedition against the village of the Palatines may be also used. He went from the mouth of the River de la Famine ten leagues below Chouëgen; ascended this river for the distance of four leagues, and leaving it on the left, followed the path leading to Oneida lake, which he left on his right, and came to the summit level at Fort Williams.

The country through which he passed is fine, there being but few mountains. The soil is soft only in the latter part of the season. He forded three rivers, the waters of which were

\* The river of the Killed Fish flows also into this lake; the English used it formerly; they abandoned it because there was a portage, and have preferred Vilcrick which they have cleared.

† The road goes to the Great Oneida village, about two leagues from the lake. A picket fort, with four bastions, had been constructed in this village by the English. It was destroyed by the Oneidas in observance of their promise given at a Council held between them and the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Each of its sides might have been one hundred paces. There is a second Oneida village, called the Little village, situated on the bank of the lake. There is no fort at the latter.



very high during the four days he was going from the River à la Famine to Fort Williams, a distance estimated at 24 to 30 leagues.

From Fort Williams the Moack river is navigable. Bateaux carry the same load as in the River Vilerick to the portage at the Little Falls, which is about two leagues below the village of the Palatines and Fort Kouari.

*From Fort Williams to Fort Kouari*, situated on the right bank of the Moack river, is estimated to be 12 leagues. The road follows the right bank of the river which is the South side.

Leaving Fort Williams, there is a road that joins that by which horses and cattle pass from Fort Kouari to Chouagen. The road is bad for about four leagues after leaving Fort Williams. The road is marshy. The road is passable for sleds in winter and during the summer, and it can be easily passed on horseback at all times, though in some places there is a great deal of mud. After these four leagues, carts can easily go as far as Fort Kouari. After having traveled three leagues on this road, which is five leagues from Fort Kouari, we come to the Forks of two roads one of which, to the left, leads to the Palatines' village by fording the Moack river.

Continuing along the high road, which is on the right bank of the River Moack, to reach Fort Kouari, a creek is met that must be forded. Here was a grist-mill that has been burnt. One league before reaching Fort Kouari another small stream is encountered, over which there is a bridge. This stream is fordable at almost all seasons. On this creek was, also, a saw-mill which has been burnt.

Fort Kouari is situate on the right bank of the Moack river, on a small hill on the scarp of that river. It is a large three-story stone house with port-holes at each story and likewise in the basement, for the purpose of cross-firing. There are some small pieces above. The house is covered with plank and shingles. It was built as a store and dépôt for Chouëgen. It is surrounded with a ditch of about 30 feet from it. This ditch is 6 feet deep and seven wide. The crown of the ditch inside is planted with palisades in an oblique form; they are well jointed one to another. Behind these is a parapet of earth to fire from over the palisades. The four angles of this parapet, which is at the back of the ditch, form, as it were, four little bastions that reciprocally flank each other. On the West side is a house apart from the large one. It backs against the parapet of the palisades, and serves as a barrack and guard-house. There are two doors to the large building; the one at the North is a small swing door. It is used only in going to the river for water. At this side of the house there is no ditch; only palisades fixed in planks set in the scarp of the right bank of the river, to support the earth. The large gate of the house is on the South side; it is folding but not ironed. To go outside the palisades and ditch through this large door, you must leave the house to the left and turn to the Eastward where there is a passage. The ditch has not been excavated at that point. The earth serves as a bridge and road. There are palisades to the right and left, on both sides of the way, the whole width of the ditch. Outside the ditch is a folding gate. There is no other barrier nor chevaux-de-frise in front. The nearest house outside the fort is about 150 paces. Opposite this fort in the river is a small cultivated island, which can be reached at low water by fording.

*From Fort Kouari to that of Cannatchocary*, is four leagues. Some twenty houses are located at a distance one from another, within the space of one league of this road, which is through a flat country. After making this league, we go up a mountain that occupies two hours to ascend and descend. The country throughout the whole of this space is covered with wood.

After descending, two houses somewhat distant one from the other, are in the league, which is to be traveled to get to Cannatchocari.

The inhabitants of this country are Palatines or Germans. They form a company with some who dwell above the Fall on the other side of the river, which is the left bank. This company consists of about 80 men. The road from the one to the other of these two forts is good for all sorts of carriages.

Fort Cannatchocari is situated at the border of the Moack river, on the right bank. It is a square of four bastions of upright pickets (joined together with lintels), fifteen feet high, about one foot square, with port-holes inserted from distance to distance, with a stage all round to fire from.

This fort is one hundred paces on each side. It is not surrounded by a ditch. There are some small pieces of cannon at each of its bastions, and a house at each curtain to serve as a store and barrack. Five or six families of Moack Indians reside outside the fort.

*From Fort Cannatchocari to Fort Hunter is about 12 leagues*; the road is pretty good; carriages pass over it; it continues along the banks of the Moack river. About a hundred houses, at a greater or less distance from one another, are found within this length of road. Some are situated also about half a league in the interior. The inhabitants of this section are Germans, who compose two companies of about 100 men each.

Fort Hunter is situated on the borders of the Moack river, and is of the same form as that of Cannatchocari, with the exception that it is twice as large. It likewise has a house at each curtain. The cannon at each bastion are 7 and 9-pounders. The pickets of this fort are higher than those of Cannatchocari. There is a church or temple in the middle of the fort; in the interior of the fort are also some thirty cabins of Moack Indians, which is the most considerable village. This fort, like that of Cannatchocari, has no ditch; there's only a large swing gate at the entrance.

Leaving Fort Hunter, a creek is passed at the mouth of which that fort is located. It can be forded and crossed in bateaux in summer and on the ice in winter. There are some houses outside under the protection of the fort, in which the country people seek shelter when they fear or learn that an Indian or French war party is in the field.

*From Fort Hunter to Chenectedi or Corlac is seven leagues.* The public carriage way continues along the right bank of the Moack river. About 20 to 30 houses are found within this distance, separated the one from the other, about a quarter or half a league. The inhabitants of this section are Dutch. They, with some other inhabitants of the left bank of the Moack river, form a company about 100 men strong.

Chenectedi or Corlac, situated on the bank of the Moack river, is a village of about 300 houses. It is surrounded by upright pickets, flanked from distance to distance. Entering this village, by the gate on the Fort Hunter side, there is a fort to the right which forms a species of citadel in the interior of the village itself. It is a square, flanked with four bastions or demi-bastions, and is constructed half of masonry and half of timbers, piled one over the other above the masonry. It is capable of holding 2 or 300 men. There are some pieces of cannon in battery on the ramparts. It is not encircled by a ditch. The entrance is through a large swing gate, which lifts up like a draw-bridge. By penetrating the village in attacking it from another point, the fire from the fort can be avoided.

The greatest portion of the inhabitants of Chenectedi are Dutch.



*From Chenectedi to Albany or Orange is estimated to 6 or 7 leagues.\** The road is excellent for all sorts of carriages; the soil sandy and the country covered with open timber. There are only a few hills. A league and half from Chenectedi, there is a house on the road which is a tavern. A league and half farther on, that is to say half way, another house is met, which is also a tavern.

Orange is situate on the right bank of the River Orange, otherwise called Hudson. It is not fortified on the forest side except by an inclosure of walls or pickets, without a ditch, which is flanked at certain distances; the river defends the entrance on the other side. It is calculated to be smaller than the inclosure of the town of Montreal. In the interior of Orange is a fort, a sort of citadel, capable of containing 300 men; here are some cannon.

This is all that relates to the right bank of the river. Let us pass to the left bank, which is the north side of that river, starting likewise from near its source at Fort Williams.

Leaving Fort Williams by the left bank of the River Moack, the village of the Palatines is estimated to be 12 leagues. The river is fordable near Fort Williams whence a path leads to the interior, half a league from the shore, parallel with the river whose borders are so marshy that nothing but hay can be had from them.

This path leads over hills and small mountains and can be traveled only a-foot or on horseback. Eight leagues must be traversed by this path before reaching the forks of the high road that comes from the other side, or right bank of the river. After having traveled this high road a quarter of an hour, a small creek is found, called Rassedot. It can be forded. There were two houses on the left bank of this creek which were burnt, and nothing but their ruins remain. Having passed this creek, the high road is followed for a distance of four leagues to the village of the Palatines. All sorts of vehicles travel this road.

The Palatine village† was situated on the left bank of the Moack river, not directly opposite Fort Kouari but about half a quarter of a league above it. You go from this village to the fort by bateau; the river can even be forded in several places.

The Palatine village which consisted of thirty houses has been entirely destroyed and burnt by a detachment under M. de Belhêtre's orders. The inhabitants of this village formed a company of 100 men bearing arms. They reckoned there 300 persons, men, women and children, 102 of whom were made prisoners and the remainder fled to Fort Kouari, except a few who were killed whilst fording the river.

From the Palatine village to the Little Falls, still continuing along the left bank of the river, is estimated about three leagues. In this distance there had been eight houses which have been abandoned. The inhabitants of these houses compose a company with those of Fort Kouari at the opposite side of the river.

The portage at the Little Falls is a quarter of a league, and is passed with carts. There is a road on both sides of the river, but that on the left bank is preferable, being better.

From the portage at Little Falls, continuing along the left bank of the river, there is only a foot path which is traveled with difficulty on horseback. Three leagues must be made over this path to arrive at the Canada creek where we meet the high road that passes from the termination of the Little Falls portage, along the right bank of the Moack river, where there is a ford above Fort Cannatchocari, opposite the mouth of the Canada creek. There is also a ferry boat at this place to put carts across when the river is high.

\* The total distance from Chouëgen to Orange is 78 @ 79 leagues.

† It requires a day to descend the river with bateaux from Fort Bull to the Palatine village and three to return; and to go down from the Palatine village to Corlac requires [a day and ?] a day and a half to return.



After fording Canada creek, we continue along the left bank of the Moawk river and high road which is passable for carts for 12 leagues to Colonel Johnson's mansion. In the whole of this distance the soil is very good. About 500 houses are erected, at a distance one from the other. The greatest number of those on the bank of the river are built of stone. Those at a greater distance from the river in the interior are about half a league off; they are new dwellings built of wood.

There is not a fort in the whole of this distance of 12 leagues, and but one farmer's house built of stone that is somewhat fortified and surrounded with pickets. It is situate on the bank of the river three leagues from where the Canada creek empties into the Moack river.

The inhabitants of this country are Germans. They form companies of 100 men each.

Colonel Johnson's mansion is situate on the border of the left bank of the River Moack; it is three stories high; built of stone, with port-holes (*crenelés*) and a parapet and flanked with four bastions on which are some small guns. In the same yard, on both sides of the mansion, are two small houses; that on the right of the entrance is a store, and that on the left is designed for workmen, negroes and other domestics. The yard gate is a heavy swing gate well ironed; it is on the Moack river side; from this gate to the river is about 200 paces of level ground. The high road passes there. A small rivulet, coming from the north, empties into the Moack river about 200 paces below the inclosure of the yard. On this stream is a mill about 50 paces distance from the house; below the mill is the miller's house where grain and flour are stored, and on the other side of the creek, 100 paces from the mill, is a barn in which cattle and fodder are kept. One hundred and fifty paces from Colonel Johnson's mansion, at the north side, on the left bank of the little creek, is a rise of ground on which is a small house with port-holes, where, ordinarily, is kept a guard of honor of some twenty men, which serves, also, as an advanced post.

From Colonel Johnson's house to Chenectedi is counted seven leagues; the road is good; all sorts of vehicles pass over it. About twenty houses are found from point to point on this road.

The Moack river can be forded, during summer, a league and a quarter west of Chenectedi. Opposite Chenectedi the traverse is usually in a ferry boat and bateaux.

The inhabitants of this country are Dutchmen. They form a company of about 100 men, with those on the opposite side of the river below Fort Hunter.

Between Chenectedi and the mouth of the Moack river, where it discharges into that of Orange, there is the Great fall which prevents the passage of bateaux, so that everything on the river going from Chenectedi to Orange, passes over the high road that leads there direct.

From Orange to New-York is counted 50 to 60 leagues. Sloops from New-York ascend to Orange. There is also a high road from one to the other of these towns on the left bank of the river. The country is thickly inhabited on both sides. The inhabitants of Orange are, also, mostly Dutch like those of Chenectedi.

From Orange to Boston is considered about 60 leagues. The road thither is across the country. From Boston to New-York is reckoned the same distance following the road along the seaside.

New-York, situate on the left bank of the Orange river, near its mouth at the sea, is located on a tongue of land forming a peninsula. It is fortified only on the land side. Opposite New-York is a large island, very well inhabited and very wealthy. All sorts of vessels of war and merchantmen anchor between the town and that island.



NOTA.—In the whole country of the River Corlac there were nine companies of Militia, under the command of Colonel Johnson; eight only remain—that of the village of the Palatines being no longer in existence, the greater portion having been defeated by M. de Belhêtre's detachment. Colonel Johnson assembles these companies when he has news of any expedition which may concern the Moack river.

In the latter part of April, 1757, on receiving intelligence by the Indians that there was a strong detachment ascending the River St. Lawrence and entering Lake Ontario, he assembled these companies and went to the village of the Palatines, where he was joined by another body of 11 @ 1,200 men, sent him by the Commandant of Orange; this formed in all a force of 2,000 men. He entrenched himself at the head of the Palatine village, where he remained in camp fifteen days, and did not retire until he received intelligence that the French detachment seen on the River St. Lawrence, had passed by and taken the route to the Beautiful river.

This was the detachment of 500 men that had been sent last year to reinforce the Beautiful river, and had left Montreal in the latter days of the month of April.

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*Militia of Canada; 1758.*

Inconveniences in the Constitution of this Militia, and means whereby advantage may be derived therefrom in the next campaign. January, 1758.

The Militia of Canada is well adapted to bush fighting, to navigating rivers and lakes, to summer or winter marches. Nevertheless, since the year 1756, when the war began to be waged in America on the European plan, much advantage has not been derived from that Militia for the following reasons:

1<sup>st</sup> Up to that time those Militiamen, ordered out only for parties of short duration, or for voyages, of long continuance 'tis true, but which required continual action, did not know what it was to remain six months assembled in a body, and often in camps of observation and consequently stable. Whence it follows that in our armies, disgust takes possession of them; and the craving after their homes, crops, harvest, induces them to plead sickness. It becomes necessary to send them back home, or they desert.

2<sup>nd</sup> When they enter on the campaign, the King furnishes them with an outfit, viz', shirts, coat, pantaloons, stockings, &c. Now, they leave this outfit at home to wear it on their return, persuaded that they will be absent only for a short time, and in warm weather. Besides, they carry along with them only their worst musket in the expectation that when with the army, the King will of necessity be obliged to have it mended or to supply them with another.

This imposes a serious expense on the King, a twofold waste of arms, a matter so precious, and in addition to this, those Canadians who have only a shirt and breeches on their bodies, fall sick when the cold sets in, and even from the cold alone of the summer nights. Then they become a burthen instead of being useful.

3<sup>o</sup> They are without tents, and have no other covering than cabins made of the bark of trees, a very good shelter when the war excursions or parties continue at most a month,

insufficient against the inclemency of the weather when the campaign lasted six months.  
2<sup>nd</sup> cause of sickness.

4<sup>th</sup> As nobody watches to see that they cook whenever the operations of the war permit, they feed on pork almost raw, which was still admissible in the ancient mode of waging war in the country, and this is now a 3<sup>d</sup> cause of sickness and of the uselessness of these Militia.

5<sup>th</sup> In fine, 'tis not arranged that they respect their Militia officers. The air which nourishes the Indians; their example; those extensive deserts; everything inspires, everything offers Independence. Neither order, nor subordination exists, therefore, among those Militia. How, then, derive advantage from them? where are they to be relied on? how infuse into their service that activity which is still more necessary when we are inferior in force?

What is the remedy for these abuses?

To correct their source, 'twould be necessary to alter their constitution; this would be consequently the work of peace. The following is the remedy which the season of war allows and permits:

1<sup>st</sup> To make an exact census of all the farmers and to divide them into three classes; effective, middling, bad; in fact, the M<sup>te</sup> de Vaudreuil told me that he would make this census this winter.

2<sup>nd</sup> To order that all the effective make the next campaign in toto, in manner following:— it being well understood that those who will remain at home, shall do the sowing and harvest of those on duty:

1° To order that all the Militiamen commanded to march, shall leave home well equipped and well armed;\* to review them for the first time at the first place of muster, a second time at the last entrepôt on the frontier, a third time on their joining the army; to chastise severely and even corporally those who will not be clothed in a manner to support the vicissitudes of the seasons, or who will have bad muskets.

2° To divide all these Militiamen into three corps, one of which will be incorporated into our battalions for the campaign; the second into those of the Marine;† the third will form the distinct corps of Militia.

By this means, 1° Those who will be incorporated will quarter with the soldiers; being well clothed, tented and fed like them, they will fare well; the officers and sergeants of the companies will see to their conduct—to their service; consequently less desertion and more subordination. Besides, by this incorporation, each company will possess effective soldiers, excellent marksmen, good canoemen and good axemen. Each company would be furnished also with a certain number of tools, for which the officers would be responsible. Thus, 'tis plain the service would proceed rapidly, each detachment being entirely formed, and having everything necessary for the war of the country.

2° The Militia corps being less numerous, 'twill be less difficult to place good Militia officers at its head, who will be invested with the same authority as officers have over soldiers. Order, discipline and sanitary police will be more easily established in it.

\* On re turning from the campaign, they or their families shall be presented by the King with the accustomed equipment, or shall be allowed the discount according to the fixed price.

† The Minister need not fear that the farmers will not agree with the soldiers. As the soldiers pass their winters with the farmer, they know and love each other. Indeed, attention would be paid to attaching the Militiamen to the battalions that have wintered among them.



3<sup>o</sup> Orders will have to be issued that the farmers not in the first draft, shall have by them an equipment, a good gun, one pound of powder, 2 pounds of ball, ten days' provisions in biscuit and pork, with a certain number of bateaux, and their rigging and some kettles per parish, so that they may be ready to march at the first call. Captains of parishes will receive orders to make an inspection twice a week throughout all the houses, and those who will not have munitions and provisions shall be severely punished.

(In such cases, the civil officers, priests, monks, women, children and all people, must perform the work of the field. The wives of the chief men and officers ought to show the example.)

4<sup>o</sup> That the Governor-General be authorized to give Royal commissions to the Militia officers who will have greatly distinguished themselves, or else some sort of mark of honor; to the Militiamen who will have performed some brilliant action or will be wounded, a gratuity; to those who will be lamed, some trifling pension.

Such is the only means to render the Canadian Militia useful; the crisis is urgent, and if the Minister approve the preceding arrangements and wish them put into execution, he must transmit his orders relative thereto and precise, to the Generals.

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*List of British Foot Regiments in America, 1758.*

[ From the Army List. ]

1 <sup>st</sup> Royals, 2 <sup>d</sup> batt.	45 <sup>th</sup> , Warburton's.
17 <sup>th</sup> , Forbes'.	46 <sup>th</sup> , Murray's.
27 <sup>th</sup> , Inniskillings, or Blakeney's.	47 <sup>th</sup> , Lascelle's.
28 <sup>th</sup> , Bragg's.	48 <sup>th</sup> , Webb's.
35 <sup>th</sup> , Otway's.	55 <sup>th</sup> , Howe's.
40 <sup>th</sup> , Hopson's.	58 <sup>th</sup> , Anstruther's.
42 <sup>nd</sup> , Lt. Murray's Highlanders.	60 <sup>th</sup> , Royal Americans, 4 battalions.
43 <sup>rd</sup> , Kennedy's.	62 <sup>nd</sup> , or 1 <sup>st</sup> Highland batt <sup>n</sup> , Montgomery's.
44 <sup>th</sup> , Abercrombie's.	63 <sup>rd</sup> , or 2 <sup>nd</sup> Highl. battalion, Frazer's.
	80 <sup>th</sup> , Gage's Light Infantry.

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*Baron de Dieskau to Chevalier de Montreuil.*

Bath Springs, in England,  
The 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1758.

My dear Chevalier,

I have just learned that the Ministers have been indisposed towards you on my account, namely, because you did not have me removed after having seen me wounded at the foot of a

tree. Whereupon I have just written to the Marquis de Paulmi that you have been the victim of the greatest injustice; that you had been absolutely unwilling to quit me and that I had been under the necessity of making use of the King's authority, to order you in his name to retire, for the purpose of conducting the retreat; that shortly after, two Canadian soldiers came apparently from you, who wished to remove me, one of whom was killed right out and fell on my legs, and, fearing lest the same misfortune should overtake the other, I ordered him to retire, which he did. I have wrote you all this from New-York, in answer to a letter you did me the honor to write me on this subject; but I have learned from M. Doreil that none of my letters written at New-York had reached their address. I am vexed, my dear Chevalier, at a report so false, but this letter ought to set you at ease.

I have the honor, &c.

(Signed), The Baron DE DIESKAU.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit to you, annexed hereunto, the following copies:

1<sup>o</sup> The speeches of the Deputies of the 5 Nations to the late Marquis de la Galissonnière, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> November, 1748, and their declaration in the presence of two Notaries, that in former times there had been no Whites in this entire Continent, but that within a hundred years some had settled there, both French and English; that they formed a trade with the one and the other to procure guns, blankets and other commodities unknown to them before that time; that they had even seen, with pleasure, Traders establish themselves in their vicinity; but that they had not ceded to any person their lands; which they esteem to be always theirs, and derive from Heaven; that in proof that the 6 Iroquois Nations are not subjects of England, the English had, in their last war, and in the one preceding, continually solicited them to take the hatchet up against the French, which they had constantly refused and will again reject, as they desire to cultivate peace equally with the English and French.

2<sup>o</sup> Of a Council held in 1750, by the late Marquis de la Jonquière with some Cayuga deputies, wherein they say that the Nations inhabiting the Beautiful river have been placed there by God, who located the whites at the other side of the sea; that they, the Cayugas, have remained neutre during the war, that they see clearly that the English are seeking only their destruction; seizing all their lands and are soon in their midst.

3<sup>o</sup> Another Council holden in 1751, by the late M. de la Jonquière with the Nontagués on the behalf of the 5 Nations, in presence of the deputies of the Upper country and the domiciliated Nations, wherein the Nontagués attribute to the English the murder of 18 of their warriors. They also say that they have summoned the English to retire from the other side of the mountains, so that the lands of the Beautiful river may be free to their exclusive use since the Master of Life had placed them there.

4<sup>o</sup> Some speeches of the Abenakis of Saint Francis to the Governor of Boston's deputy in 1752, wherein they reproach the English with having always attacked them and killed their



people; that it depended only on themselves to have peace; that they have not yet sold the lands they are living on; that they wish to retain the possession of them; that their ancestors did indeed allow the English on the seaboard as far as Snonakonato; but that they do not wish to cede them an inch of the territory they inhabit; forbid them killing a single beaver or taking a single stick of timber off those lands; request the Governor of Boston to have those punished who have been surveying such lands, which they hold from God; that they have allied themselves with the King of France from whom they have received Religion and every description of help in their necessities; that they love that Monarch, and are strongly attached to his interests.

5° The minute of the speeches of, and my answers to, the Senecas who came in 1755, in company with M<sup>r</sup> de Joncaire, knowing that the English were desirous of taking him.

6° Of my answer to the speeches of the 5 Nations, which I received the same year, wherein you will see, my Lord, that they assure me of their neutrality; that they did acknowledge to me they had accepted the hatchet from the English; that I made them appreciate my kindness in not punishing them; that the Indian nations in the alliance of the King, my master, would have made them suffer the penalty due to their crime had they not been restrained by me; that I had reproached them with their past conduct, their speeches to General Braddock; that they are the authors of the death of M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil and of the other officers who were killed at Lake Saint Sacrament; that they should suffer the fate they have long deserved on the very first fault they would commit.

7° The minute of the speeches of, and my answers to, the Nontagués and Senecas speaking in the name of the 5 Nations, from the 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1756, to the 20<sup>th</sup> August following, that is to say, after the surrender of the forts at Choueguen.

8° The minute of the Grand Council which I held with the deputies of the 5 Iroquois Nations in the month of December of the same year, 1756.

I am, my Lord, with the most profound respect,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 19<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

My Lord,

I profit by the return of a courier sent to Louisbourg to have the honor of writing to you. I did not receive any letter, last year, from the Minister of the Marine. I have just received two from M. de Moras dated the twenty-seventh of May and third of August. I annex hereunto copy of my answer, which will inform you at the same time of what I have written him, and of the most minute details concerning the Colony. You will see there, my Lord, that Captain D'herbecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who is in command this winter at Fort Carillon, has been obliged to be very alert, and that Chevalier de Levis has put down, by his firm tone, a species of riot which broke out at Montreal on occasion of the reduction and

change of the food. From the feeble tone used towards the farmers and Colonial troops, I doubt if the letters from the Colony admit the service he has rendered.

The surprisal of the Palatine village, sixteen leagues from Corlar, is a consequence of the detachment which was on the march from the very beginning of October and whereof I have had the honor to speak to you in my despatch of the fourth of November.

Hazard has been played to excess in the Intendant's house; happily, he does its honors magnificently; that is still better than if our officers had led a life of disorder. He appears pained at not having, on that occasion, deferred to my representations, and gives strong assurances that it will be a different case next winter. My condescension, in this regard, has been founded on the principles of conciliation, whereof I have already had the honor to write you in my despatch of the twenty-fifth of April of last year.

I did not care to write about it to the Minister of the Marine. I avoid, as much as possible, whatever would have the air of complaint or reproach against an Intendant who appears well intentioned towards the Regulars and is cousin of the Marquis de Puilsieux.<sup>1</sup>

Doubt not, my Lord, my zeal and application in whatever can interest the King's service. I dare hope that you will be pleased to second my representations respecting the allowances of our officers and mine in particular, and those of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque, who, though subject to less expense, are not at ease in the matter of appropriations. For myself, my Lord, attentive not to incur any superfluous expense foreign to the commission with which I am honored, my debts prove the justice of my representations. M. de Machault said to me, on leaving, I shall place you in a position to live there, and will make up for the smallness of your allowances, if they are insufficient.

The letters from Louisbourg do not give us any particular information in regard either to that quarter or Acadia. The Indians whom we shall have there, are always making some little incursions. The English are fortifying themselves at Fort Beausejour.

We have had, this winter, some letters from Lord Lowdon on the capitulation of Fort William Henry. He does not consent nor refuse to execute that capitulation. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and I have just answered him in the same style and in a proper tone. This is a matter of little interest to write to you on, but I have the honor to inform you of the most trifling details.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

P. S. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has just received an order from the King dated the sixth of August, referring to an ordinance rendered for the Colonies in 1744, forbidding games of chance, enjoining him and the Intendant to see it enforced.

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS PHILOGENE BRULART de Sillery, Marquis de Puisieux, was the eldest son of Carloman Philogene Brulart, Count de Sillery and Louise Bigot, and was born 12 May, 1701. *Moreri*. He was Minister for Foreign affairs from January, 1747 to September, 1751. — Ed.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Moras.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 19<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to inform you by my last letters dated the 4<sup>th</sup> November that I had not received any of yours. I profit by the first opportunity by Louisbourg to announce to you the receipt of those you did me the honor to write me, one dated the twenty-seventh of May in answer to my correspondence of the year 1756 with M. de Machault, the other dated the third of August in acknowledgment of the receipt of my despatch of the twenty-fifth of April. In the first you vaunt the valor of the Canadians, you read me some lessons respecting the conduct to be observed towards them and the Indians. You kindly add, that 'tis not in regard to myself, but that private accounts make mention of the harshness with which some of our officers treat the one and the other. I have taken very good care not to show that letter; 'twould have afflicted our officers who are but too well persuaded, and not without cause, that people in the Colony are, through a spirit of low jealousy, occupied only in running them down; those imputations are false. Those accounts which you mention to me, have been written, my Lord, by persons as ill-instructed as they are ill-intentioned. I appeal to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and to M. Bigot who have appeared to me pained by your letter, and who, both the one and the other, have assured me, that they would undeceive you. The Canadians and Indians are well pleased with the few of our officers who have been with them, and M. Pouchot, Captain of the regiment of Bearn, who has been in command at Niagara, is regretted by the latter.

As for what regards myself, personally, I shall not alter my conduct. The Canadian, the simple farmer, respects and loves me. As to the Indians, I dare believe I have seized their genius and manners. I am indebted for their confidence perhaps more to my success than to my feeble talents; but in the present moment I dare assert that even in the Upper countries, my name will make as much impression as those who are believed to be the idol of those people. They hold for principle to consider as much the war chief as the chief of the cabin. In respect to Canadian valor, no one renders it more justice than I and the French do, but a nation so much accustomed to brag, will glorify itself long enough before I shall ever entertain the unfortunate confidence of M. de Dieskau. I will not employ them except in their sphere, and shall endeavor to support their bravery by the advantage of the woods and of the regular troops. By this expression I mean, the Land and Marine force, which I esteem to an equal degree.

The recruits arrived this year are partly of the bad class. They require severity and frequent examples. I fear desertion during the campaign. You have seen by my letters of the month of November, the strength of our troops and that the augmentation for those of the Line could not be made for want of clothing. Sickness having disappeared, the loss of the winter is a trifle.

I cannot give you any information yet concerning the next campaign; the operations will depend on the prompt arrival of provisions and of the good or bad bearing of the enemy. The article of provisions makes me tremble; notwithstanding the reductions in the rations the scarcity is greater than we should have believed. I quit Quebec to rejoin the Marquis de Vaudreuil at Montreal, after having arranged with M. Bigot as to what regards the wants of

our troops. I shall be always well pleased with his zeal for the service, his indulgence and resources. But he cannot fail being often embarrassed, and is to be pitied in having so difficult a duty assigned to him. Be pleased to assure his Majesty, once for all, as I shall not have the honor of writing to you any more on the subject, that whatever course may be pursued in regard to me, I shall always reject whatever may be injurious to his service, and that I shall have increasing moderation and patience, of which I daily furnish proofs. I shall propose what I may consider useful; shall endeavor to do my best in the execution of what will be concluded on, and to supply, at the risk of being disapproved, should success not follow, any deficiencies in obscure and sometimes captious orders.

My Lord, according to your letter, his Majesty will not reconsider the suppression of the allowance granted to the officers of the regular troops during the campaigns of 1755 and 1756. I merely represent to you that 'tis a pity their allowance diminishes in proportion as the high price of provisions increases. To be paid in paper instead of specie, as M. de Marchault had agreed with M. de Secheller, causes a considerable diminution in their pay. I have already had the honor to write you in my letter of the fourth of November of last year, and to propose to you to continue to have them paid in paper, which will be advantageous to the King, who will not have to risk any more specie, but at the same time to advance the pay of Captain, now two thousand seven hundred and sixty *livres*, to one thousand *écus*, and the rest in proportion. The Lieutenants, more to be pitied, can no longer live on their pay. Let not their pay be compared to the small allowance of the Colonial officers, who possess resources in embarking in trade and speculations, and in expecting a share in the trading posts and in the custom of deriving advantage from their forays with the Indians.

As to what regards myself, my Lord, M. de Machault had assured me that the King would aid me and place me in a position to live in a becoming style. The necessity of securing influence, of responding to the honor of being the Commander of a body of more than two hundred and fifty officers, of living with those of the Colony in order to foster that union so much recommended, the honor of commanding the one and the other in camps, where I must show them that if I set them the example of frugality on the march and in the campaign, I know how to live with dignity in fixed camps. These motives obliged me to incur for my table an expense nearly equal to that of the Governor-General. Nevertheless, his pay is far greater than mine, and his emoluments and means beyond even his pay. If you, my Lord, do not come to my aid, and if I serve some years longer in the Colony, I shall be under the necessity of selling the patrimony of my children. M. Bigot has been so good as to authorize the Treasurer of the Marine to advance me twelve thousand francs, which I owe him, and the farther I go the deeper will I be indebted to him.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will assuredly have informed you of the success of the detachment of Lieutenant de Belhêtre, of the Colonials, who has surprised a village about sixteen leagues from Corlar, inhabited by some emigrants from the Palatinate. Distant forays, without being ever decisive in the main, or as considerable as the accounts from the country represent them to be, have always a marvelous effect in increasing the confidence of the Canadians and Indians, and the terror in which the English hold them.

Although forts are always carried, according to the mode of speaking in the country, sword in hand, *valeur intrémeque*, in this instance 'twas the surprisal, burning and sack of a large village, open at all points, convenient to trading with the Five Nations, and the carrying off



all its inhabitants. The fort of Quaris,<sup>1</sup> within a quarter of a league of it, with a garrison of three hundred men, has been left unattacked, which could not be otherwise.

We have actually two parties in the field to keep the enemy busy and to obtain intelligence of his movements—one towards Fort Lydius, under the command of M. de Langray Montegron, a Colonial officer, and another in the direction of Corlar, is composed only of some Indians from La Presentation. This is all that [can] be done, owing to the scarcity of provisions.

The English have come repeatedly in very considerable numbers to Carillon. Captain de Hebecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, whom I have left there in command during the winter, has always been very attentive in providing exclusively for the preservation of his fort and guarding against snares that were set for him. Therefore, the expeditions of the English have resulted in taking one unlucky soldier prisoner. Its garrison has been very alert, and I have been well content with it on account of the exactitude of the service, although it showed some little mutiny on the delay of some equipments due to them. M. de Hebecourt's position was critical; he extricated himself therefrom with much firmness and prudence. Under pretext of conducting a contractor sent by the Intendant to Carillon, I forwarded to him, without any show, a detachment consisting of a sergeant and some reliable soldiers.

The reduction of the ration and the change of food have not failed to excite a ferment. The *bon ton* and good example have provided for everything at Quebec. Some difficulties have occurred at Montreal, where the people are less docile. This spirit was gaining among the Colonial troops, and even the soldiers of the regiment of Bearn, who are in garrison, evinced some slight disposition to be affected by it, but I owe it to truth and to Chevalier de Levis to state to you that the public is somewhat indebted to him on that occasion, and although we have no authority in the matter of discipline over the Colonial troops in garrisons, the tone he used towards them caused them to return immediately to the path of duty, and has restrained ours. Everything is in the greatest tranquillity for more than two months, and the troops are waiting patiently without a murmur, for better treatment.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most, &c.



*M. de Levis to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 20<sup>th</sup> of February, 1758.

My Lord,

I profit by the departure of the courier for Louisbourg, by whom I have received a letter from M. de Moras, who expresses the satisfaction the King is graciously pleased to entertain of my services; for this I am indebted to the report you have been pleased to render his Majesty. Permit me to return you my most humble thanks therefor. I shall not cease to afford, on all occasions, new proofs of my zeal. I am persuaded that the Marquis de Montcalm will not

<sup>1</sup>Fort Herkimer. — Ed.

leave you in ignorance of the services I have had an opportunity, this winter, of rendering in the district of Montreal, by causing both the troops of the Line and those of the Marine, to observe a strict discipline, by obliging with prudence and firmness the one and the other submit to all the reduction of provisions that has been considered necessary. I have commenced by showing the example by partaking of the same meats as the troops.

As my letter is exposed to the risks of the sea, I shall not enter into any more minute details on the article of provisions, nor on the actual condition of the Colony, as I am persuaded the Marquis de Montcalm, by means of his cipher, will not leave you to wish for, or in ignorance of, anything. As to what regards myself, my Lord, I beg you to assure his Majesty that I shall omit nothing in order that the troops confided to my care, may maintain themselves within their duty, and patiently endure all the incidents of the war. I shall observe, as I have always done, the greatest harmony and union with the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm. I hope that my example will continue to cause the same to be observed in both corps of troops. I must not omit stating to you, my Lord, how much reason I have to be satisfied with the friendship and confidence the Marquis de Montcalm evinces towards me on all occasions.

The Marquis de Montcalm will have the honor to communicate to you the iterated representations he has made to the Minister of the Marine, respecting the situation the subalterns of the Regular troops are reduced to. As everything is three times dearer than when they arrived in the Colony, it is impossible for the Lieutenants to live on their pay. He consequently prays M. de Moras to have it increased, or to have them allowed the same comforts they have enjoyed in the first campaigns.

Permit me, my Lord, to submit to you the same representations for myself. The position I occupy obliges me to maintain a certain state in order to secure that consideration I ought to possess in this Colony. I have not to reproach myself with having incurred any improper expense, and should suspect myself of having failed in the King's service did I not live as I have done, observing, nevertheless, the greatest economy, which does not save me from being this year ten thousand francs in arrear of the pay the King allows me, and next year 'twill be worse, because none of the provisions I have brought from France remain. I beg you, my Lord, to have the goodness to attend hereunto. I have no fortune but his Majesty's bounty which I shall expend with great pleasure in his service. I assure you that all I desire in the way of money is, to owe nothing when quitting this country. It would be very painful for me to leave more debts than I should be able to pay.

Permit me also, my Lord, to remind you of the favor I had the honor to solicit from you in my last letters, namely: to procure for me the grade of Major-General (*Maréchal de camp*). The Marquis de Vaudreuil asks and desires it for me; Count d'Argenson had promised it to me, if I remained in America two years. They have expired. I flatter myself that I have merited it by the occasions I have had to afford proofs of my application and zeal. Nevertheless, 'twill be to you alone, my Lord, I shall be indebted for this favor. I beg you beforehand to be pleased to be persuaded of my entire gratitude.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil transmits to M. de Moras two maps and two memoirs drawn up by me, having applied myself since I am in America, to the study of the country. I expected to have the honor to send them to you, at the same time, but as this opportunity is not sure, and as the despatches are forwarded only by a man who is going a-foot to Louisbourg, it has been impossible for me to trouble him with them. The Marquis de Vaudreuil having requested



me to hand them to him, as M. de Moras asked him for them, being anxious to have some information on that subject, I shall have the honor to transmit them to you by a more certain opportunity which will be afforded by the sailing of the first vessels.

I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased to continue your kindness to me, and to honor me always with your protection.

I have the honor to be with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chevalier DE LEVIS.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 23<sup>rd</sup> February, 1758.

My Lord,

You ought to receive, at the same time, a letter I have had the honor to write you on the nineteenth, the day before my departure from Quebec. On arriving, I have learned that M. de Moras had demanded of the Marquis de Vaudreuil a detail of the various counsels holden with the Five Nations since and including those held in the time of M. de la Gallissonnière, in order to improve the independence of those nations in respect to the English, who always affect to speak of them as their subjects.

In M. de la Gallissonnière's time, the Governor-General had read to the Deputies of the Five Nations, in a Council, a letter from the Governor of New England who styled them subjects. It shocked them so much that they immediately made their protest which was received by a notary and they affixed their seals, or totems to it, and you may have seen by the account of their embassy in December, 1756, which I had addressed to you with my despatch of the twenty-fifth of April, 1757, that they fully maintain that independence.

The Minister of the Marine demands, at the same time, some reflections on the manner of regulating the limits of New France. Chevalier de Levis has furnished the Marquis de Vaudreuil a map he drew up on the report of divers officers, Indians or prisoners, adjoined to some observations of M. Pouchot. The latter has prepared a map which M. de Vaudreuil sent to M. de Moras. I would have been much pleased to be able to transmit it to you at the same time, but I arrived yesterday and the courier starts to-morrow; you will have it by the first opportunity, and I shall be able to add some notes to it. For the present I content myself with annexing hereunto my ideas generally on that subject.

As M. de Vaudreuil has not communicated any of his to me, nor to Chevalier de Levis, though he had asked the latter for his map, my ideas may conflict with his. Therefore I content myself with communicating them to my Minister, as a tribute I owe him. He will be kind enough to read them in connection with a map of Canada, and make such use of them as he will deem proper for the King's service, as I write them only to him.

One of our parties commanded by Sieur de Langy Montegron, an officer of the Colony, who had been towards Fort Lydius, has just arrived with twenty-five English scalps and three prisoners. It appears, by the report of the latter, that the English are transporting a vast amount of provisions from Orange to *Saratoga*. Had we some provisions this would be the opportunity to keep up large parties on that route.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

The paragraphs  
within brackets  
are in cypher in  
the original.

[To regulate the limits, France must have at least possession of what England calls Acadia as far as the Isthmus, and re-take Beausejour; she must have the River St. John; at least leave the River St. John in the joint occupation of the Abenaki and Mikmak Indians.]

Lake St. Sacrament to France, at least neutral, not to be at liberty to erect forts on Wood creek. England will never renounce Fort Lydius. I believe it to be on her territory; to engage her to do so, Carillon must be abandoned.

Lake Ontario, Lake Erie to France; the English cannot erect forts on these lakes, nor on any rivers emptying therein. The height of land, the natural boundary between France and England as far as the Ohio; thereby the Apalachies become the boundary for England; the Ohio to belong to France, as well as Fort Duquesne, unless a better fort can be made, and one better located, for Fort Duquesne is good for nothing and is falling. To maintain the Five Nations independent and the Indians towards the River Susquehanna called Delawares, (*Loups*) and that neither France nor England have no power to erect forts among those people.

Notwithstanding our success, peace is desirable for New France or Canada, which must be reduced at the long run, considering the number of English and the difficulty of transporting provisions and reinforcements.]

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*M. de Paulmy to M. de Montcalm.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Versailles, 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1758.

I have the honor to inform you, Sir, that having repeatedly represented to the King that the state of my health did not permit me to support the labor I had to undergo in the present circumstances, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to accede to my respectful representations and has instructed me to advise you that for the future you are to address yourself to Marshal de Belle Isle<sup>1</sup> on all matters appertaining to the War Department. Although that Minister is very well informed of your distinguished services and of the merit of those officers under your orders, I have, nevertheless, felt a pleasure in bearing testimony thereof to him and of

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 527. — Ed.



rendering the most favorable report of them to the King during my administration ; as for the rest, the King has not as yet disposed of my office of Secretary of State, and as soon as his Majesty will have nominated thereto, you will be advised.

I leave to Marshal de Belle Isle the duty of corresponding with you on the objects relative to the mission entrusted to you, and confine myself to acknowledging the receipt of the letters you have done me the honor of writing to me on the 24<sup>th</sup> April, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 11<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> July, 15<sup>th</sup> August, 8<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> September last.

I feel great pleasure in congratulating you on the brilliant success of your last campaign, and cannot too strongly assure you of the satisfaction his Majesty has expressed thereat when I submitted to him the contents of your letters.

As I have not received the return you announced to me in your letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757, of the favors which in your opinion ought to be conferred on the officers of the Regulars who have made the campaign, I could not receive his Majesty's orders on that subject.

Commissary Magallon had been destined last year to go and relieve Commissary de la Grive des Assizes at Louisbourg, but was unable to proceed on the voyage having fallen sick on his way to Brest, and I could replace him afterwards only by Sieur Bernier, formerly Aid-de-Camp to M. de Dieskau, whom the King has appointed as assistant to Sieur Doreil in quality of Commissary of war and to whom I confide this letter.

I am duly sensible of the personal sentiments you are so good as to express towards me in your letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> of July on my Uncle's retirement. I pray you to accept my thanks in return, to continue to me the honor of your friendship and to be well persuaded that I deserve it, by the sentiments I have devoted to you and the most perfect attachment with which I have the honor to be, &c.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

Montreal, 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

The Marquis de Vaudreuil having sent a courier to Louisbourg in the last days of February with orders immediately to dispatch a vessel to France, I have profited by that opportunity to write you in date the nineteenth and twenty-third of February. I have the honor to send you the duplicates, as Captain de Boishebert of the Colonial troops is going in a few days, if the River St. Lawrence be open, for the River St. John, thence to proceed to Louisbourg with a party of six or seven Canadians, Acadians or Indians of Acadia. M. de Drucourt, Governor of Isle Royale, will receive with great satisfaction the reinforcement which had been already sent him last summer. I should have wished that corps of troops had been ordered to move on the ice so as to reach its destination earlier.

We continue in the same condition ; great scarcity of provisions, much suffering among the people, patience and good will among the soldiers who continue reduced to live scantily (*de cheval*) and to have only half a pound of bread ; great impatience to receive the supplies of provisions which we are expecting from France, and an apprehension on my part that though

they arrive in abundance, and the harvest be good, we shall suffer from scarcity next winter. I should write too much to render this paradox intelligible. Furnishing supplies for the public service by contract, is ordinarily better than by the government (*en regie*), but both are subject to great abuse should those in office not be sufficiently clearsighted or disinterested. I have spoken sometimes of it, and even represented it in writing, with the wisdom and moderation necessary in the person who has only a subordinate authority, derived from a different department from that wherein he is made to serve and who would desire uninterrupted good.

Since my last despatch of the twenty-third of February, our parties continue to carry on a marauding war with success. *Sieur Wolfs*, formerly sergeant in Bentheim, and now a seconded officer, attached to the land forces, has been with some Abenakis, scattering terror nearly as far as Machasouset, a dependency of the Boston government, by burning divers settlements and killing all the cattle there; and *Capt. D'hebecourt*, of the regiment of *La Reine*, who commands at Carillon, having been informed, on the thirteenth of March, that the enemy had a detachment in the field, which was estimated by the trail to number about two hundred men, sent a like detachment of our domiciliated Indians, Iroquois and Nepissings, belonging to the Sault St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, who had arrived on the preceding evening, with some thirty Canadians and several Cadets of the Colonial troops, under the command of *Sieur de la Durantaye*, of the same troops; *Sieur de Langy*, one of the officers of the Colony, who understands petty war the best of any man, joined the party with some of the Lieutenants of our battalions, who are detached at Carillon. The English detachment consisted of two hundred picked men, under the command of Major Roger, their most famous partizan, and twelve officers. He has been utterly defeated; our Indians would not give any quarter; they have brought back one hundred and forty-six scalps; they retained only three prisoners to furnish *live letters to their father*.

About four or five days after, two officers and five English surrendered themselves prisoners, because they were wandering in the woods, dying of hunger. I am fully persuaded that the small number who escaped the fury of the Indians, will perish of want, and not have returned to Fort Lydius. We have had two Colonial Cadets and one Canadian slightly wounded, but the Indians, who are not accustomed to lose, have had eight killed and seventeen wounded, two of whom are in danger of dying. The Marquis de Vaudreuil takes great care of the sick; has made presents in the name of *the Great Ononchio* (that is, the King), to the families of those who have been slain, and the dead on this occasion have been covered with great ceremony; the Indians are content and very anxious to avenge their loss. Lieutenant de Fouriet, of the *la Sarre* regiment, and *Sieur d'Arenne*, proposed to be employed in the regiment of Languedoc, have distinguished themselves on this occasion.

*The live letters*, or, to use a more correct expression, the prisoners, do not as yet furnish us anything decisive regarding the project of the English. I believe, however, that they will undertake an expedition against Isle Royale. We have not had any news from the Upper Countries, viz', from Forts Du Quesne and Niagara, since the first days of January. They are making great efforts in that direction to detach the Nations from us. The Captain of the Colonial troops, commanding at Fort du Quesne, does not succeed, it seems to me, as well with our Indians as M. Dumas, his predecessor. Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn regiment, who has long commanded at Niagara, was accomplishing wonders among the Five Nations and Delawares. The Marquis de Vaudreuil admits it, and has frequently told me that he wished him still there. Why did he recall him? Why does he not send him back? Many officers, exempt from



suspicion, have proposed to him to send Captain Pouchot back, as being one of the officers best qualified to manage the Indians. I hope, however, our good fortune will remedy all things. Continually occupied with the business entrusted to me; I shall omit no effort to assure its success in as much as in me lies, and I have to congratulate myself on the manner Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque second me, not only on all occasions demanding action, but also on those where it becomes necessary to infuse into the depositaries of the King's authority, those resolutions which appear to us the most proper for his service.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*Captain Pouchot to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

I have handed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil a map and Memoir on the subject of the French and English frontiers, which I have drawn up on the best informations I have been able to procure during my sojourn at Niagara. I had laid down, in my voyages, the course of the river from Montreal, Lake Ontario as far as Lake Erie; therefore it has an appearance of truth which correctly represents the country and is not contained in any other maps. As I have not been on the English frontier, I laid that down according to their best maps, which I again corrected on such reliable information as I have obtained. It is in sufficient detail, however, to show the interest we ought to take to prevent the English interposing obstacles in the way of the Iroquois and Loups who form a barrier. That country, my Lord, would be well worth being seen by experienced eyes, which has not as yet been the case; the well known Carrying place of Niagara is an evident proof. The most recent accounts thereof describe it as the most rugged of Alps, whilst 'tis only a rise of ground (*rideau*) a little more elevated than that of Bellevue; below and above are very fine plains, as can be seen on my map.

The detail of Lake Erie, which is entirely unknown; it is, perhaps, [as] navigable for large vessels as Lake Ontario. The resources of those countries, once known, would furnish opportunities of avoiding long routes and expenses, exclusive of enabling us to occupy more more decided points for the security of the country.

If you have the goodness, my Lord, to signify to me that this essay might please you, I shall set about perfecting that work in order to accomplish all the objects which will possibly be required of it.

I hope, by my zeal, to deserve the kindness you have promised to honor me with, my Lord, on the recommendation of Mde de Meillan. Since our arrival in this country I have had the good fortune to be always pretty usefully employed. I constructed the Frontenac intrenchments, completed Fort Niagara and the siege of Chouaguen. I dare hope, my Lord, that you will

be graciously pleased to give attention to the good reports of me which our Generals are so good as to render.

I am, with most profound respect,  
My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

POUCHOT,

Capt<sup>n</sup> in the Bearn regiment.

Permit me to annex hereunto some Observations adapted to the position of the affairs of this country.

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*General Observations on the Frontiers of Canada.*

[ By Captain Pouchot. ]

Acadia being, so to speak, a separate portion of the main-land, events may decide its limits or its recovery in toto.

The English must have little inclination to settle the districts North of their Colonies only so far as they are convenient to the sea. They would not settle in the interior of those countries, which are mountainous, cold, consequently of little value unless they could thereby excite our jealousy, which they will not fail doing as much as they will be able ; moreover, there are very few Indians in those parts with whom to trade.

The English, once masters of the heights of land, and with posts on Lake St. Sacrament, are in a position to excite continual alarms in the Colony, by being conveniently situated to repair thither in force. But they will attempt to establish in that quarter only posts of war, the country not being fit for cultivation.

The Provinces in their rear, belonging to the Five Nations and Delawares, are very populous.

The outlets they possess by the River des Armes<sup>1</sup> and the Canestio<sup>2</sup> will tempt them always to come and settle on the South shore of Lake Ontario; the country being very fine and fit for cultivation they will make large settlements in it.

Placing the Five Nations and Delawares in their rear, they would be masters of them and would attract the other Nations by their commerce.

We should soon be driven from our isolated posts.

The outlets of the English on the Beautiful river furnish nearly the same reasons. 'Tis only to be observed that fewer Indians are among them than among us, and that their road is long and difficult, but they would compensate themselves in return by profitable settlements.

The lower parts are not so dangerously menaced at present ; being at a great distance from their settlements, the English can throw only war posts in advance there. We have equal advantage to dislodge them, either from Canada or from Louisiana.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. River des Anniés, or Mohawk river.

<sup>2</sup> The Canestio rises in Allegany county, New-York, then, running easterly, enters the county of Steuben, where it pursues a southeast course and falls into the Tioga, in the town of Irwin. — Ed.



*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belleisle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you a Bulletin of the most remarkable occurrences in our continent since the sailing of the last ships. The operations of our campaign are dependent on too many circumstances to admit of any prognostications on that point. The prompt arrival of the provisions required from France is the most interesting to us. If the soldier received horse flesh at Prague, he at least always had a pound and a half of bread; he has learned to live here on half a pound, and bore with it the more patiently, knowing that his superiors, who indeed, for money, have never wanted for any food except bread, were reduced to a quarter of a pound per day.

Were nothing else required than to be continually occupied with the business entrusted to me, to enforce its success, I would dare answer for it, my Lord. I am even well seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque, either in executing it or in determining the decisions to be adopted by the depositories of the King's authority. Mine is merely subordinate, and I possess only the means of representation, adding thereto a little more or a little less address to prevail on my superior to appreciate what I consider useful for the service, and what knowledge I possess, having had the advantage of serving under your orders. My Lord, the greatest attention is required in this Colony to maintain the Indians in the favorable dispositions our successes have placed them in. The English leave nothing undone to detach them from us. The Governor of Philadelphia<sup>1</sup> has recently showered on the deputies of the Five Nations, Delawares and Chagansons, carresses, presents, belts and medals; one of the deputies immediately came to inform us thereof, to bring us and to trample under foot the medal he had accepted from the English. Let us prevent them making any progress on us; let us continue to devastate them by our parties; let us not undertake any vast operation, except with prudence and great appearance of success. 'Tis after a check, or what would even only bear some resemblance thereto, that the English would be more eloquent in distributing belts and presents among people naturally giddy and inconstant.

Retain for me and my son your benevolence. Let Count de Gisors<sup>2</sup> be so good as not to forget one of his servants who interests himself particularly in his glory, and sees with satisfaction that worthy son treading in the footsteps of his father. This is all I ask of the one and the other, and to be persuaded of the respect with which I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM DENNY held a commission of Captain in the army, with a brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel "in America only," on his appointment as Deputy Governor of Pennsylvania, where he arrived 20 August, 1756. He administered the affairs of that government until 19 November, 1759, when he returned to England. He died about 1766.

<sup>2</sup> LOUIS MARIE FOUQUET, Count de Gisors, was the son of Marshal de Belle Isle, and was born in 1732. Having entered the army he became Colonel of the regiment of Champagne, Governor of Metz in 1753, and afterwards Colonel of the Royal Carabiniers. He was dangerously wounded at the battle of Crevelt whilst charging at the head of his regiment, and expired on the 16th June, 1758, in the 27th year of his age. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

## Bulletin of the Most important Operations during the winter of 1757-8.

Montreal, 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

Although the rigor of the season and the scarcity of provisions, caused by a bad harvest, have forced us to economise, in order to save wherewith to enable us to wait for the supplies expected from France and more abundant crops, and to oppose any attempts of the enemy, should he wish to operate early, we have harassed him all winter by numerous parties which have succeeded each other continually.

M. de Beletre, Captain of the Colonial troops, burnt in the month of November, 17 leagues from Corlac, a village which was very wealthy in consequence of its trade with the Five Nations; those who escaped the fury of our Indians have been brought, women and children, prisoners, to the number of 150. Several parties of our Indians and also of the Five Nations have been to strike a blow towards the same Corlac, and to burn divers settlements.

M. de Langry, an officer of the Colonial troops, surprised, in the month of February, a detachment of 50 men in the neighborhood of Lydius. M. Wolff, a Lieutenant of the troops from France, has been with the Abenakis to burn some settlements near Massachasouet.

The English have had all winter the design to surprise and bombard Carillon, and have made their appearance before it several times. Captain d'hebencourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who has been appointed, after the campaign, Commandant of that post, and the garrison have been very alert, and the incursions of the English have always been bootless. Sieur d'hebencourt being informed that they had a party of 200 men in the field, profited on the 13<sup>th</sup> of March, by the fortunate arrival, on the preceding evening, of 200 Iroquois or Nepissings from Sault St. Louis and the Lake of the Two Mountains, with Sieur Durantaye and several Colonial Cadets, who were joined by Sieur de Langry, a very intelligent officer, some Lieutenants and sergeants of our battalions, whom zeal alone had induced to march thither. The English detachment, composed of picked men and of 12 officers, under the command of Major Roger, their best partizan, has been totally defeated. The Indians have brought back 146 scalps; few prisoners—merely some to furnish *their futher with live letters*—an expression used by the Indians to designate prisoners. The remainder will have perished of want in the woods. A few, including two officers of Bleknis' regiment,<sup>1</sup> voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners at our fort at Carillon, at the end of five days, their guide having died the night before. We have lost in that action 8 Indians, and have had 17 wounded; also two Cadets of the Colony and one Canadian. The dead have been covered with great ceremony; presents have been made to the families in the name of the King (the Great Ononchio). The Governor-General will reward the bravery of our Iroquois by a promotion and presentation of some gorgets and medals to those who have distinguished themselves; they will be thereby more encouraged to revenge the loss they have suffered.

We have at present eight small parties in the field. We shall doubtless learn from the prisoners they will take, what are the enemy's movements, which will determine the others in the forepart of May. We cannot doubt that the English, who received some reinforcements this fall, have in North America, with their Highlanders, 23 battalions from Old England, very

<sup>1</sup> The 27th, or Eniskillena. The above affair is narrated also by *Manté*, p. 111. — Ed.



complete; our forces are greatly inferior to theirs. The courage of our troops and of the Canadians, the assistance of our Indians will make up for numbers.

M. de Boishebert, a Captain of the Colonials, is about setting out with six or seven hundred Acadians, Canadians or Indians, for the River St. John, thence to proceed to Louisbourg, which the English always seem to menace. We are expecting news from the Beautiful river, where the English leave no stone unturned to detach from our alliance the Delawares (*Loups*) and Chaouoinons, Indians who are desolating Virginia and Pennsylvania.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 18<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to write you by way of Isle Royale on the nineteenth and twenty-third February, and tenth of this month. The Marquis de Vaudreuil is dispatching a small vessel to France, by which opportunity I have the honor to address you triplicates of my former letters and duplicates of the last. Their contents will inform you of everything relating to this Colony up to this date.

Since the tenth of April, the date of my last despatch, duplicate whereof is hereunto annexed, we have had some news from Niagara and are in constant expectation of intelligence from the Beautiful river. I notice great efforts on the part of the English to detach some of the Indian Nations from our alliance. I was not without some uneasiness on that head. The Governor of Philadelphia has held a large meeting at which he lavished caresses, belts of wampum, presents, medals and gorgets, exaggerated our want of provision and merchandize. One of the Deputies of the Five Nations who attended that meeting immediately came to inform us of it, and to bring us his medal and gorget. Sieur Chabert, an officer and Interpreter, has been sent to the Five Nations and Delawares with considerable goods, armorers and smiths, whom the King is to maintain in their villages in order to provide for their wants. The negotiations of this officer, who has been brought up among the Indians and adopted by the Five Nations, will it is to be hoped, retain them, and that our good fortune will prevail over the constant and well directed efforts of the English.

M. de Levis transmits to you, my Lord, a very large and very handsome map. The Lake St. Sacrament part ought to be tolerably exact; and so ought the vicinity of Choueguen and Corlar, though he has not been in those parts, his work in this particular is the result of information carefully collected from several Colonial officers and intelligent Indians who have been there and of conversations with recent English prisoners, as to what relates to Lake Erie and the Beautiful river that part can hardly be more exact in ordinary maps. Captain de Pouchot of the Bearn Regiment, has drawn another in which the environs of Niagara, the country of the Five Nations and of the *Loups* will possibly be laid down with still greater exactitude than in that of Chevalier de Levis. I ought to send it to you from him, but defer doing so until the last ship, because if the map which Chevalier de Levis sends you should happen to be intercepted, that of Sieur Pouchot would serve as a duplicate.

I do not send you any return of the actual condition of our battalions. The loss they have incurred this winter has not been considerable. Discipline is becoming relaxed in spite of my care and severity. The recruits arrived last year are a collection of bad boys. The soldier to be subsisted under actual circumstances, must necessarily be dispersed among the farmers. There he lives in quasi independence, out of sight of officer or sergeant. The Canadian settlements are not contiguous like the houses in the villages of France; they are at a great distance, one from the other. I have had sixteen soldiers belonging to our battalions tried this winter either by the ordinary tribunals or by court martial. Three of them have been shot for desertion, two condemned to the galleys for mutiny against their sergeants; the rest for theft. The Colonial troops have not furnished fewer painful, but necessary examples.

Our troops live in the greatest concord with the Canadians and Indians. Our officers conduct themselves with politeness towards the one and the other, and if there have been any trifling complaints against young officers, I have followed the maxims of our Generals, when we were serving with the Spaniards. The slightest appearance of wrong on the part of our officers is immediately punished with great severity. Our soldiers appear to relish the sojourn in this Colony. Many marriages continue to be contracted; several have taken up lands to clear, without marrying, and without being discharged from military service. I freely facilitated all the arrangements which the political interest of the Colony exacts. We cannot leave here too many soldiers of our battalions; we would carry them back bad for Europe, and shall leave them very good for America.

Thanks to the difficulties I have opposed thereto, we have had but two officers married, Captain de Bellau, in the Guyenne regiment, who has married a daughter of M. de Ramzay, town Major of Quebec, a young lady of condition who will have property, and Lieutenant de la Mitière, of the regiment of Languedoc. He is a young officer who has no property in France; is well liked by the Indians whom he often accompanies on an expedition, and has easily learned the Iroquois. The Marquis de Vaudreuil proposes to transfer him, some day, with his rank, to the Colonial troops.

Captain Depuy, serving with (*exploitant*) one of the companies of the Languedoc regiment which are prisoners, died this winter.

I send back to France Lieutenant de Godonecke, of the regiment of Berry, whom I retain in prison since the month of December. He is, without doubt, a bad boy of whom his parents wished to be forever rid by sending him to the Indies.

Sieur de Clairville, who arrived last year to be Lieutenant in the regiment of La Reine, will also go back at the opening of the navigation. He had lost an arm in a glorious manner in a sea fight. As he is a man of condition, who returns only because he could not serve in this Colony with the loss of one arm, I have given him a letter, my Lord, for you, in which I beg you to grant him his retreat to the Invalids. As he is young and well able to serve, I shall be much obliged to you to be pleased afterwards to detach him in order to serve (*exploiter*) with a company of Invalids. This officer came to America through an ill-directed zeal. Here, more than anywhere else, it is necessary to be well supplied with all one's members to serve as a soldier.

I shall have the honor to propose to you, at the close of the campaign, the names of persons to fill these vacancies.

Will you permit me, my Lord, to inquire whether the experiments have succeeded which were to be tried with the alimentary powder. If not attended by any inconvenience, why not



send some of it here. In winter expeditions we could make use of it occasionally for the Canadians and soldiers; for every novelty is difficult of introduction among Indians, who are a superstitious race. Should any misfortune happen to them, they would say 'tis a *Medicine* they are getting; a term in their language equivalent to *charm* in ours.

A number of the Upper country Indians, who came last year to the expedition against Fort William Henry, died of the small-pox on their way home. The English had it. This is a real loss to us, and will cost the King considerable in consequence of the expenses it will occasion at the posts to treat them, cover the dead and console the widows. Fortunately, they have always declared, in the different Councils held at Michillimackina, Detroit, &c., that the English had thrown *that Medicine* on the Indians, which they might have turned aside had they been willing to believe the French General and not plunder the baggage of the English.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

I spare no pains to break up the negotiations of the English with the Indian Nations that are attached to us. Those of the Five Iroquois Nations whom I have intrusted to give me information of their proceedings, have reported to M. de Noyan, Commandant at Frontenac, Colonel Johnson's message to the said Five Nations, as follows:

"Brothers. You must not expect peace as yet; the King of England wished to make proposals therefor to the King of France, but all the English Lords are opposed to it, saying, "Now we have discovered the passage of the vessels which are carrying succors from France to Canada; we have captured many of them this year, among others, those which were carrying the despatches of the General to the Court of France; that is the surest means of reducing Canada."

To prove to the Indians the truth of these advances, Johnson opened a large store to them, where they, indeed, saw nothing but French goods; he proved still more conclusively to them the reality of the fact, by a number of barrels of Cogniac Brandy which he gave them. He also said to them:

"The General of Canada supposed that he did me serious damage, in taking and pillaging the Palatines and burning their village; killing them and taking them prisoners matters very little to me. The loss we have experienced at Isle Royale affects me more, although we captured three ships which were carrying despatches from your Father to the Court of France. I admit that this does not indemnify us, but we shall blockade the passage so closely this spring that not a single French ship will escape us. I am making arrangements for going to see you all at an early day, with thirty horse loads of goods, for I know you are in great necessity, your Father being unable to relieve you."

Two young Onondagas who are much attached to me, hearing these words, resolved secretly to go and meet Johnson to make him return; they overtook him, and at once accosted him, saying, "Where are you going, brother?" "I am going," answered Johnson, "with these loads of provisions and goods to visit all your villages." "'Tis well; but our gratitude requires of us to forewarn you, that possibly you will fall into the hands of Ononthio, who is coming with a numerous army on your road." "Though that be," replied Johnson, "what care I?" My two faithful Onondagas then said to him, "Brother, you must needs be desirous of dying, or else you do not believe us; once more, return back quick, for we assure you that our Father's scouts were on the River à la Grosse ecorce<sup>1</sup> when we left our village expressly to warn you." Johnson, however cunning he be, was less so than these two Indians; he made them presents and abandoned some kegs of Brandy, which they drank with other Indians who joined them, whilst Johnson was returning home.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 30<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

My Lord,

The exact and consecutive correspondence of the Marquis de Montcalm greatly abridges mine. He reports to you the situation of this Colony; the military events and different details of the service. I am therefore saved from doing so. Yet I do not believe, my Lord, that I am interdicted from the honor of writing to you by every opportunity. Here is one which I profit by. 'Tis a small vessel that the contractor is sending to France. I forward the duplicate of my letter by way of Louisbourg.

The navigation is hardly open. The winter has been long and the more severe, as the scarcity has always been on the increase. At Quebec we have been limited, since last summer, to four ounces of bread a day. The people have been restricted to two ounces since the first of this month. The troops dispersed among the farmers throughout the country, have suffered, but less than those in the towns. 'Tis to be feared that at the end of such misery, we shall have to suffer from serious sickness. Conceive, my Lord, with what impatience we are waiting for the first ships from Europe. We hope the Court will have adopted such measures as the circumstances require, for the conveyance of powerful succor to us. We are all crushed by the horrible dearness of all sorts of articles. What was worth 20<sup>s</sup> when we arrived, now brings a pistole.

<sup>1</sup> A little east of Oswego. Its Indian name was Cassontachégona. *Pouchot's Mémoires sur la dernière Guerre*, III, 123; *Charlevoix Journal*, Letter XIII, note. — Ed.



Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm, de Levis, de Bourlamaque, de Montreuil and I, who by position, are obliged to live decently, and with establishments proportioned to our rank, have been all necessitated to demand an advance of nearly one year's pay.

I have estimated, pretty closely, the strength of our battalions on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1758, when on sending you, my Lord, the return of 1<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1757, I had the honor to observe to you that I calculated that about 500 men would be wanting to complete them according to their ancient footing. Here is the memorandum of their actual number of effectives :

La Reyne, .....	465	} ..... 3,781
La Sarre, .....	499	
Royal Rousillon, .....	508	
Languedoc, .....	474	
Guienne, .....	508	
Berry, 2 <sup>nd</sup> batt <sup>n</sup> 409 ; 3 <sup>rd</sup> batt <sup>n</sup> 402, .....	811	
Bearn, .....	516	

The complete ought to 4,230; it consequently lacks 449 men, and 1,250 would be required to carry the companies of the six battalions which first arrived to 50 men.

We have actually only one hundred men in the hospitals of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers. This number will, 'tis to be feared, be increased on the return of the fine weather.

The Marquis de Montcalm remained here until the 20<sup>th</sup> of February. I followed him immediately to Montreal, whence I am returned about a month. He doubtless informs you, my Lord, that the recruits and new companies of La Reine and Languedoc arrived last year, are a collection of very bad boys who have infected the battalions. Up to this time, nearly twenty soldiers have been tried either by Court-Martial or the ordinary tribunals, and a prodigious number punished by discipline, particularly corporal. We had had but one instance of such during the first two years. Those men are, besides, but very little to be relied on in war. The Colonial troops have likewise been obliged to have many of those new comers punished. We hope, my Lord, that the recruits this year, if any be sent, will be better. Our battalions, reduced by the loss of veteran soldiers, stand in great need of them.

Surgeon-Major Arnoux is making his arrangements for the field hospital of the army. I reckon on everything being prepared within eight days. I shall then dispatch it, in order to be ready beforehand at Carillon for the troops ; they can hardly be put in motion until after the first supplies of provisions will have arrived. 'Tis to be hoped we shall soon hail the arrival of some vessels.

Assistant Staff-Surgeon Badclard, who arrived last year, and whom I have attached to the second battalion of Berry, has behaved very ill up to the present time. I should have done justice had I suspended him and struck his name off the King's staff. The Marquis de Montcalm has even requested me to do so, on the just complaints presented to him by the officers of that battalion. I have neither [disapproved nor] approved his conduct ; let him make the campaign, after which we shall order him back to France, should he not alter his conduct. I have recently been obliged to consign him to the quarters occupied by the battalion to which he is attached. We have still Sieur Emery, who does not behave any better than he has hitherto done. All the rest behave tolerably well, especially Sieur Dezés. I have reason to congratulate myself, my Lord, that I have made him Assistant Staff-Surgeon, subject to your pleasure. I look for its approval.

Although I am persuaded that M. de Montcalm reports to you our minor successes this winter, I do not consider that I can, in duty, my Lord, omit saying a word thereupon. In general, everything has succeeded with us and has been unfortunate for our enemies.

Last January, Captain Robert Roger, a great partisan, came roving in the neighborhood of Carillon with a detachment of 70 men. The artillery of the fort drove him away pretty quick. In his retreat he burnt a pile of timber and charcoal, took a wood-cutter prisoner (who afterwards escaped from him), and killed 18 oxen or cows, which he could not remove; they were found in the woods and have served to subsist the garrison. He had caused to be attached to the head of one of the oxen a letter addressed to the Commandant of the fort, the contents whereof were an ill-timed and very low piece of braggadocio.

Some days after, one of our detachments, composed of Canadians and Indians, commanded by M. de Langy, a Colonial officer, defeated in the vicinity of the English Fort Lydius or Bouïart,<sup>1</sup> a party of 50 rangers; killed 23, whose scalps were brought in by the Indians, and took 5 prisoners. 'Tis almost certain that the remainder, dispersed through the woods, have perished of hunger or of wounds received in the action.

Towards the end of February, this same officer, at the head of another detachment of Canadians and Indians, again repaired to the environs of Fort Edward. The Indians being unwilling to continue the proposed route, his expedition was reduced to making one single prisoner; but 3 or 4 Indians who remained behind, fell in with a convoy of 30 sleighs loaded with provisions, which they plundered and dispersed, taking 4 scalps. They would have had greater success, had one of them not been dangerously wounded.

March 13. Robert Roger, the partisan, returning with 200 men to try and strike a blow in the environs of Carillon, was discovered by some Indians sent out by M. d'hebecourt, who came in all haste to advise him of the fact. This officer immediately dispatched a detachment of 200 Canadians and Indians who had arrived the evening before from Montreal. This detachment stopped Rogers' march and utterly defeated him. The Indians brought back 144 scalps and some prisoners; among the latter were two officers. There were 12 in the party. Robert escaped almost naked, with some fifteen men and two officers. There is reason to presume that he will have perished of cold and hunger in the woods, inasmuch as three days subsequently, the two officers, after having wandered in a vain effort to escape, came to surrender themselves prisoners at Carillon, having left two men dead of fatigue and hunger within two leagues of that place. This action has been brisk, and our detachment has performed wonders in it. We have had two Cadets dangerously wounded, four Indians killed and 16 wounded.

We continue constantly to have some detachments since that time in the field; one commanded by M. Wolfe, a partisan officer of the land forces, has burnt some houses towards Orange, and set out again afterwards. Another has also burnt some houses and taken scalps in the vicinity of Corlard; this has led 80 Iroquois belonging to our mission of La Presentation to go out in the same direction.

Everything is in a favorable condition in the district of Fort Duquesne and the Beautiful river.

The English are heaping presents on the Iroquois of the Five Nations, in order to endeavor to gain them over; they have not succeeded up to the present time.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Edward. — Ed.



You perceive, my Lord, that notwithstanding the scarcity, the King's arms continue to be sustained here with advantage. I send up prayers for the future and for a glorious and early peace.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

Lieutenant de Clairville of the Regiment of La Reyne, who arrived last year, and M. de Godonnesche, sous-lieutenant in the Regiment of Berry, return to France in the ship which bears this letter. They are sent back for different cause, of which the Marquis de Montcalm doubtless has the honor to inform you.

DOREIL.

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*M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

(Quebec), 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1758.

My Lord,

Nothing is more melancholy or more afflicting than the actual condition of this Colony, after having passed a part of last autumn and winter on a quarter of a pound of bread per person a day, we are reduced, these six weeks past, to two ounces. This country has subsisted, up to the present time, only by the wise and prudent economy of our Intendant, but all resources are exhausted and we are on the eve of the most cruel famine, unless the succors which we are expecting from our monarch's bounty and liberality arrive within fifteen days at farthest.

I am at a loss for terms to describe our misfortunes. The supply of animals is beginning to fail; the butchers cannot furnish a quarter of the beef necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants of this town, though they pay an exorbitant price for it; without fowls, vegetables, mutton or veal, we are on the eve of dying of hunger.

To make up for the want of bread, beef and other necessaries of life, our Intendant has ordered 12 or 1500 horses to be purchased; these he has had distributed among the poor of this town at a rate much below what they cost the King. He is now having distributed among the same poor, a quarter of a pound of pork, and half a pound of cod fish a day, but that cannot last long. The mechanics, artisans and day-laborers exhausted by hunger, absolutely cannot work any longer; they are so feeble that 'tis with difficulty they can sustain themselves.

We have not yet any news from Europe, and are ignorant of the projects of the English on this continent. We have learned only by 2 Indians belonging to the Five Nations, who have been to trade with the English near Fort Bull, that Mr. Jeanson, who was there, had told them that we were without provisions and would not receive any succors from France this year, in consequence of the measures adopted by the Court of London to intercept them; that a formidable fleet would blockade the river, and that none of our ships would be able to pass;

that they had last fall captured three of them from us richly laden; that as regarded themselves, they enjoyed abundance of everything and were preparing to visit their village for the purpose of conveying rich presents thither, and that the Indians should not want for anything if they would abandon the French.

These two Indians who have been a long time particularly attached to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, fearing that the presents would shake the Nation, represented to Mr. Jeanson the danger he would run by going to their village; that a considerable party was lying in ambush, waiting for him, and that he would be cut to pieces with all his people. This speech made such an impression on the English General, that he no longer thought of making that journey.

Annexed are two small Relations or narratives of the most interesting events that have occurred since the departure of the ships last year. The damage inflicted on the English in horned cattle, sheep and horses, has been greatly exaggerated in the relation of M. de Bellestre's campaign of the 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1757. Fully one-half of it at least must be deducted. Still greater exaggeration has been committed in the items of furniture, clothing, merchandise and liquors, which are made to amount to fifteen hundred thousand livres; the same is the case in regard to the loss of Indian corn in the Palatine village.

A party of Canadians and Indians, under the command of Sieur Lorimer, junior, a Colonial officer, defeated 40 English, whom the Indians scalped, and took three prisoners near Fort Couary<sup>1</sup> and within 3 @ 4 leagues distance of Corlac; two of these prisoners are officers. They report that they have captured three of our ships of war belonging to Count du Bois de la Môte's fleet; that the King of Prussia has gained 2 battles from the Austrians in the course of the month of November last; that Marshal de Richelieu having caused a portion of the French troops to evacuate the Duchy of Hanover, has gone at the head of 80 or a hundred thousand men to the relief of the Queen of Hungary; that the Parliament of England has not approved the capitulation agreed to by the Duke of Cumberland for the capture of that Duchy; that consequently that Prince resigned all his offices to the King, and that M. de Ligonier<sup>2</sup> has been appointed in his place to the command of the English troops, and finally that the people of that kingdom have demanded the head of the General<sup>3</sup> who superintended the

<sup>1</sup> Fort Herkimer, on the Mohawk river.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN, 1st Earl of Ligonier, was born in 1679, and entered the service at an early age; he greatly distinguished himself as a soldier under the Duke of Marlborough; rose to be Colonel of the 4th regiment of Horse in 1720; Brigadier-General in 1735; Major-General in 1739. He next served in Germany; was created Knight Banneret on the field of Dettingen in 1742; was appointed Lieutenant-General in 1743; commanded the brigade of Guards, in 1745, at the famous battle of Fontenoy; was taken prisoner at Lauffeldt in 1747, and afterwards created a General, and in 1748, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. In 1749, was appointed Colonel of 2d or Queen's Dragoon Guards, and in 1753 Colonel of the Royal Horse Guards Blue. He became Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Great Britain in October, 1757, and was raised to the Irish Peerage by the title of Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen; in November following, was appointed Colonel of the 1st Foot Guards, Master-General of the Ordnance, and created Field-Marshal. He was advanced to the dignity of an English Baron in 1763, and in 1766, when he ceased to be Commander-in-Chief, was made an English Earl, with a pension of £1500 for life. He died in 1770, at the age of 91. A monument in Westminster Abbey records the various actions in which he bore a distinguished part. *Chatham Correspondence*. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Sir JOHN MORDAUNT, K. B., was Colonel of the 47th regiment of Foot in 1741, and of the 18th Royal Irish in 1742; became Major-General, and Colonel of the 2d Light Dragoons, in 1747; Lieutenant-General in 1748; Colonel of the 4th regiment of Horse in July, 1749, and in November following was transferred to the 10th Dragoons. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against Rochefort, in 1757, and being unsuccessful was tried by a court-martial and acquitted. He became a General in the Army in 1770. *Army Lists; Beaton*. He represented Cockermouth in the House of Commons; was Governor of Sheerness until 1779, and Governor of Berwick from that time until his death in 1780.



affairs of Isle d'Aix, for not having seized Rochefort, which, 'tis said, was at his mercy, that place not being guarded.

19 May. We are still without any news from Europe, although the wind be from the North-east, which is very favorable for the entrance of vessels from France into this port.

Our situation becomes more and more unfortunate and we are actually, my Lord, on the eve of perishing of hunger. Bread will cease to be furnished to the public on the first of June.

I forgot to inform you, my Lord, that the same prisoners have stated that there were four ships of war and one frigate at Alifax, which were about sailing in the beginning of March on a cruise at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence and to intercept the succors we are expecting. This news has appeared to me undeserving of any attention, because it is impossible to dispatch any vessels from that port at that season. We have every reason to think that the succors we are awaiting for the subsistence of this Colony, are retarded only because the Court has been obliged to arm some ships of war as a convoy. This is a necessary precaution, without which none, 'tis to be feared, would be received.

19<sup>th</sup> May. Eight ships have arrived from Bourdeaux under the convoy of the King's frigate *La Sirene*; five of these vessels are freighted with flour on the Contractor-General's account; a small English prize loaded with flour has also arrived; the whole amounts to eight thousand barrels or thereabouts. I am unable, my Lord, to express to you the joy diffused by the arrival of these ships, among the inhabitants of this town; they are at length reassured of their fate. We are in hourly expectation of four others which sailed with these.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was impatiently expecting this relief, in order to put his plans into execution.

We learn this moment from Louisbourg that M. de Boissier arrived there with five ships of war. Count Desgouttes had gone ahead of him with one vessel and a frigate.

There are now in the roadsteads of Isle Royale eight English cruisers; two others, we are assured, will soon sail from Alifax.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Quebec, 19<sup>th</sup> May, 1758.

DAINE.

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*M. d'Hugues to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Carillon, 1st June, 1758.

My Lord,

Though I doubt not that the Engineers of Canada and other persons have sent your Excellency the plan of Fort Carillon, with remarks on its situation and approaches, permit me, I request you, to address you those I have myself made on this frontier, that is, if your occupations, so precious to the State, permit you to sacrifice a moment to the ideas of an officer who, trying to instruct himself, would employ every moment of his life to the advantage of the public weal and render himself worthy of the honor you have done him in granting him your

powerful protection. My Lord, in the course of the last campaign I have understood how useful it is to a zealous officer employed in the Colony to be acquainted with some Indian language, so as to be able to lead those people to battle; wherefore I have applied myself, at the commencement of my wintering, to the Iroquois language, which I have learned in a short time, so as to be able to serve as interpreter to that nation for the service of the fort, in which capacity I have acted for several months during the absence of persons commissioned for that duty. Yet, it was out of my power, my Lord, to obtain permission from M. de Vaudreuil to organize during the winter any detachment against the enemy, although that was the sole motive which induced me to ask for leave to winter near the English. I have even been refused permission to march at the head of some Indians, whose confidence I acquired, and who asked me to lead their war party.

I have learned, my Lord, by the example of several and by my own, that there is no anxiety in Canada to employ the French in such a manner as to furnish them occasions for distinguishing themselves, these favors being reserved for the children of the soil.

Fortune could not enter into the views of those who serve in this Colony; therefore have I no other view, my Lord, than to endeavor to procure for myself promotion in military honors. I should be too fortunate were I furnished, on your Lordship's recommendation, with opportunities to afford proofs of my zeal and good will.

Excuse, my Lord, the liberty I have taken to address you this letter and the annexed papers in duplicate, one of the first of May and this of the first of June. The apprehension I feel that none of the letters reached you which I have had the honor to address you last year, has led me to adopt this course.

I have the honor to be with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant,

D'HUGUES.

#### Remarks on the Situation of Fort Carillon and its Approaches.

Fort Carillon stands on a rock in a tongue of land formed on the West by the waters of the Falls of Lake St. Sacrament; on the Southwest by the Bay; and from the South to the North it is bounded by the river which leads into Lake Champlain. The fort is to the Southwest of Fort Frederic. 'Tis an irregular square, the defects of which proceed from its having only between forty-five and fifty toises front, instead of 80 or 100 toises at least, which it ought to have been allowed; in that case ground sufficient would have been occupied, whence several gullies whereby the enemy can approach unperceived very near the fort, might be exposed and flanked, and the English barges which would pass the river in front of the fort, might also be more readily discovered and battered at a shorter distance. This would obviate the construction of the redoubt projected to be built for that purpose on the crest of the point Southeast of the fort, which will remedy only one defect at that point and not at the others, where 'twill be necessary to construct for that purpose, besides the ordinary works, advance fortifications which will never be productive of so good an effect and will cost the government as much as the enlargement of this fort; the latter is not impossible, and would afford sufficient



room to build all the King's magazine inside, some of which are outside and exposed to be burned by any one man sufficiently bold, whom the enemy may send during the drifting of the snow (*poudreries*) so frequent an occurrence in Canada, when a soldier on guard does not see twenty paces in front of him.

The site is very good and susceptible of an excellent fortification; is favorable in so far that the enemy can open the trench only on one side, where, even, he can be deprived of that advantage by removing down to the bare rock the trifle of earth that is lying on it.

The forts in this country are ordinarily constructed only of pieces of timber one over the other, in which cannon effects a practicable breach with more difficulty than in stone; therefore the forts such as are now in Canada have been, and will be taken only by force of shell; this would not be the case had not the bad habit prevailed of building forts too small at points where a place capable of resistance was required. The reason ascribed here for this is, that the troops are not numerous enough to garrison them; this reason could avail in past times only, either because the troops being in fact very few, or a train of artillery never having been seen in the field, 'twas necessary only to protect the place against a surprise.

West of the fort, at a distance of five hundred toises, is a steep hill having several faces; it borders on its left the River of the falls, and on its right forms a very steep curtain which commands a plain of 700 toises that terminates at the Fort Frederic river. The enemy inclined to besiege Carillon must necessarily render himself master of that eminence in order to cover the landing of his artillery in a cove at its foot, being unable to have it brought by land or by another side of the river, as this is the only place along the shore not exposed to the fort. It is this eminence which 'tis essential to secure, and a General desirous of preventing the siege, must have a good intrenchment erected on it, which he must even have continued across the plain as far as the Fort Frederic river. That line, 1000 toises in length, forms the base of the angle on which Carillon stands. This intrenchment of trunks of trees to be felled at the moment they are required, must be fraised with dry branches well lopped and entangled together; the approaches to it ought to be encumbered by that abatis for a distance of fifty toises, observing particularly that no large trunks of trees be piled up at the extremity. Whatever need there be of wood on other occasions, it must be taken from some other quarter, and that side must be left unstripped of the trees which will be found very handy in urgent necessity. This intrenchment, which can be completed in twice twenty-four hours, and well guarded by six thousand men, would cost the party desirous of forcing it, a great many lives, and I even dare assert that, were it well defended, 'twould not be carried by an army three times more numerous than that defending it. This work is already begun on the Northeast of the fort, by an abatis of about 400 toises which was constructed three years ago, when digging a trench (*trancé*) down to the river of Fort Frederic in order to be able to destroy the bateaux and sloops coming from that direction.

Half a league West of the fort is a considerable Fall of the waters of Lake St. Sacrament. Those going into that lake commence at this point, a portage of half a league to another little fall at the mouth of said lake. This last fall is called "The Portage," and is a very favorable post for an army strong enough to oppose, at all points of disembarkation, the landing of an enemy's force, but also to detach a strong body of troops in order to oppose that portion of this hostile army which may come by land to cover that descent, and cut off all our retreat and communication with Carillon; to effect this it need only occupy the post of the Great Falls; in the case I cite, the post of the portage is, I repeat, a good one, because it is the only



place, in approaching by Lake St. Sacrament, where the enemy can land their artillery to convey it, afterwards, to the Great Falls and to bring it thence by water before the fort near that hill I have already mentioned.

Convinced of the absolute necessity that exists in this Colony of solely and permanently securing this frontier, 'tis astonishing that Carillon has not been made a large and strong place, susceptible of a long resistance. I would be still of the opinion to construct, at the mouth of Lake St. Sacrament, in the vicinity of this portage, at the only place where artillery can be landed, a strong redoubt or little fort capable of resisting every attempt to escalate it, on the part of the enemy who, being unable, until after the capture of that little fort, to land any artillery, could not make use of it except at a great distance, and on pontoons which could be sunk, and from which the guns could not be well aimed.

South of Carillon is a large bay extending about nine leagues inland, which conjointly with the waters of the Fall forms, in front of this fort, the river of Fort Frederic. 'Tis by this bay the enemy come often to scout in barges, and some of them are constantly passing, under cover of the night, into Lake Champlain, where they come to intercept our convoys and capture voyageurs' bateaux when passing few in number; six leagues from Carillon, in this bay, is a narrow pass called "The Two Rocks," which furnishes a very advantageous position for another little fort similar to that which might be constructed at the portage.

By means of these two little forts the enemy would be prevented disquieting us in any way in our communication with Montreal, and whenever disposed to come and lay siege to Carillon, would be stopped sufficiently early, in front of these outposts, to afford us time to throw into the principal place all the succors possible and to seize our advantages to enable us to fight his army more safely. To march a train of Artillery in Canada is a matter of considerable trouble and difficulty; therefore this description of redoubts in advance of, and not far from a strong-hold, especially when located at the mouth of a lake and at the only place for landing, would stop, for a long time, an army of this country. By these obstructions, a General might lose the best time of his campaign, which cannot be long in this climate, and would not be able, in one summer, to reach the walls of Montreal as he can do, having Carillon only to take, especially should he arrive there before we had time to oppose him with an army which, in this country, cannot assemble as diligently as in Europe, where there are no contrary winds to be dreaded in ascending lakes and rivers.

Fort Carillon once taken, Fort Frederic would not stand an instant. The latter is built of stone so as to be incapable of resisting four cannon shot, which would be sufficient to tumble it utterly into ruins. All the country in its vicinity is flat and affords, at every step, an easy landing for the largest guns; even firing a few shot at it from pontoons would be enough to render it incapable of answering, it being all shook. An army of observation could not intrench itself under that fort except with earth, a work affording much poorer defence than the intrenchment I have mentioned, and requiring extremely long and fatiguing labor.

Neither would the enemy meet any impediment to his progress; neither portage, nor fort; for I do not regard as such that of Saint John, which consists of upright pickets; so that he would find himself in the centre of the Colony and master of this entire frontier.

The two little out-posts I propose would be of trifling expense, being fortified naturally by their positions, and could not serve against us for the reason that the enemy cannot retain them as they are at too great a distance from his principal posts and too near ours, whence we



could march to retake them before the enemy had time to be aware of the fact and to reinforce them. This could be effected even during the winter.

The guarding those posts ought to be confided to the best troops of the Marine who are little inclined to desertion and regard this country as their home; the Commandant ought also pay attention to have the ice, whenever it would begin to take, frequently broken up in the neighborhood of his post to a certain distance. Hostile parties would not risk themselves too much in leaving in their rear, and so near them, these posts whence they could be cut off, whenever they would come to examine the movements making at Carillon, either for the campaign or for winter detachments, attention being constantly paid to the keeping always at these out-posts some Indians who would go out at the first signal made at Carillon, the moment information would be received of any party of the enemy.

D'HUGUES.

Carillon, 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1758.



### *News from Carillon.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Sieur Outelas who marched from Carillon at the head of 29 Nepissing and Algonquin Indians, having discovered a party of thirty men, both English and Indians, Loups and Mohawks, after having uttered the cry of attack, fired and immediately buried the hatchet to the haft in the enemy, who, becoming intimidated by the quickness and intrepidity of our people, took to their heels. Four of them have been killed; two English and two Indians, and six taken prisoners, whereof two are Englishmen and four Indians.

The scouts report that the English are making great preparations at Fort Lydius where considerable troops have already arrived.

### *From the Beautiful river.*

Intelligence has been received that everything is going on well around the Beautiful river; that post has had abundance of provisions from Illinois; that our Canadians and Indians are doing wonders there; that they have killed and taken prisoners several English people. A party of Canadians and Indians burnt a house or small fort in those parts. The details of several small adventures which took place there are unknown at this present time.

We have no additional reliable news from the bay and Missilimakinac.

This is a trifling increase of news, my Lord, the ship having been delayed in order to send it, I have unsealed my letter to annex it.

My health is so poor, for a month past, that I can scarcely write. Pardon me, my Lord, if I employ a strange hand.

2<sup>nd</sup> June, 1758.

*Prices of Provisions; 1758.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

## Prices of the principal Provisions necessary to life in Canada, June, 1758.

Beef has been all winter 15<sup>s</sup> and now 25<sup>s</sup>.

Sheep have been all winter 25<sup>li</sup> @ 30<sup>li</sup> each; now sold for 50<sup>li</sup>.

Calves which in 1756 commonly cost 20 @ 24<sup>li</sup> now cost 60, 70<sup>li</sup>.

Pork which in 1756 was worth 7<sup>s</sup> is actually 30<sup>s</sup> the pound.

Butter 35<sup>s</sup> the pound.

Eggs 30<sup>s</sup> the dozen.

Wine per barrel of 110 quarts 400<sup>li</sup>, and at retail sells @ 5<sup>li</sup> the pot.

Brandy sells for 12<sup>li</sup> the pot.

All provisions coming from France are exorbitant. 'Tis not credible that rice sells at 40<sup>s</sup> the pound.

Gruyère cheese 3<sup>li</sup> the pound wholesale, and at 4<sup>li</sup> retail.

Dried Raisins 3<sup>li</sup>.

Almonds in the shell 3<sup>li</sup>.

Oil 3<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> the pound.

Vinegar 3<sup>li</sup> the pot.

Pepper 8<sup>li</sup> the pound.

Mechanics' work, merchandize, exorbitant.

Elbeuf cloth, 60<sup>li</sup> the ell.

Shoes 14<sup>li</sup>.

A hat worth 15<sup>li</sup> in France, has no price; it sells for 50, 60<sup>li</sup>, three Louis.

Silk hose and *mismes* of bad quality, which cost only 9<sup>li</sup>, sell for 36<sup>li</sup>.

Fine sugar costs 4<sup>li</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> the pound, and brown sugar 3<sup>li</sup>.

Candles 35<sup>s</sup> the pound.

As for dipped candles (*bougie*) there are none; they were worth 15<sup>li</sup> the pound.

Glassware, pottery, small mercer's ware, what's worth 10<sup>s</sup> in France, sells at least for 4<sup>li</sup>, and so far from any article being exaggerated in this Memoir, I have placed them at a discount.

Flour per barrel of 180 pounds, whether good or bad, sells equally at 200<sup>li</sup>; and powder sells for 4<sup>li</sup>.

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Moras.*

Montreal, 10<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit you hereunto annexed, copy

1. Of the proposal made on the 22<sup>nd</sup> March to General Abercromby by the man named Corrivau and some other Canadians, whom the English continue to detain unjustly as prisoners in New England, to be exchanged for Colonel Schuyler and M<sup>r</sup> Stakes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> or Hakes. — Ed.



2. Of the two letters which General Abercromby has written me on the 24<sup>th</sup> April.
3. Of the letter I have written to him in answer on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June.
4. Of that which I wrote on the same day to the Commandant of Fort Edward.

By these documents and those I have had the honor to address you previously, you will, my Lord, be perfectly informed of the steps I have taken, which I renew to engage Lord Loudoun and successively General Abercromby to send me back the King's subjects, according to the terms of article 5 of the capitulation of Fort William Henry.

In regard to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Martin, I claim them on their parole of honor and reclaim them from General Abercromby as the King's prisoners. I do not conceal from him how surprised I have been at the ill-conceived pretext to which he had recourse to take upon himself to release those gentlemen from the execution of their parole.

I can assure you, my Lord, that they cannot injure us, as they had it not in their power to acquire any information whilst they remained at Quebec; I thought it my duty to seize this opportunity to afford new proofs of the generous conduct of the French towards the English, whilst the latter are inhumanly treating the French and Canadians who are in their power. I had it also in view to contradict thereby the reports made to Lord Loudoun respecting our scarcity, which ought to have better succeeded, inasmuch as that General learned nearly at the same time that the Palatine village had been pillaged, laid waste and burnt.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will be pleased to obtain his Majesty's approbation of the manner I have treated so important an affair. I essentially adhered to placing the English evidently in the wrong.

Some time will elapse, my Lord, ere I shall receive General Abercromby's answer, in order to learn the decision he will adopt both in regard to article 5 of the capitulation of Fort William Henry and the parole of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Martin. I shall have the honor to report it to you.

I am with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Proposals on the part of Captain Jacques Corriveau, Charles Legrand and J. Parent, prisoners of the King of Great Britain, for their exchange in lieu of C<sup>al</sup> Peter Schuyler and Benjamin Stakes, prisoners of H. M. C. Majesty, abiding on their parole of honor in New-York.

Said Sieur Corriveau for himself and the two other prisoners abovenamed, having importuned his Excellency General Abercromby to be pleased to grant them leave to proceed to Canada, in the hope of effecting the said exchange.

Sieur Corriveau engages on his arrival in Canada to apply to the government and to do all in his power to effect the execution of such exchange, and should it happen that it cannot be done, or that it will not be in his power to release said Schuyler and Stakes from their engagements; in such case, he promises and obliges himself on the faith and word of honor, to repair to the city of Albany on the first of the month of August next.

In witness whereof he has signed this 22 March, 1758, at New-York.

(Signed), JACQUES CORRIVEAU.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of the first letter of General Abercromby to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.  
New-York, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

Sir,

The King having thought fit that the Earl of Loudoun should return to England, and his Majesty having been pleased to honor me with the command of all his forces on this continent, I inform your Excellency that since I assumed the same, Captain Jacques Corriveau, a prisoner of war, has proposed on his own behalf and that of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Legrand and Parent, prisoners like himself in this province, to be exchanged for Colonel Peter Schuyler of the Jersey Militia, and Mr. Benjamin Stakes, both prisoners of his Most Christian Majesty, at present on their parole in this town. I annex to my letter copy of that proposition, and as Sieur Corriveau appears to me very confident that you will be pleased to accept it, I have thought fit to signify to Colonel Schuyler and M<sup>r</sup> Stakes, that it is not necessary for them to return to Canada until I have received your Excellency's answer.

As there is no mention in the preceding proposal of Captain Louis Martin, of the regiment of Royal Artillery, who finds himself in the same position as Captain Schuyler, I propose to your Excellency to exchange him in the same way for Cadets de Fontenay, Lachauvignerie and Laplante, of your troops, the second of whom, I am informed, is son of the Commandant of Fort Machault.

Should your Excellency approve the preceding proposal, you may be certain that immediately after I shall have received your consent, the six officers abovementioned will be released and sent to Carillon under a sufficient escort for their protection.

I have the honor to be, whilst waiting a prompt answer,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Copy. (Signed), JAMES ABERCROMBY.  
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of General Abercrombie's second letter to the Marquis de Vaudreuil,  
New-York, 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1758.

Sir,

Having learned by a letter written to C<sup>t</sup> Havilans<sup>1</sup> that Captain H. Pringle and Mr. Roche, of his Majesty's 27<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Infantry, who, it was supposed, were killed at the late action

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM HAVILAND was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the 27th, or Inniskilling Foot, on the 16th December, 1752, and sailed from New-York with the expedition under Lord Loudon, June 20th, and arrived at Halifax 1st July, 1757, whence he was ordered to New-York in consequence of the siege of Fort William Henry, on Lake George. In 1758, the 27th formed part of the army sent under General Abercrombie against Ticonderoga, and in 1759 accompanied General Amherst up Lakes George and Champlain, in which expedition Colonel Haviland commanded the van, or front column, of the army, composed of the Rangers, Light Infantry and Grenadiers. On the evacuation of Ticonderoga by the French, he was despatched at the head of these troops in pursuit of the retreating enemy. On the army being divided in 1760, Colonel Haviland, now Brigadier-General, was placed in command of the division designed to proceed against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain. This force amounted to 2400 men, and consisted of a part of the 1st Royals, the 17th and 27th Regiments, the Massachusetts Regiments under Colonels Whitecomb and Willard, Colonel Goffe's New Hampshire Regiment, that of Rhode Island under Harris, five companies of Rangers under Rogers, and a detachment of Artillery under Colonel Ord. He set out from Albany



between Major Roger and a detachment of H. M. C. Majesty's troops, were living and prisoners in Canada; as they will be in want of money to support themselves whilst prisoners, I request your Excellency to be so good as to have the enclosed letter forwarded to them, which, as you will observe, is nothing more than a letter of credit for their money to the amount of their pay; I flatter myself that you will be pleased to assist them to have it paid, which I shall regard as a particular favor on your part, and be always ready to acknowledge under similar circumstances.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest consideration,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Copy. *of the letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Abercromby,*

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

(Signed), Js. ABERCROMBY.

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Abercromby,  
Commander of all his Britannic Majesty's forces in New England.

Montreal, 4<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

Sir,

I should have had the honor to answer your Excellency's two letters of the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, on the receipt thereof, did I not desire to have the pleasure of forwarding to you, at the same time, the enclosed letters, particularly those of Captain Pringle<sup>1</sup> and Lieutenant Roche,<sup>2</sup> officers belonging to H. B. M's 27<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Infantry. These gentlemen are at Quebec. I lost no time in forwarding to them both the letters you have addressed me for them; they are well treated and are not under the least restraint. I have anticipated, in their regard, everything your Excellency could desire, by furnishing them every assistance, and causing whatever money they needed to be advanced to them. I act by these gentlemen as I have constantly acted towards all those whom the fortune of war has placed in my hands.

I cannot conceal from you, Sir, how much I have been surprised on learning that under the pretext of the proposal submitted to your Excellency by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Coriveau, Legrand and Parant, to be exchanged for Colonel Schuyler, of the Jersey Militia, and Mr. Stakes,<sup>3</sup> your Excellency

in the month of June, and sailed from Crown Point on the 11th of August; and after successively reducing the Isle aux Noix, St. Johns, Fort Therèse, and Chambly, crossed over to Longueuil, and entered Montreal with Amherst in September. On the 9th December following, he was appointed Colonel-Commandant of the 4th battalion of the 60th Royal Americans. In February, 1762, he was senior Brigadier-General at the reduction of the Island of Martinico; was appointed Major-General 10th July, and commanded the 4th brigade at the siege of Havana, in August following. In 1767, he became Colonel of the 45th; Lieutenant-General of the 25th, May, 1772; General in the army, 19th February, 1783, and died in October, 1784. *Army Lists*; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, III, 161, 225, 263, 363; *Knox's Journal*, I, 15, 31, 117, 373, 377, 392, 402; II, 267, 382, 384, 389, 393, 394, 451. — Ed.

<sup>1</sup> Major-General HENRY PRINGLE was appointed Captain-Lieutenant of the 27th, or Inniskillings, on the 2d February, 1757, and was taken prisoner the following year in a scouting expedition from Fort Edward. He was commissioned Captain, 21st July, 1758, and appointed Major in the 56th Foot, 11th September, 1765; promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the 51st, 16th August, 1770, with which regiment he went to Minorca in 1772; became Brevet-Colonel in 1779, and Major-General 20th November, 1782, when the regiment returned to England. He retired from the command of the 51st in 1790, and died senior Major-General in 1800. *Army Lists*.

<sup>2</sup> BOYLE ROCHE was appointed Lieutenant in the 27th Foot, 10th December, 1755; Captain-Lieutenant, 25th August, 1762, Captain, 8th May, 1767; exchanged into the 28th on the 4th December following, and left the army in July, 1770. *Army Lists*.

<sup>3</sup> or Hakea.

has released them from the execution of their parole and suspended that of Captain La Martir of the Royal Artillery, who were to return to Carillon on the 10<sup>th</sup> of May last, at farthest. I should have never thought that the facility I granted to these three gentlemen would have been attended by such consequences, the rather as supposing that exchange to be feasible, your Excellency might have proposed it to me sooner, or at least, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> March, the date of Coriveau's proposition; I do not penetrate the views you had entertained in waiting until the 24<sup>th</sup> April; I am, nevertheless, persuaded that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Martin, as well as Mr. Stakes would not have failed, for an instant, in their parole, unless your Excellency had interfered.

As for the rest, Sir, the exchange you propose to me is so little admissible that Sieur Coriveau, Sieur de Fontenay and all the other French, Canadian and Indian prisoners taken on land, from the time your nation commenced the war in North America up to the 9<sup>th</sup> of August of last year, entirely recovered, from that very day, their liberty, according to the terms of Article 5 of the Capitulation of Fort William Henry.

Now, Corivau and the other prisoners in the same category as he, had no other demand to make your Excellency than to be sent back. Such was the course they ought to have pursued unless they have had no knowledge of the surrender and capitulation of Fort William Henry.

That capitulation was made when your Excellency was commanding in chief in New England. Therefore, you could not plead ignorance of it, especially as it has been generally known to your troops and your Colonists; it has, moreover, made noise enough by the generosity and humanity, of which my nation had at that moment afforded to yours such sensible proofs.

Meanwhile, Sir, as the letters you have done me the honor to write me, would justify the opinion that your nation wishes to act on principles directly contrary to that capitulation, I have the honor to transmit you annexed, copy of:

1<sup>st</sup> That Capitulation.

2<sup>nd</sup> The letter I wrote Lord Loudoun on the 2<sup>nd</sup> September.

3<sup>rd</sup> The parole of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuyler and Martin.

4<sup>th</sup> The letter I wrote Lord Loudoun on the 22<sup>nd</sup> October.

5<sup>th</sup> That I wrote on the same day to the Commandant of Fort Edward.

6<sup>th</sup> The letter Lord Loudoun wrote me on the 5<sup>th</sup> November.

7<sup>th</sup> The letter I wrote in answer to Lord Loudoun the 18<sup>th</sup> January.

8<sup>th</sup> The letter I wrote on the same day to the Commandant of Fort Edward.

9<sup>th</sup> The letter the Commandant of Fort Edward wrote me on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February.

All these documents, Sir, have probably been communicated to you by Lord Loudoun; however that be, the copies I have the honor to transmit you, will leave your Excellency no explanation to ask of me, nor (permit me to add) any pretext for eluding the restoration of the King, my master's, subjects whom your nation unjustly detains, in contempt of the rules of war and of the law of nations.

To avoid repetition, I renew to you, Sir, the letters I wrote to Lord Loudoun, particularly that of the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, in its entire contents; I beg your Excellency to be so good as give it your most serious attention.

After that, I should consider it superfluous to summon you to send back the subjects of the King, my master; it rests with you, Sir, to fulfil, without delay, your nation's engagements, in such a manner as to prove to me that not a single one of those subjects remains in any part of New England.



It also rests with your Excellency to send off at the same time Mr Schuyler with those he has carried with him, Mr Stakes and Mr Martin. I summon these gentlemen on their parole. The leave I had granted them having expired, I reclaim them of your Excellency as prisoners of the King my master, and I request you to enjoin them immediately to depart.

We are now, Sir, at the opening of the campaign ; the satisfaction I demand on just grounds is of the greatest importance to your nation ; you could not consider it strange should your conduct regulate my ulterior proceedings, but I shall continue, agreeably to the intentions of the King my master, to use my best efforts so that we may on both sides, carry on hostilities with humanity, and observe, as in Europe, the rules of public law as far as the necessity in which we are mutually placed to make use of Indians, will permit us.

In regard to other exchanges, I shall not reply to your Excellency's propositions until you have executed Article 5 of the Capitulation of Fort William Henry.

Permit me, Sir, to recommend to you the small number of French and Canadians who are in your power since the 9<sup>th</sup> of August last ; I demand of your Excellency for them, the same treatment and comfort which the English in my hands receive and are enjoying.

I do not ask your good graces in favor of all the other prisoners captured previous to the 9<sup>th</sup> August, because I reckon confidently on their being sent back.

Permit me, Sir, to enclose divers letters herein and request you to be graciously pleased to have them forwarded to their address. I hope they will be more fortunate than those I enclosed to Lord Loudoun, which I have not the least doubt have not been delivered, inasmuch as Sieurs de Fontenay and Corivau do not acknowledge to me the receipt of those I had written them.

I shall be always highly flattered, Sir, by a correspondence with your Excellency, and in proving to you that I have the honor to be with the greatest consideration,

Sir,

Copy.

(Signed),

VAUDREUIL.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed),

VAUDREUIL.

Copy of the letter written to the Commandant of Fort Edward by the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Montreal, 5<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

Sir,

I have the honor of sending to your address herewith a most important package containing my despatches for his Excellency, General Abercromby. I request you, Sir, to have the goodness to forward them to him with the greatest possible dispatch, and to transmit his answer to me in like manner to Fort Carillon.

I am fully persuaded, Sir, that you will extend to the officer who carries my letter, the attention due to his rank, and that you will adopt the most careful measures to assure his return to Carillon, by furnishing him a suitable escort, so that he may be protected against all insult from parties and detachments of Indians whom you employ.

My orders to this officer in going to you are, to proceed by the most frequented route, not to leave it and to have the English flag displayed. You will have the goodness to give orders on your side, to the officer you will detach to bring me General Abercromby's answer, not to turn from the most ordinary route, and to have a French flag hoisted ; you may be convinced that he will be well received and sent back to you under a good and safe guard.

If you have letters for any of the English in my hands, you can forward them enclosed to me, and it will afford me a pleasure to have them delivered.

I have the honor to be most sincerely,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 16<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

My Lord,

Since the letter I have had the honor to write you on the 16<sup>th</sup> of last month, a frigate of war and 13 merchantmen arrived here, bringing about twelve thousand barrels of flour. This supply, though very trifling in comparison with the vastness of our wants, has enabled the Marquis de Vaudreuil to order the troops to open the campaign. Since the departure of the battalion of La Reyne, which could no longer be victualled in the town of Quebec, the three of Languedoc and Berry who were quartered among the farmers in the country, whom they were exhausting, have been ordered to march. The four which have wintered in the Montreal government are also in motion. The camp of the army is to be formed at Carillon, on the Lake St. Sacrament frontier. M. de Bourlamaque left Montreal on the 12<sup>th</sup>, for the purpose of forming and taking the command of it until the arrival of the Marquis de Montcalm, who is to start from Montreal on the 24<sup>th</sup>. That general officer doubtless informs you, my Lord, of the plan of the campaign, with the details whereof I shall not trouble you. His position will be critical; men and means will be few, and if the reports of prisoners are to be credited, those of the enemy will be considerable. Far from being able to act offensively on that frontier, I shall consider the campaign very brilliant if we are able to maintain our position.

A considerable detachment, which is to proceed by Lake Ontario and the country of the Five Iroquois Nations, to try and prevail on these Indians to take up the hatchet and attack the English in the direction of Corlar, will indeed cause a diversion which will possibly be of use, but 'twill weaken considerably the main army of Carillon, which, according to my feeble understanding, is the most important object. This detachment will be under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, under whom are to be M. de Rigaud, a deputy Governor, brother of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. de Longueuil, another deputy Governor, and Lieutenant-Colonel de Senezergues, commanding the battalion of La Sarre. It is to consist of 400 picked infantry, 400 Colonials, 800 Canadians and a large number of Indians. Perhaps it would have accomplished the proposed object equally well, had it been only half as strong. The main army of Carillon, where the enemy can strike a heavy blow, would have been so much the stronger. In spite of my fears, I hope everything from the Marquis de Montcalm's prudence and great talents; he will be efficiently seconded by M. de Bourlamaque, an officer of high distinction.



The twelve thousand barrels of flour which have arrived in no wise relieve the scarcity. They enable us only to march to oppose the enemy's plans; this is the most essential point. Of 36 ships that sailed for Bourdeaux in 3 divisions, 24 are missing, which were all freighted with provisions and other necessary supplies. Not a single vessel has as yet made its appearance from Rochelle, whence many are expected; neither from Bayonne nor Marseilles, from which ports several had sailed. The sea swarms with English privateers, and we have not one. These privateers are supported by men-of-war, and there is hardly a frigate to escort twelve of our merchantmen. All this affords every reason to believe that we shall be worse off the next winter than the last. To crown the misfortune, this year's harvest cannot fail to be bad. Little has been sown for want of seed; and sowing was scarcely completed when the land was inundated with rain, which has continued nearly a month. It is since cold, and now freezes at night so hard as entirely to destroy all the vegetables, which are, so to speak, the sole resource of the people who, since a year, are in want of bread. This, my Lord, is a situation the more cruel, as it is not exaggerated; the result is an advance of prices so horrible as to entail suffering on the most comfortable. We are all in the same category.

Up to this date, only seventy-five recruits have arrived; the Marquis de Vaudreuil has ordered these and such as will still arrive, to be divided half and half with the Marine. The companies of that corps had, nevertheless, been completed last year. He is master. The Marquis de Montcalm and I have not received any order as to the destination of those recruits. We would require more than 1200 men to complete our eight battalions according to the ancient footing, and to bring the companies of the six that arrived first, up to 50. I have had the honor, my Lord, to demonstrate this to you by my previous letters of this year, though I had already done so in those of last year.

Ensign de Boubert of the regiment of La Reyne, who I had the honor to inform you in my letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> of last May, was detained in prison in this town by M. de Montcalm's order, and is to be sent back to France, cannot be put on board the frigate of war which carries this despatch. I shall have him forwarded by another vessel and as soon as possible.

M. de Rosmorduc, a gentleman of Brittany, Captain *en second* in the regiment of Bearn, has obtained permission to return to France to attend to some family affairs absolutely requiring his presence. His eldest brother is dead and left him possessor of an income of twelve thousand *livres*. A marriage long concluded on is, also, in question. The Cross of St. Louis has been accorded to this officer two years ago, although it has not yet arrived and he be not received, he flatters himself that his return to France will not deprive him of that favor, the rather as it is not his intention to continue in the army.

Since the events whereof I have had the honor to render you an account, my Lord, in my despatches of the 26 February, 30 April and 16 May, we have continued to have small parties out, which took some scalps and prisoners; but some of the enemy's detachments made their appearance on our Lake St. Sacrament frontier, and have killed some of our men. The Upper countries are pretty well off as regards the scarcity. Towards the Oyo, our Indians have taken some prisoners and 180 scalps on one single occasion.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

20<sup>th</sup> of June. Since writing my letter, six ships have arrived from France and anchored in the river; they will come up with the first fair wind. They are the Royal fly boat *le Rhinoceros*, from Rochefort, one of several that started in company; two merchantmen from Bayonne loaded with Indian corn, two merchantmen of Bordeaux and one privateer from the same port armed as a frigate; half munitions of war and half merchandise. All this increases somewhat further our confidence as regards the future.

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*Chevalier de Levis to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 17<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

My Lord,

The command of a corps of troops about three thousand strong, eight hundred soldiers, including land and marine forces, the remainder Canadians and Indians, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil has just confided to me, has three principal objects.

The first is to induce the Iroquois of the Five Nations to declare themselves; to make them act offensively with me against the English on the Corlac or Mohock river as openly as circumstances will permit.

The second, which appears to me the most essential, is to prevent the reconstruction of Chouaguen and the erection of the different forts they propose to fortify on the rivers thereabouts, to accomplish their ends, according to the advices we have of the movements that are making in the direction of the height of land.

The third is to make a strong diversion towards Corlac or Skenectady, whilst the Marquis de Montcalm will proceed with the greatest body of our forces towards Lake St. Sacrament.

My mission is delicate, important, political and military.

I am menaced by an infinitude of obstacles which I shall have to surmount both for food, having only two months' flour and fat, being unable to carry either bread or biscuit, not even tents to cover us; and also, in consequence of the opposition we shall experience from the Iroquois partisans of the English.

I am accompanied by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Rigaud, Longueuil and Senezergues, the Commander of the battalion of La Sarre, and Abbé Picquet who has considerable influence among those Nations. I hope, by this help, my good will and my zeal for the King's service, to surmount whatever difficulties will offer.

The Marquis de Montcalm will leave Montreal for Carillon between the 20<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of this month, and I, for my destination, between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup>. My detachment will be entirely mustered only at the mouth of Lake Ontario where the Marquis de Vaudreuil has fixed the rendezvous for the Indians of the Upper country.

I do not enter into any detail of occurrences in this Colony, knowing that the Marquis de Montcalm does not leave you in ignorance. On my return from the campaign, I shall have the honor to inform and render you a faithful account of everything.

I have the honor to be with respect, My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

CHEV: de LEVIS.



*Memoir on Fort Carillon, by M. de Pont le Roy, Engineer-in-Chief.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

This fort is built on a rock on the left bank of the River of the Falls, commanding its outlet into the River St. Frederic as well as that of the head of the bay.

It is an irregular square, the long sides of which are fifty-four toises of exterior Polygon ; the small twenty-nine. Its revetement consists of squared pieces of oak laid one on the other, bound by traversines fastened to *corps morts*; its periphery is pierced with embrasures lined with oak timber and directed towards different points of the exterior ground. Only one or two guns can be opposed from the fort against all the batteries constructed by the enemy.

The ramparts are but thirteen or fourteen feet wide, and the platforms consequently so short that the recoil at each discharge makes the gun run off. Should one be dismounted, it becomes necessary to fire those next it, in order to convey another there.

The bastions are casemated and serve for the bakery, cistern, powder magazine and provisions. The casemate under the curtain of the entrance, which may serve to lodge the garrison, is only twelve feet wide by six high, extremely damp, the roof consisting only of beams laid side by side, covered with four or five feet of earth.

The place of arms is only eighteen toises long by nine wide.

The foundation is solid rock; the buildings for civilians are of stone and two stories high. The roof overtops entirely the parapets of the rampart. The shot and shell directed against these buildings, would prevent, by their explosion, the appearance of the garrison either on the place of arms or on the rampart.

The great number of embrasures excludes the use of musketry, the only means, nevertheless, of defending the place.

On the two fronts which are open to attack, a half-moon has been constructed so high that it entirely covers the embrasures of the curtains.

The covert way is not yet commenced, and part of the counterscarps remain to be built, as well as the parapets of the place on two fronts.

The cistern contains only fifteen thousand quarts of water; it is filled by the conductor from the place of arms, which has no cistern, a circumstance that renders the water muddy and no doubt unwholesome.

The powder magazine being roofed only by beams laid side by side, covered with earth, is always damp in spring and fall; the powder has to be removed.

All the store-houses and sheds, necessary for the garrison, are outside the place, encircled by a palisade.

From this description 'twill be seen how little susceptible of defence is this fort; yet, 'tis the only work that covers Lake Champlain and, consequently, the Colony. Were I entrusted with the siege of it, I should require only six mortars and two cannon.

The above document was written in cipher. — Ed.







*Journal of the Military Operations before Ticonderoga.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Narrative of Occurrences on the Frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, from the 30<sup>th</sup> June to the 10<sup>th</sup> July, inclusive. [By Adjutant Malartic.]

Paris Doc.: XV., 25. The want of provisions arresting all the Marquis de Vaudreuil's projects, the troops could not proceed to Carillon until from the 20<sup>th</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> of June. The Marquis de Montcalm arrived there on that day with the regiment of Bearn. The other seven regiments had landed there some days before. Chevalier de Levis had remained at Montreal with a considerable body, in order to go and endeavor to decide the five Nations, and thence to pass on an important expedition. M. de Bourlamaque, who commanded on the frontier since the 10<sup>th</sup> of June, had information certain that the English were concentrating an army of 25,000 men between Fort Lydius and old Fort George; that they had made an immense collection of provisions and ammunition; that they had a considerable train of artillery and whatever is necessary for a vast enterprise. This information appeared confirmed by the detention of Sieur Vols and a detachment accompanying him, when carrying despatches to the English General commanding the frontier.

1<sup>st</sup> July. The Marquis de Montcalm dispatched M. de Bourlamaque at day-break, with the regiments of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn, to occupy the head of the Portage; he proceeded himself with those of La Sarre, R. Rousillon, Languedoc and the second battalion of Berri to the Falls, on both sides of which he encamped, and left the third battalion of Berri at Carillon, to guard the fort. The troops established their camp, and carried their baggage. Some Indians who came in from scouting, said the English were making a road which joined that of the Mohawks behind the mountains. M. de Langy, who had been farther than they, assures the contrary. At 7 o'clock a detachment of 30 men was embarked on board two barges, to cruise on the lake.

2<sup>nd</sup> At five o'clock in the morning two musket shots were heard, followed by the cries of Indians, which caused the regiments to seize their arms, and they were ready to proceed forward when the captain of the guard sent word that M. de Massdac, his lieutenant, who had been sent out with a picket of six men, being in search of his hunting knife, and having discovered a feather, promptly retired behind a tree which saved him from a shot fired at him by an Indian, who was ready to pounce upon him tomahawk in hand, when he returned the fire, which the Indian evaded by falling upon the ground, who then fled only when the officer had cried out, *Amoi, volontaires!* M. de Bourlamaque went to reconnoitre the mountains bordering on the left flank of the camp; ammunition was carted, and a company of 24 volunteers by battalion was organized under the command, at the Portage, of M. de Bernard, Captain in the regiment of Bearn, and, at the Falls, by M. Duprat, Captain of the regiment of La Sarre.

3<sup>rd</sup> The scouting barge discovered nothing; the troops went in the night to Carillon for provisions. Timber and planks were collected to build a bake-house, and a detachment of 48 men, soldiers of the Marine or Militia, arrived under the orders of M. de Raymond, M. Bourlamaque encamped some twenty Indians in advance; a drunken Abenaki killed one of his comrades and fled.



4<sup>th</sup> Transported some things; M. de Bernard went scouting with a part of his company on the right shore of the lake to within 5 leagues of the camp, whence he returned without having seen any trail of the enemy. Worked at an intrenchment at the head of the bridge which is over the little rapid. The Marquis de Montcalm came to visit the camp and went back in an hour after. M. de Raymond joined us with his detachment, and was posted on the border of the rapid. At 7 o'clock in the evening M. de Langy embarked with 178 volunteers to reconnoitre the enemy's movements.

5<sup>th</sup> Service as usual. Transported the artillery furniture; began baking in the three ovens. At two o'clock in the afternoon, heard a shot from the mountain to the left of the Bearn camp, and a white flag was seen hoisted and lowered, which is the signal furnished to the Lieutenant who was detached thither, signifying that he discovers some barges or bateaux on the lake. One hour afterwards, a part of M. de Langy's detachment returned to report that, having started in the morning from the Bay of Ganaouské, he had been seen from Fort George, whence 60 barges were sent in pursuit, which followed pretty closely for awhile and then fell off; that Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Langy and La Roche had remained with their canoe three leagues from this to watch them. M. de Bourlamaque immediately detached Captain de Trepezec, of the Bearn regiment, with three pickets of 51 men each, some volunteers and Militia, the whole numbering 300, to the Bald mountain to observe the enemy's movements and to oppose their landing. M. de Langy, who arrived at the moment, assured that the enemy was approaching close after him. Captain de Germain, of the regiment of La Reine, was sent at 5 o'clock with three pickets between the mountains and the lake to support our advanced guards and to prevent the enemy establishing themselves there. All our troops had orders to be on the alert, and ready at the first call.

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, at one o'clock in the morning, a dozen shots were heard in the direction of our advanced posts. The brigade rushed to arms; a quarter of an hour afterwards, it received orders to dismiss. We learned that the English had fired on a corporal and the relief; that they had collared the corporal and one of the sentinels, supposing them prisoners, but the latter had freed themselves, repulsing them with the bayonet, and that the shots the others had fired, forced them to retire. At daylight the flag was seen to be frequently lowered and hoisted; many barges were discovered crossing from the north to the south and appearing in search of a place fit for landing. The scouting barge returned with word that it had perceived over 1,500 of them. At 7 o'clock M. Germain's detachment came back. M. de Bourlamaque gave orders that the baggage be removed, the tents struck, and the march commenced at 8 o'clock. He remained with the rear guard, with the companies of grenadiers and volunteers, in order to receive news from M. de Trepezec. Receiving none, he had some shots fired at the barges which were approaching, and then followed us without our being troubled in our retreat. On arriving at the Falls, the Marquis de Montcalm posted us on the right of the La Sarre brigade at the foot of the heights, withdrew the brigade of R. Rousillon from the right bank, caused the bridges to be broken up and ordered a halt. Sent to Carillon for some bateaux to embark the baggage, which was embarrassing the soldiers. At 3 o'clock M. de Raymond, Mess<sup>rs</sup> St. Ours and Lanodiére passed in front with a detachment of the Marine and Canadians. At four o'clock we heard several shots which we judged were fired at M. de Tropezec's detachment. A quarter of an hour afterwards we saw some soldiers wading, and M. de Tropezec arrive mortally wounded; he told us that he had lost his way through the fault of his guide, and that wishing to reach the Falls, he had got into the midst of a considerable party of the enemy;



that after having defended himself some time, 50 or 60 men escaped ; that the remainder were killed, taken or drowned. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 we took up our march to Carillon ; at 7, arrived at the entrance of the clearing, where we arranged ourselves in the order of battle, and passed the night in bivouac.

7<sup>th</sup> The drum beat *la generale* at daybreak ; some soldiers took provisions ; the three brigades posted themselves at 7 o'clock at the entrance of the wood where they commenced an abatis at which they vigorously continued the entire day, encouraged by the presence of the Generals. This abatis embraces the whole of the ground between the River of the Falls and the ravine which borders on the reserved timber that stands on the margin of Lake Champlain. At 5 o'clock in the evening, the ground was equally divided between each wheelbarrow ; it made 127 paces for each. Permission was given to erect some tents and to boil the soup behind the abatis. We had orders to sleep in bivouac ; the guards, to line the abatis, to patrol frequently outside and to keep the fires burning. The troops of the Marine and the Militia were posted at the opening. At 5 and 7 o'clock the detachments designed for the expedition to Korlak, arrived and encamped in the rear of the three brigades together with the volunteers.

8<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat long before day. M. de Levis arrived with M. de Senezergues. At 5 o'clock, each battalion set to work to strengthen the abatis, 160 paces in front of which the guard were posted, to protect the workmen. At 9 o'clock, a body of troops was discovered on the summit and at the foot of the mountain, on the right of the River of the Falls, whence they were examining our position, and fired a few shots at us. Bernard's volunteers gave them a few shots in answer. Chev. d'Arenes, Lieutenant of that company, had his arm broken on that occasion. Our Generals made a tour of inspection of the abatis, which they found in a pretty good condition and made arrangements for the defence. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12, the regiment of La Reine and Bearn were going to construct some epaulements to protect themselves from the heights, when a heavy firing was heard on the left ; a moment after at the centre, and next at the right. The discharge of a cannon from the fort, announcing the arrival of the enemy, brought every man to his post. The companies of grenadiers and guards came in again without losing a single man. The battalions lined the abati, three deep, having their grenadier companies and pickets in line of battle in their rear, ready to march wherever needed. La Sarre's brigade, commanded by M. de Bourlamaque, responded by some effective firing, to a column that had shewed itself ; the R. Rousillon and Guyenne regiments, to two which attacked the centre where the M<sup>th</sup> de Montcalm was posted ; and those of La Reine, and Bearn, to a fourth which had an anxiety to attempt the right commanded by Chev. de Levis. Several barges deployed from the river of the Falls, to come and land some people and to turn our left ; M. de Poularié with his grenadier company and Bernard's volunteers, went down to the bank of the river to fire at them. A few cannon shot were fired from the fort, which, after sinking two, made the others retreat up the river whence they made no further appearance. The fire was pretty brisk on each side, though a little more active on ours. The attack and defence was sustained with incredible valor. The enemy's columns, though refreshed by the reinforcements they were continually receiving, and often combining to make common efforts, to attempt the right, the centre and the left, were not making any progress and experienced everywhere an obstinate resistance, sustained by the bravery of the troops and the attention of the Generals to send the grenadiers and pickets to the exposed points. Chev. de Levis posted himself apropos with the regiment of La Reine behind that of Guyenne, where the enemy in force was appearing desirous of making



an impression; he checked them and sent out some soldiers of the Marine and Militia, who went to fire on the enemy's left flank. At 5 o'clock, the fire began to slacken; some soldiers were allowed to go out who took some prisoners; at 6 o'clock, the enemy made a new attempt with no better success than the first. Perceiving at 7 o'clock that they had not made any progress, they bethought them of a retreat, leaving their best marksmen to cover it. Fatigue and our small numbers, prevented us offering any opposition. Firing was forbidden, because 'twas perceived that the fire we were receiving, proceeded only from a few men in ambush behind some trees, who were waiting for nightfall to retreat. The loss of the enemy is estimated at five or six thousand men, in killed or wounded; and ours at 300, including 38 officers. The M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm had wine and beer conveyed to the field of battle, to refresh the troops who stood in great need of it; he and Chev. de Levis passed in front of all the battalions and expressed how pleased they felt at their conduct.

This memorable victory is due to the goodness of the Almighty, who has manifested Himself so often and so visibly the defender of the country; to the prudence of the General's arrangements and their attention in watching the enemy's movements; to the activity generally of all the officers; to the bravery and intrepidity of the soldiers, all of whom have manifested incredible ardor, thinking only of taking good aim, and sighting everything that shewed itself from behind trees or stumps.

The night was spent in cleaning the arms; in raising some epaulments on the left, as a cover from the damage to which we were exposed from the musketry, being seen in reverse. The troops bivouacked through the night, along the abatis, very alert and wishing for the return of the enemy on the morrow.

9<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat an hour before day; the troops lined the abatis, anxiously waiting the arrival of the enemy. At 5 o'clock some soldiers were sent out, who despatched some of the wounded that wished to defend themselves, and brought within the lines those who did not resist. A very thick smoke was perceived at the Falls, which led to the supposition that the English were abandoning that place, and were occupying themselves only with their retreat. M. de Bernard went scouting with his company, and sent word to the Marquis de Montcalm that on the road to the Falls was an intrenchment which he could set on fire. That General immediately sent him the orders to do so, which he executed at once. Some Indians, who had gone ahead to plunder, came to give notice that the enemy were thinking only of embarking. Buried all our dead. At 8 o'clock in the evening, M. Vols arrived with his detachment, reported to the M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm that he found no one at Fort George on his landing, but two leagues from that fort fell, unawares, on a considerable party, commanded by Major-General Lord Daw,<sup>1</sup> who has been killed by M. de Trepezec's detachment, and encamped in a hollow square, with all the barges, bateaux, artillery and ammunition in the centre; that the General had demanded his orders, had shewn him a great deal of civility, and had him forwarded next morning to Fort Lydius, where General Albercrombie received him politely and detained him, telling him that the M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil's letters required an answer which could not be given him for some days. That he was well aware that he was detained to prevent him coming to inform us of their manœuvres; that the General had asked him news of one of their parties, commanded by Captain Roger, which had met with a misfortune; that on being answered, the General had scolded the Captain very severely, and reproached him with having ran away the moment his troop was engaged; that they had conducted him back to

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Howe. — Ed.

Fort George, on the assembling of their army there, which he believes consisted of 22 or 25,000 men; that there were nearly 2,000 barges or bateaux, 1,500 of which have been employed in transporting troops, and 500 in coming and going; that this army had been embarked in an instant, and had taken the portage route, marching thither as to a certain conquest; that he had been brought along and when their troops had arrived at the Falls, was taken to the Bald Mountain, where he had been three days, very dissatisfied with the little attention paid to his detachment; that Colonel Johnson arrived the 7<sup>th</sup> with 400 Indians belonging to the Five Nations or *Loups*; that a courier was sent off that same day who proclaimed, everywhere, that Cape Breton was taken; that on the 8<sup>th</sup> at night, he had seen a great number of barges file off, loaded, apparently, with wounded; that the officer who was guarding him, hailed many of them, and discontinued, expressing great regret; that on the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> the whole army had, without making much noise, taken up the march to Fort George, whither he was conducted, and having complained of it to the Major-General, the officer in whose hands he was placed, received orders to land him at his canoe, in which he repaired to the Portage and thence here, himself and his detachment exhausted by hunger and fatigue. The troops still bivouacked along the abbati. The prisoners were sent to Montreal. The M<sup>de</sup> Montcalm dispatched M. de La Roche to the Governor-General to announce to him the retreat of the enemy.

10<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis went to the Portage with the grenadier companies and pickets; found some intrenchments on both sides of the Falls, at the Portage and the Burnt camp; had 200 barrels of flour brought back; saw a great many which had been thrown into the water, after having had the heads stove in; also considerable other stores. The soldiers and Canadians returned loaded with plunder and with an immense quantity of shoes with their buckles. Had the English buried who were beginning to infect the outside of the abbati. A courier set out for Montreal and a despatch arrived from there by M. de Rigaud from St. John.

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*Major-General Abercrombie to Mr. Secretary Pitt.*

[London Gazette Extraordinary, 22 August, 1758.]

**Camp at Lake George, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.**

The embarkation of the artillery, stores and provisions being completed on the evening of the 4 instant, next morning, at break of day, the tents were struck, and all the troops, amounting to 6367 regulars, officers, light infantry and rangers included, and 9024 provincials, including officers and bateau men, embarked in about 900 bateaux and 135 whale boats, the artillery to cover our landing being mounted on rafts.

At five in the evening reached Sabbath-day point (25 miles down the lake) where we halted till ten, then got under way again, and proceeded to the landing place (leading to the French advanced guard) which we reached early next morning, the 6th.

Upon our arrival, sent out a reconnoitering party; and, having met with no opposition, landed the troops, formed them in four columns, regulars in the centre, and provincials on the



flanks, and marched towards the enemy's advanced guard, composed of one battalion, posted in a logged camp, which, upon our approach, they deserted, first setting fire to their tents and destroying everything they could; but as their retreat was very precipitate, they left several things behind which they had not time either to burn or carry off. In this camp we likewise found one prisoner, and a dead man.

The army, in the foregoing order, continued their march through the wood, on the west side, with a design to invest Ticonderoga; but the woods being very thick, impassable with any regularity to such a body of men, and the guides unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broke, falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, supported by the light infantry, being advanced, fell in with a French party, supposed to consist of about 400 regulars, and a few Indians, who had likewise lost themselves in their retreat from the advanced guard; of these our flankers killed a great many, and took 148 prisoners, among whom were five officers and three cadets.

But this small success cost us very dear, not as to the loss of numbers, for we had only two officers killed, but as to the consequence, Lord Howe being the first man that fell in this skirmish; and as he was very deservedly universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army, it is easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned; for my part, I cannot help owning, that I felt it most heavily, and lament him as sincerely.

The 7th, the troops being greatly fatigued, by having been one whole night on the water, the following day constantly on foot, and the next night under arms, added to their being in want of provision, having dropped what they brought with them in order to lighten themselves, it was thought most advisable to return to their landing place, which we accordingly did about eight that morning.

About eleven in the forenoon, sent off Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with the 44th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of Royal Americans, the bateau men and a body of rangers and provincials, to take possession of the saw-mill, within two miles of Ticonderoga, which he soon effected; as the enemy who were posted there, after destroying the mill and breaking down their bridge, had retired sometime before. Lieut. col. Bradstreet having laid another bridge across, and having sent me notice of his being in possession of that ground, I accordingly marched thither with the troops, and we took up our quarters there that night.

The prisoners we had taken being unanimous in their reports, that the French had eight battalions, some Canadians, and Colony troops, in all about 6,000, encamped before their fort, who were intrenching themselves, and throwing up a breast-work, and that they expected a reinforcement of 3,000 Canadians, besides Indians, who had been detached under the command of Mons. de Levy, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river, but upon intelligence of our preparations and near approach, had been repeatedly recalled, and was hourly expected; it was thought most advisable to lose no time in making the attack; wherefore early in the morning of the 8th I sent Mr. Clerk, the engineer, across the river on the opposite side of the fort, in order to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments. Upon his return, and favorable reports of the practicability of carrying these works, if attacked before they were finished, it was agreed to storm them that very day: Accordingly the rangers, light infantry, and the right wing of provincials, were ordered immediately to march, and post themselves in a line, out of cannon shot of the intrenchments, their right extending to Lake George, and their

C H A M P L A I N







left to Lake Champlain, in order that the regular troops, destined for the attack of the intrenchments, might form on their rear.

The piquets were to begin the attack, sustained by the grenadiers, and they by the battalions: The whole were ordered to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and not to give theirs until they were within the enemy's breast-work.

After these orders issued, the whole army, except what had been left at the landing place to cover and guard the bateaux and whale-boats, and a provincial regiment at the saw-mill, were put in motion and advanced to Ticonderoga, where unfortunately they found the intrenchments not only much stronger than had been represented, and the breast-works at least eight or nine feet higher; but likewise the ground before it covered with felled trees, the branches pointed outwards, which so fatigued and retarded the advancing of the troops that, notwithstanding all their intrepidity and bravery, which I cannot sufficiently commend, we sustained so considerable a loss, without any prospect of better success, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it; it was therefore judged necessary, for the preservation of the remainder of so many brave men, and to prevent a total defeat, that we should make the best retreat possible. Accordingly, after several repeated attacks, which lasted upwards of four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, and, with the loss of 464 regulars killed, 29 missing, 1,117 wounded; and 87 Provincials killed, eight missing, and 239 wounded, officers of both included, I retired to the camp we occupied the night before, with the broken remains of several corps that had accompanied me, sending away all the wounded to the bateaux, about three miles distance; and early the next morning we arrived there ourselves, embarked and reached this camp in the evening of the 9th. Immediately after my return here, I sent the wounded officers and men, that could be moved, to Fort Edward and Albany.

Return of the Officers of the different Regiments who have been Killed and Wounded at Ticonderoga on the 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

Killed.	Wounded.
Brigadier-General Howe.	1 Colonel.
2 Colonels.	1 Lieutenant-Colonel.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel.	6 Majors.
2 Majors.	30 Captains.
6 Captains.	35 Lieutenants.
16 Lieutenants.	10 Ensigns.
5 Ensigns.	

Engineer Matthew Clerk<sup>1</sup> killed, and Quarter Master French wounded. In all, 34 officers killed and 84 wounded.

<sup>1</sup> He was commissioned Sub-Engineer and Lieutenant of 27th foot, on the 4th January, 1758. *Army List.* — Ed.



*Names of the British Officers Killed and Wounded near Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.*

[ London Magazine, XXVII., 427. ]

27<sup>th</sup> Lord Blakeney's regiment. *Killed*: Engineer Matthew Clerk. *Wounded*: Capt. Gordon,<sup>1</sup> capt. Holmes, capt. Wrightson,<sup>2</sup> capt. Skeen,<sup>3</sup> lieut. Cook,<sup>4</sup> ensign Elliot,<sup>5</sup>.

42<sup>d</sup> Lord John Murray's regiment. *Killed*: capt. lieutenant John Campbell,<sup>6</sup> lieut. George Farquarson, lieut. Hugh McPherson, lieutenant William Baillie, lieutenant John Sutherland, ensign Patrick Stewart, ensign George Rattray. *Wounded*: Major Duncan Campbell,<sup>7</sup> captain Gordon Graham,<sup>8</sup> captain Thomas Græme,<sup>9</sup> captain John Campbell,<sup>10</sup> captain James

<sup>1</sup> ARCHIBALD GORDON was commissioned Captain 9th June, 1740, and joined the Inniskillings 14th October, 1742; was appointed Major of the regiment eight days after the above battle; accompanied the expedition under Amherst in 1759, and entered Montreal with Haveland in 1760; was promoted to a Lieutenant Colonelcy in the army 11th January, 1762, at the close of which year his name is omitted in the Army List.

<sup>2</sup> JOHN WRIGHTSON was commissioned Captain 20th April, 1748, and joined the 27th foot 16th December, 1752; he was appointed Major of the 76th, 25th March, 1762, and went on half pay in 1763. He became Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet 25th May, 1772; was appointed Major to Chelsea Hospital in 1775, and died in 1779.

<sup>3</sup> See VIII., 416.

<sup>4</sup> WILLIAM COOKE was commissioned a Lieutenant 22nd January, and joined the 27th on the 27th April, 1756; became Captain-Lieutenant 8th May, 1767, Captain 25th May, 1772, and is dropped in 1777.

<sup>5</sup> JOHN ELLIOT entered the army as Ensign of the 27th foot, 22d November, 1756; was promoted to a Lieutenantcy 2d August 1759; exchanged into the 1st Royals 14th February, 1760, and is dropped in 1771.

<sup>6</sup> JOHN CAMPBELL of Duneaves, Perthshire, was originally a private in the Black Watch. In 1743, he was presented, with Gregor McGregor, to George II. as a specimen of the Highland soldier, and performed at St. James the broadsword exercise and that of the Lochaber axe, before his Majesty and a number of General officers. Each got a gratuity of a guinea, which they gave to the porter at the gate of the palace as they passed out. Mr. Campbell obtained an Ensigncy in 1745 for his bravery at the battle of Fontenoy; was promoted to be Captain-Lieutenant, 16th February, 1756, and landed in New-York the following June. He was among the first of the resolute men who forced their way into the work at Ticonderoga, on the 8th July. *Stewart's Highlanders*, I. 250, 279.

<sup>7</sup> DUNCAN CAMPBELL of Inveraw, having raised a company for the Black Watch, then numbered the 43rd, was commissioned Captain, December 26, 1744; it became the 42nd in 1749; and in December, 1755, Captain Campbell was promoted to the Majority of the regiment. He died of the wounds received at Ticonderoga. *Stewart*, I., 279; II., *Appendix*, No. II.

<sup>8</sup> GORDON GRAHAM of Drainie, entered the Black Watch as Ensign, October 26, 1739, and was promoted to a Lieutenantcy 24th June, 1743; served in Flanders and at Fontenoy in 1745; obtained a company August 7, 1747; was at the surrender of Fort William Henry in 1757, and wounded at Ticonderoga. On the death of Major Campbell, he succeeded to his commission and made the campaigns of 1759, 1760, under Amherst; served in the West Indies in 1762, and on 9th July of that year became Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment. He retired from the service 12th December, 1770. *Stewart*, II., *Appendix* No. II; *Brown's Highland Clans*, IV., 139, 159; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, II., 530.

<sup>9</sup> THOMAS GRAHAM of Duchray, entered the 43rd, or Black Watch, as Ensign, June 30, 1741; was promoted to a Lieutenantcy August 6, 1746, and obtained a company February 15, 1756, shortly before the regiment, then the 42nd, came to America. He served in the several Campaigns on the northern lakes; was again wounded at the battle of Bushy run, near Pittsburg, in 1763; served in the subsequent campaigns against the Indians, and embarked for Ireland in 1767. He succeeded Major Reid 31st March, 1770, and became Lieutenant-Colonel 12th December following. He retired from the Army December, 1771. *Army Lists*; *Stewart*.

<sup>10</sup> JOHN CAMPBELL of Strachur, was appointed Lieutenant in Loudon's Highlanders in June, 1745; served through the Scotch rebellion; made the Campaign in Flanders in 1747, in which year he was promoted to a Captaincy; and went on half pay at the peace of 1748. He was again called on active service in 1756, when he joined the 42nd; and, after recovering from his wounds received at Ticonderoga, was appointed Major of the 17th foot, by General Amherst, 11th July, 1759; was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, February 1762, and commanded his regiment in the expedition against Martinico and Havana. On the 1st of May, 1773, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 57th foot, and returned to America at the breaking out of the Revolution; was appointed Major-General 19th February, 1779; Colonel of his regiment 2nd November, 1780, and commanded the British forces in West Florida, where he surrendered Pensacola to the Spaniards, 10th May, 1781; became Lieutenant-General in 1787; General 26th January, 1797, and died in the forepart of the year 1806. *Stewart*; *Beaton*; *Army Lists*.

Stewart,<sup>1</sup> capt. James Murray, lieut. William Grant,<sup>2</sup> lieut. Robert Gray,<sup>3</sup> lieut. John Campbell,<sup>4</sup> lieut. James Grant,<sup>5</sup> lieutenant John Graham,<sup>6</sup> lieut. Alexander Campbell, lieut. Alexander McIntosh,<sup>7</sup> lieut. Archibald Campbell, lieut. David Mill,<sup>8</sup> lieut. Patrick Balnevis,<sup>9</sup> ensign John Smith, ensign Peter Grant.

44<sup>th</sup> General Abercrombie's regiment. *Killed*: Ensign Fraser. *Wounded*: Major Eyre,<sup>10</sup> Captain Falconer,<sup>11</sup> Captain Lee,<sup>12</sup> Captain Bartman, Captain Bailey, Lieutenant

<sup>1</sup> JAMES STEWART of Urrard, obtained a company in the 42nd, July 18th, 1757. He sold out after the peace. *Stewart*, I., 306, 359.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM GRANT of the family of Rothiemurchus, entered the Black Watch as Ensign, 1st October, 1745, became Lieutenant 22nd November, 1746, and Captain 23rd July, 1758; was appointed Major in the army 23rd July, 1772; of his regiment 5th October, 1777, having been already appointed Lieutenant-Colonel by brevet 29th August, and retired from the army August 25th, 1778, after a service of 33 years. *Stewart*.

<sup>3</sup> ROBERT GRAY was commissioned Ensign in the Black Watch, June 6, 1745; Lieutenant 7th August, 1747; Captain July 22, 1758; exchanged into the 55th regiment 18th September, 1760; became Major in the army 23rd July, 1772, and died in 1776. *Army Lists*; *Stewart*.

<sup>4</sup> JOHN CAMPBELL, Junior, was commissioned Lieutenant of the 42nd on the 16th May, 1748; Captain 26th July, 1760, and went on half-pay at the peace of 1763.

<sup>5</sup> JAMES GRANT was commissioned Ensign in the 43rd (now the 42nd regiment), November 20th, 1746; Lieutenant 24th January, 1756, and Captain-Lieutenant 28th July, 1760. He left the regiment in 1762, when he was appointed Fort Major of Limerick, and died in 1778. *Stewart*.

<sup>6</sup> JOHN GRAHAM was the brother of Thomas (number 9, *supra*, 728); entered the 42nd regiment as Ensign and was promoted to a Lieutenantcy 25th January, 1756; became Captain in February, 1762, and was again wounded at Bushy run in 1763; shortly after which, his company having been disbanded, he went on half pay. He rejoined the regiment 25th December, 1765, and is dropped in 1772, having attained the rank of field officer. *Stewart*, I., 359. *Army Lists*.

<sup>7</sup> ALEXANDER MCINTOSH was taken from half pay in 1756 and appointed Lieutenant in the 42nd. He was again wounded at Martinico in 1762, and was promoted to a company 24th July of the same year. He went on half pay in 1763 and was not again called on active service until 25th December, 1770, when he was appointed to the 10th regiment then serving in America. Captain McIntosh was killed at the storming of Fort Washington, 16th November, 1776. *Army Lists*; *Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, VI., 61.

<sup>8</sup> DAVID MILL or MILNE received a commission as Lieutenant in this corps 19th July, 1757; he was again wounded at Martinico in 1762 and retired from the army at the peace of 1763.

<sup>9</sup> PATRICK BALNEAVIS, of Edradour, entered the 42nd, as Ensign, 28th January, 1756, and was promoted to be Lieutenant 1st April, 1758; he was wounded again at Martinico in 1762; became Captain-Lieutenant 23rd August, 1763, and left the army in 1770. *Stewart*; *Army Lists*.

<sup>10</sup> WILLIAM EYRE was promoted to be Major in the 44th foot, 7th January, 1756; in which year he built Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George; in January, 1758, was commissioned Engineer in Ordinary, and on 17th July following was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, and next of the 55th regiment; in July, 1759, during Amherst's campaign, he was appointed Chief Engineer to the army, and soon after laid out the ground for a new fort at Ticonderoga. In October, 1759, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of his old regiment, the 44th, accompanied Amherst from Oswego to Montreal in 1760, and remained in America until 1764, in the fall of which year he was unfortunately drowned, in the prime of his life, on his passage to Ireland. *Knox Journal*, I., 388, 395; II., 133, 406; *Army Lists*.

<sup>11</sup> THOMAS FALCONER served as a Lieutenant in the 44th, in Braddock's campaign, and was promoted to a company 5th November, 1755. He left the army in August, 1765, at which time he was the senior Captain.

<sup>12</sup> CHARLES LEE was a native of Wales and son of a Colonel in the British service. He entered the army early in life; was commissioned Captain in the 44th foot 11th June, 1756; Major of the 103rd, or Volunteer Hunters, 28th October, 1761, and in 1762 served, with the local rank of Colonel, in the auxiliary British force sent to Portugal, where he distinguished himself. *Beaton*, III., 324; *Entick*, V., 428. He went on half pay at the peace and entered the Polish service; became Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in May, 1772, and after rambling all over Europe, came to America in 1773 and settled in Virginia; resigned his commission in 1775, when he was appointed by Congress Major-General in the Continental Army. He served through the war of the Revolution until 1780 when, in consequence of some misunderstanding, he retired from the service; returned to his plantation in Virginia; sold his farm and then removed to Philadelphia, where he died 2nd October, 1782. *Allen*.



Treby,<sup>1</sup> lieut. Sympton,<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Drummond,<sup>3</sup> lieut. Pennington,<sup>4</sup> lieut. Gamble, lieut. Dagworthy,<sup>5</sup> lieut. Greenfield.<sup>6</sup>

46<sup>th</sup> Lieut. gen Thomas Murray's regiment. *Killed*: Col. Beever, capt. Needham, capt. Wynne, lieut. Laulhe, lieut. Lloyd, ensign Crafton, ensign and quarter-master Carbonell. *Wounded*: Major Browning,<sup>7</sup> capt. Forbes,<sup>8</sup> capt. Marsh,<sup>9</sup> ensign Gordon.

55<sup>th</sup> Late lord Howe's regiment. *Killed*: Brig. gen. Lord Howe, Col. Donaldson, major Proby, capt. lieut. Murray, lieut. Stewart. *Wounded*: Capt. Bredin, capt. Wilkins,<sup>10</sup> lieut. le Hunt,<sup>11</sup> ensign Lloyd, quarter-master French.

1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of Royal Americans. *Killed*: Captain lieutenant Forbes, lieut. Davis. *Wounded*: Major Tullikins,<sup>12</sup> Captain Munster,<sup>13</sup> Captain Mather,<sup>14</sup> Captain Cockrane,<sup>15</sup> Lieutenant

<sup>1</sup> JOHN TREBY was appointed Lieutenant 28th September, 1748, and was attached to the 44th 10th March, 1753; served under Braddock in 1755, and was desperately wounded and nigh lost his life at the battle of the Monongahela. After having been again wounded at Ticonderoga, he obtained a company 15th September, 1758; next was attached to the 80th Light Infantry and went on half-pay in 1763. He joined the 43rd 15th August, 1775, then serving in America, but seems to have died soon after. *Army Lists*; *Sergeant's Braddock*, 243.

<sup>2</sup> ANDREW SIMPSON was appointed Lieutenant in the 44th foot 26th June, 1755, and had been already wounded at the Monongahela under Braddock; was appointed Captain-Lieutenant of his regiment in 1758, and Captain 16th August, 1760; exchanged into the 35th foot in October following, and retired in the summer of 1770. *Army Lists*.

<sup>3</sup> ROBERT DRUMMOND was commissioned Lieutenant in the 44th on the 2nd July, 1755; Captain 21st August, 1765, and went on half pay 10th December, 1768, where he continued until 25th April, 1774, when he was appointed to the 51st, then in Minorca. He left the service in July, 1776. *Army Lists*.

<sup>4</sup> GEORGE PENNINGTON served as an Ensign in the 44th, in Braddock's campaign, and was promoted to a Lieutenantcy 6th November, 1755. He was senior Lieutenant of his regiment in 1771, after which time his name does not appear in the *Army List*. He had connections in Philadelphia. *Sergeant*, 361.

<sup>5</sup> ELI DAGWORTHY was commissioned Lieutenant 15th November, 1755, and continued in the 44th until October, 1773, when he obtained a company in the 48th and went to the West Indies; returned to England and sold out or died 14th December, 1775. *Army Lists*, 1776, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> FRANCIS GREENFIELD served as Lieutenant in the 44th from 1756 to 1771, when he retired or died.

<sup>7</sup> WILLIAM BROWNING was appointed Major of the 46th on the 2nd February, 1757; Lieutenant-Colonel in the army 9th October, 1761, and retired in 1767. *Army Lists*.

<sup>8</sup> WILLIAM FORBES was commissioned Captain in the 46th on the 11th February, 1749; was appointed Major of the 35th foot 31st August, 1762, and retired in 1768. *Army Lists*.

<sup>9</sup> JAMES MARSH obtained a company in the 46th regiment 2nd February, 1757; became Major in the army 23rd July, 1772, and of his regiment 20th February, 1773; was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the 43rd 28th August, 1776, the day after the battle of Long Island. After serving through the Revolutionary war in America, he was appointed Colonel of the 77th foot, 12th October, 1787; Major-General 12th October, 1793; Lieutenant-General 1st January, 1798, and died in 1804.

<sup>10</sup> *Supra*, VIII., 185.

<sup>11</sup> GEORGE LE HUNTE was commissioned Lieutenant in the 55th foot 14th April, 1756, and Captain 28th November, 1759, in the 80th Light Infantry. In November, 1773, he was appointed Captain of a company of Invalids at Jersey; became Major in the army 11th September, 1782; exchanged into one of the Hull companies 19th February, 1790; was breveted Lieutenant-Colonel unattached on full pay 30th March, 1795; went on half-pay in 1798; became Colonel in the army in April, 1802, and died, it is supposed, in 1805, as his name is dropped from the *Army List* of 1806.

<sup>12</sup> JOHN TULLIKINS was commissioned Major of the 4th battalion Royal Americans 26th January, 1757. In 1759, he served in the expedition against Niagara and became Major of the 45th foot 25th February, 1760. In October, 1761, was advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the army; in April, 1762, of his regiment, and in the fall of that year commanded the first battalion of the army sent to reduce Newfoundland. In 1771 he retired on half-pay, and is not found afterwards on active service. *Army Lists*.

<sup>13</sup> HERBERT DE MUNSTER was commissioned Captain in the 60th Royal Americans 29th December, 1755; was promoted to be Major 20th July, 1758; Lieutenant-Colonel in the army 14th January, 1762, and went on half-pay in 1763; was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of fort St. Philip in 1768 at a salary of £730 sterling, and died towards the close of 1777. *Army List*, 1778, 260.

<sup>14</sup> RICHARD MATHER was commissioned Captain in the Royal Americans 6th January, 1756.

<sup>15</sup> GAVIN COCHRANE became Captain in the Royal Americans 15th January, 1756; Major in the army 23rd July, 1772, and of the 69th regiment 14th August, 1773; he was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel of the 58th regiment, then stationed at Gibraltar, 24th June, 1777; became Colonel in the army 20th November, 1782, and died in the spring of 1786. *Army Lists*.

Barnesley,<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Ridge,<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant Wilson, Lieutenant Guy, ensign Bailey,<sup>3</sup> ensign Gordon, ensign McIntosh.

4<sup>th</sup> Battalion Royal Americans. *Killed*: Major Rutherford,<sup>4</sup> lieut. Haselwood. *Wounded*: Capt. Prevost, capt. Depheze, capt. lieut. Slosser,<sup>5</sup> lieut. McLean, lieut. Allaz,<sup>6</sup> lieut. Turnbull,<sup>7</sup> lieut. McIntosh.

80<sup>th</sup> Colonel Gage's Light Infantry. *Killed*: Lieut. Cumberford. *Wounded*: Capt. Gladwin,<sup>8</sup> ensign Patterson.

Provincials, Colonel Preble's. *Wounded*: Captain Winslow, capt. Goodwin, lieut. Macomber, lieut. Dorman, lieut. Adam.

New-York Regiment, Col. de Lancey's. *Killed*: Lieutenant and Adjutant Mauncey, lieut. Gatehouse. *Wounded*: Lieut. col. Leroux, lieut. Ducan, lieut. Degraw, Lieut. Yates, and lieut. Smith.

Rhode Island Regiment, Col. Babcock's. *Wounded*: Col. Babcock,<sup>9</sup> capt. John Whiting,<sup>10</sup> lieut. Russell.

<sup>1</sup> THOMAS BARNESLEY entered the 60th, as Ensign, 26th December, 1755, and after having been promoted to a Lieutenantcy, obtained a company 3rd May, 1759. His name is dropped in the Army List of 1768.

<sup>2</sup> WILLIAM RIDGE received a commission as Ensign in the Royal Americans 3rd January, 1756, and obtained a company 18th September, 1760; went on half-pay in 1763; was appointed to a company in the 44th foot 28th February, 1766, and exchanged into the 17th regiment 15th March, 1768, where he served until November, 1771, when he died or resigned his commission.

<sup>3</sup> ALEXANDER BAILLIE was promoted to a Lieutenantcy in the 60th regiment 27th July, 1758, and went on half-pay at the peace, where he continued until 29th November, 1771, when he was appointed first Lieutenant in the 21st North British Fusiliers; Captain in the 9th Foot 23rd September, 1776; Major in the army 18th November, 1790; Lieutenant-Colonel in 1799. There is another officer of the same name who was appointed Captain of Invalids in 1790; Colonel in the army in 1794, and whose name continues on the Army List after 1809.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, VII., 205.

<sup>5</sup> JOHN JOSEPH SCHLOSSER was a native of Germany and appointed Captain-Lieutenant in the 60th regiment 12th May, 1756; Captain 20th July, 1758. In 1759 he served in the campaign against Niagara, and after its surrender commanded a post about a mile above the falls, which has since retained his name, being called old Fort "Schlosser." He afterwards commanded Fort St. Joseph, near the head of Lake Michigan, where he was surprised on the 25th May, 1763, taken prisoner by some Pontawatamies, carried to Detroit and exchanged. In January and February, 1764, he was employed, in Philadelphia, protecting the poor Moravian Indians from the Paxton mob. He continued in the Royal Americans until 1772. *Army Lists*; *Pennsylvania Archives*, IV., 158, 160; *Parkman's Pontiac*, 240.

<sup>6</sup> JAMES ALLAZ was commissioned Lieutenant in the 60th regiment 17th January, 1756; Captain-Lieutenant of the 3rd battalion 6th May, and Captain 2nd October, 1761; and retired on half-pay in 1763. On the reorganization of the regiment into four battalions again in 1775, he was recalled, on active service, as Captain of the 4th battalion, then in the West Indies; was promoted to be Major in the army 29th August, 1777, and died in 1778. *Army Lists*.

<sup>7</sup> GEORGE TURNBULL was commissioned Lieutenant in the Royal Americans 5th February, 1756, and Captain 15th November, 1765. He died or retired in 1775, without attaining any higher rank.

<sup>8</sup> *Supra*, VII., 961.

<sup>9</sup> HENRY BABCOCK was born in 1736; entered Yale College in 1748, and was graduated in 1762; was Captain of an Independent company of Foot in 1754, and in 1755 served in the battle of Lake George; was promoted to the rank of Major in 1756, and in 1757 to that of Lieutenant-Colonel; he commanded the Rhode Island regiment in 1758, and was wounded in the knee; the following year he again commanded his regiment in the campaign under Amherst; went to England in 1761; and on his return married and settled at Stonington, Connecticut, and commenced the practice of the law. In this he apparently was not successful, for in 1773 he applied for admission to Holy Orders in the Church of England, and was afterwards engaged in Lake Superior copper speculations. In 1776 he joined the popular party and was appointed, by the Legislature, commander of the forces at Newport. *Updike*.

<sup>10</sup> JOHN WHITING was eldest son of Charles Whiting and Elizabeth Bradford, grand-daughter of Governor B., of Plymouth Colony. He was born August 3rd, 1719, and married a Miss Cogswell; removed to Rhode Island; was promoted to the rank of Major after the battle of Ticonderoga, and in 1759 was Lieutenant of the Rhode Island regiment. He died in New London 17th December, 1770. *Goodwin's Genealogical Notes*, 384, 337.



Connecticut Regiment, Col. Fitch's. *Killed*: Lieut. Howland. *Wounded*: Ensign Robins.  
 Connecticut Regiment, Col. Worster's. *Wounded*: Lieut. col. Smedley.  
 Col. Bagley's. *Killed*: Lieut. Burman, lieut. Low. *Wounded*: Capt. Whiple.  
 Jersey Regiment, Col. Johnston's. *Killed*: Lieut. col. Shaw. *Wounded*: Capt Douglas.  
 Col. Partridge's. *Killed*: Capt. Johnson, lieutenant Braggs. *Wounded*: Capt. A. Willard.<sup>1</sup>

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*M. de Montcalm to Marshal De Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Carillon, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, persisting in the opinion that the enemy were not collecting twenty-five thousand men at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, notwithstanding the unanimity of the depositions of the prisoners, I was under the necessity of starting on the fourth of June to assume the command of eight battalions, from which he had drawn four hundred picked men. On the thirtieth, the day of my arrival at the camp of Carillon, I had *two thousand nine hundred and seventy men of our troops*; what is incredible, only *sixteen Indians*, (*there are eight hundred of them domiciliated in the Colony*;) *thirty-five Canadians*, *thirty-seven men of the marine*. 'Twas with this force that I have dared to make a movement in advance, which, in affording the enemy matter for reflection, has retarded his march against me four days.

From the first to the sixth of July I have not received any other reinforcement than four hundred soldiers of the Marine or Canadians. The Marquis de Vaudreuil had promised me in writing, twelve hundred and a great many Indians. On the sixth I effected my retreat, and drew back all my posts without confusion or the loss of a man, my advanced guards having fired on the landing of six thousand men, and that day would have left nothing undesired had a detachment of three hundred men, at whose head I placed an officer of the colony,

<sup>1</sup> ABRAHAM WILLARD was the son of Colonel Samuel Willard of Lancaster, Worcester county, Massachusetts, where he was born in the year 1722. He served in the army at the taking of Cape Breton, and rose to the rank of Captain in the above campaign. Having recovered from his wound he commanded one of the Massachusetts regiments in the campaign of 1759, under Amherst, and in 1760 entered Montreal, by way of the lakes, with the army under the command of Brigadier-General Haviland. In 1774, he was appointed a Mandamus counsellor, in consequence of which he became very unpopular. While at Union, Connecticut, he was seized and held through the night in confinement, and next day found himself obliged to sign a declaration that he would not act, asking, at the same time, forgiveness for having taken the oath of office. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1775, he mounted his horse and was proceeding to Beverly, where he had a farm, to superintend the spring work. While on his way the uprising of the country led him to fear for his personal safety, and he turned his horse's head towards Boston, where he purposed remaining only a few days. He was caught by Gage's Proclamation in a trap, and was too far compromised to return amongst his old neighbors. He subsequently accompanied the Royal army to Halifax. Though offered a commission by General Howe, he refused, saying "he should never fight against his country." He was afterwards Commissary to the British troops at New-York, and in 1778 was proscribed and his property confiscated. In July, 1783, he was one of the 55 petitioners, in the city of New-York, to General Carleton, for lands in Nova Scotia. He settled in New Brunswick and called the town Lancaster, after his native place in Massachusetts. He was a member of the Provincial Council and died at Lancaster, N. B., in May, 1789, aged 67 years. His estate in Massachusetts has been redeemed by his family and now belongs to his only surviving daughter, the widow of the Hon. Benjamin Goodhue, of Salem. *Letter of Joseph Willard, Esq., of Boston*; *Ward's Curwen*, 520; *Sabine's Loyalists*, 705. — Ed.

the most experienced in movements through the forest, as a guide, not gone astray and fallen into a column of English.

I have lost six officers and one hundred and eighty-seven soldiers, including some Canadians, in killed or missing.

The seventh was employed by all the troops in constructing an abbatis, and their labor is incredible. The four hundred picked troops who had remained with Chevalier de Levis, arrived in the evening, and the Chevalier, himself, in the night, of the seventh and eighth. As I had not any Indians, two companies of volunteers whom I had drafted from our battalions, kept up a fire with the enemy's advanced guard the entire night.

At half an hour after noon, the enemy's forces, consisting at least of twenty thousand, and according to many of the prisoners, of twenty-five thousand picked men, defiled on our guards and grenadier companies, which came in again. In a moment all the troops were at their posts. At one o'clock the enemy vigorously attacked us in four columns, mixed up with their irregular troops and best sharp shooters. The fire on the one side and on the other was like that at the battle of Parma, and the fight continued until eight o'clock at night. His Majesty is indebted at this moment for the success of that day to the incredible valor of his troops. The enemy retired that night in disorder, reimparking on Lake St. Sacrament, after having burnt some barges which they had conveyed to the Falls, and what affords me most gratification in this affair is, that the Regulars do not share, so to speak, its glory with any person. The reinforcements announced and promised by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, commenced arriving on the eleventh. The Governor-General will plead the want of provisions. How much may be said on that article! From what we have seen and from their precipitate flight, we estimate the loss of the enemy at about five thousand men killed or wounded. Our's is twelve officers killed, twenty-three wounded, ninety-two soldiers killed, two hundred and forty eight wounded. Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque have had the greatest share in the glory of the day. The latter is dangerously wounded.

I perceive, by a dispatch from the Marquis de Paulmy of the twenty-sixth of February, that he had not received my despatches of the fourth of November, containing my lists of nominations and recommendations for favors to our troops. I am justified in concluding that they have been intercepted and stopped at the Bureau of the Marine. 'Twas in M. de la Porte's time. If people can act thus, 'tis useless for me to write to you. I shall have the honor to address you a detailed Relation, but I hasten to write you these lines, for fear the Governor-General may send off a vessel from Quebec unknown to me. If ever there has been a body of troops worthy of favors, 'tis that which I have the honor to command. Therefore, I pray you, my Lord, to heap them on it and to grant it all those I shall have the honor to propose to you. For myself, I do not ask you any other than to procure me the King's leave to return. My health suffers, my purse is exhausted. At the end of the year I shall owe the treasurer of the Colony ten thousand crowns (*écus*). And more than all, the trouble and contradictions I experience; the impossibility in which I am placed of doing good and preventing evil, determine me earnestly to pray his Majesty to grant me this favor, the only one I ambition.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.



P. S. I must not leave you in ignorance, my Lord, of the fact that Colonel Johnson was, on the day of the affair, at the tail of the English columns with five hundred Indians, the greater part of whom belonged to the Five Nations. They have not struck because we have been conquerors, and I dare to believe that the victory of the King's troops will advance more the Marquis de Vaudreuil's secret negotiation with those people than all the negotiators and parties sent to their village.

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*Another Account of the Operations at Ticonderoga.*

[ Translated from a French letter in Pennsylvania Archives, III., 472. ]

Camp at Lake George, July 14<sup>th</sup>, 1758.

Sir,

Having a few hours to myself, I think I cannot employ them better than in giving you a correct account of what has occurred between the 5<sup>th</sup> inst., the day on which we proceeded hence on the unfortunate expedition against Fort Carillon, to the 9<sup>th</sup> when we committed the blunder of returning here. I enclose you a little plan, hastily drawn up, to render what follows more intelligible. I doubt not that you have many different accounts at Philadelphia where the coffee house overflows with news; a real perpetual motion. And as I have been present myself, I am delighted, Sir, at having it in my power to furnish you a correct account. If, perchance, any reflections escape me therein, I would not wish them to be made public.

Our artillery, warlike stores and provisions being embarked on the 4<sup>th</sup>, all the troops went on the 5<sup>th</sup> at sunrise, on board more than 1,000 bateaux, not counting a few rafts which transported our heavy guns, and the horses; the last brigade embarked at 7 o'clock in the morning. At 6 o'clock in the evening we had already arrived at Sabbath-day Point, 24 miles, a spot famous by the unfortunate defeat last year of Colonel Parker,<sup>1</sup> who lost there 300, out of a detachment of 350 men, he had under his command. We beheld there its melancholy remains, both in the water and on the shore. We made a halt at that Point to wait for the rest of the three brigades and artillery, which were in the rear. The whole came up by 11 o'clock at night and we resumed our route.

6<sup>th</sup> Next morning we found ourselves at day break, within 4 miles of the enemy's advanced posts; at 8 o'clock, the first brigade went a-shore at the landing place, without meeting a solitary man to oppose us. A New-York regiment and a party of the Jerseys landed at the same time near the French camp which, having at last discovered us, hastily moved off, firing on our men at a distance of 600 paces, consequently without any effect, and retired leaving the greater part of their tents, provisions and baggage to the mercy of the new hosts.

Scouts were sent out at once, and 'twas found that the enemy had abandoned all the different intrenched posts, which, however, they had destroyed as far as time allowed, up to Fort Ticonderoga, or Carillon, in front of which was a strong intrenchment, consisting of a number of large trees, laid lengthwise one over the other, 7 @ 8 feet in height and pierced with a double row of loop-holes. The upper side was covered with bags of earth, by which

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 592. — Ed.

arrangement there was a triple fire. The intrenchment flanked itself perfectly well, and was impregnable to musketry. A huge abbatis of trees which extended outside the entire length, rendered it more formidable. This was not ascertained until after our misfortune.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, all the regiments except three, advanced to take possession of the favorable posts on the height near the saw mill, one mile and a half from Carillon. At 4 o'clock they fell in with 350 French on the hill half way between the Landing place and the mill, who had been sent 3 days before from Fort Carillon on a scout 10 miles up the Lake; they saw us pass, and counted 700 bateaux, or the two first brigades, at sight of which, they attempted to return, to oppose our landing, but having gone astray they were, even at the moment our Rangers were firing at them, still unable to discover where they were. They consisted of 150 regulars, mostly of the regiment of La Reine, 100 volunteers and 100 Canadians. At the first volley they fired, they killed Lord Howe<sup>1</sup> and Lieutenant Cumberfort. Lord Howe was at the head of the Rangers, notwithstanding all the remonstrances made him; the moment the fire was received in front, panic seized our soldiers; entire regiments flung themselves one atop of the other, and even the General narrowly escaped being dragged off in the confusion by the fugitives. In vain did the officers cry out and offer opposition; nothing could stop 'em; meanwhile our brave Rangers defended themselves 200 against 350 of the enemy, up to the time they were reinforced. The enemy were surrounded and one Captain, 3 Lieutenants, with 170 soldiers were taken prisoners; some officers attempted to save themselves in the river by swimming, but they were killed, so that 'tis believed not one escaped. We lost Lord Howe, Lieutenant Cumberfort and 8 men; 6 wounded.

I am certain had the enemy had 3 or 400 Indians with them at the beginning of this rencounter, they would have beaten us and driven us to our bateaux. 'Tis a singular case that 350 men drove back and threw into considerable confusion about 11,000.

We have taken 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants and 170 men prisoners. As this affair deranged our plans somewhat, 'twas concluded to go and pass the night at the Landing place.

7<sup>th</sup> Resumed our march to take possession of the Mill heights, where the enemy had a camp the day before, of 800 men.

8<sup>th</sup> In the morning two rafts were ordered to be constructed to receive each two 6-pounders, which were to descend the river and take the intrenchment in the rear or enfilade it; but unfortunately, people forgot to reconnoitre whether 'twas feasible, for as soon as it got to be near one o'clock in the afternoon, and the point was passed, they were under the guns of the fort, which did not fail to play on them in such a style that our men found it prudent to return

<sup>1</sup> GEORGE AUGUSTUS, Lord Viscount Howe, eldest son of Sir E. Scrope, second Lord Viscount Howe, in the peerage of Ireland, was born in 1725, and succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1735. In the forepart of 1757, he was ordered to America, being then Colonel commanding the 60th or Royal Americans, and arrived at Halifax in July following. On 28th September, 1757, he was appointed Colonel of the 55th foot, and on the 29th December, Brigadier-General in America. In the next year, when Abercrombie was chosen to proceed against Ticonderoga, Pitt selected Lord Howe to be the soul of the enterprise. On the 8th of July, he landed with the army at Howe's Point, at the outlet of Lake George, and commenced his march along the west road for Ticonderoga, in command of the right centre. They had proceeded about two miles, and an advanced party of rangers, under Lord Howe, was near Trout brook, when they suddenly came upon a party of Frenchmen who had lost their way. A skirmish ensued in which his Lordship, 'foremost fighting, fell,' and expired immediately. In him, says Mante, 'the soul of the army seemed to expire.' By his military talents and many virtues he had acquired esteem and affection. Howe's corpse was escorted to Albany for interment by PHILIP SCHUYLER, a young hero of native growth, afterwards a General in the Revolution, and was buried in St. Peter's church. Massachusetts erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey at an expense of £250. Lord Howe was a member of Parliament for Nottingham at the time of his decease. — ED.



whence they came. 'Twere fortunate had we done as much before losing so many people to no purpose; the fort would be ours at this moment.

After having resolved to attack the intrenchment, Major Proby, of the 55<sup>th</sup> regiment, marched the first at the head of all the pickets and of the grenadiers, who were to sustain them; he was followed by all the Regular regiments and some Provincials; but instead of attacking all at once, and there were no other orders, they attacked according as they defiled; our men had all the trouble imaginable in passing the abbatis of trees, in which act all order was lost. An hour afterwards, 'twas reported that the intrenchment was impregnable; that the best course would be to withdraw us in order, but no positive answer was returned on this head; all the regiments were ordered to advance; they were led to battle, but all in vain. The French were invisible; nothing was to be seen of them but a small bit of their caps, whilst they were keeping up a terrible and continual fire. Every man who wished to approach nearer than 15 paces, was irreparably dead. Notwithstanding all that, a most brisk fire was kept up on all sides until half-past six, when one regiment after another retired to the camp, which I intrenched of my own accord, after having seen how the thing was going.

What will our posterity say when they will learn that 14,000 men kept up and sustained, for six consecutive hours, with a courage truly heroic, a triple fire from the enemy at an intrenchment impregnable to small arms, without the slightest hope of carrying it? But what appears to me more surprising is, that if perchance they would have rendered themselves masters of it, they would have done so to their own disadvantage; for, after the French would have withdrawn under the cannon of the fort, they would have driven us off very quick, perhaps with greater loss than we should have suffered in capturing it, the fort being only 6 or 700 paces from the intrenchment. Our loss in Regulars was 1,500 men killed and wounded; the Provincials lost in all only about 600 men. The enemy cannot have lost over one hundred.

'Twas very fortunate that we had not been pursued in our retreat; we should have certainly lost 2,000 men more, having to pass defiles where only men can walk two abreast, and sometimes only in single files.

The 47<sup>th</sup> regiment has had 7 officers killed and 19 wounded; over 200 soldiers killed and 300 wounded.

We retreated that evening and during the night to the Landing place, and what crowns our misfortune and surpasses all belief, on the morning of the 9<sup>th</sup> everything was embarked and gone, to return whence we came, having still 12,000 fighting men in good health and divers good intrenched camps. We arrived on the same day at Fort Wm. Henry.

This, Sir, is an exact account of what occurred. I should have wished to communicate something more fortunate to you.

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Carrillon, 20th July, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you an exact and circumstantial Account of the Battle of the eighth of July. As I have not with me here the cypher of correspondence, I postpone all reflections to the end of the campaign. Now, without necessity and without any determinate object, a great many men are sent to me whom I have neither desired nor demanded. They will consume our provisions, and I doubt not but it has been done in order to write that I have been placed in a position to make the most of my victory, and three hundred Indians were refused to me at my departure, who would have annihilated the English on their retreat.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

*M. de Montcalm's Report of the Battle of Ticonderoga.*

An Account of the Victory gained at Carillon by the King's troops, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, 1758.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, uncertain of the enemy's movements, considered it proper at the opening of this campaign, to divide his forces. He had destined Chevalier de Levy for a secret expedition with a detachment *d'élite*, 400 men of which were selected from the regular troops, the remainder were sent under the Marquis de Montcalm's orders, to defend the Lake St. Sacrament frontier.

The Marquis de Montcalm arrived on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June at Carillon; the report of the prisoners some days before, did not permit him to doubt that the enemy had assembled a force of between 20 and 25,000 men in the vicinity of Fort William Henry, and that their intention was to march immediately against him.

He communicated this intelligence forthwith to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and did not hesitate to take up a favorable position in advance, which might impose on the enemy, retard their movements, and afford the Colony time to get its reinforcements forward. And Sieur de Bourlamaque received orders in consequence, to occupy the Carrying place at the outlet of Lake St. Sacrament, with the 3 battalions of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn. The Marquis de Montcalm with those of La Sarre, Royal Roussillon, Languedoc, the 1st Battalion of Berry, occupied both sides of the Falls, so called because that part of Lake St. Sacrament, contracted by mountains, discharges its waters impetuously into the river St. Frederic, Lake Champlain.

To the 2<sup>d</sup> battalion of Berry was committed the guard and service of Fort Carillon; at the same time the Marquis de Montcalm caused Sieurs Pont le Roy and Desandrouin, engineers,



to reconnoitre the site of an intrenched camp which could cover the fort, and as we had no Canadians, and only fifteen Indians, he drafted from the French Battalions two troops of volunteers, the command of which he gave to Captain Bernard of the Béarn regiment, and to Captain Duprat of that of La Reine.

On the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> some scouts we had on Lake St. Sacrament, gave notice that there were a great number of barges which might, and in fact did belong to the van guard of the enemy's camp. An order was immediately given to the troops of the camps at the Portage and Falls, to run to arms, bivouac through the night and cut off the crews; Duprat's volunteers were sent to take up a position at a stream called Bernes river, which descends between the mountains wherewith this country is covered, and enters that of the Falls. The enemy might take us by the rear of these mountains, and 'twas essential to be notified thereof; 350 men were detached under the command of Captain de Trepezec of the regiment of Béarn, to take post between Bald Mountain and the Left river<sup>1</sup> of Lake St. Sacrament, and the Béarn Volunteers occupied an intermediate position between Bald Mountain and the Portage camp. Measures were also adopted to keep an eye on the landing the enemy might effect on the Right river<sup>1</sup> of the lake.

6<sup>th</sup> At 4 o'clock in the morning, the enemy's vanguard was descried within sight of the portage. The Marquis de Montcalm forthwith sent orders to Sieurs de Pontleroy and Desandrouin, to trace out in front of Carillon on the ground already designated, the intrenchments *en abatis*; and to the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Berry to work at them under its colors.

The enemy commenced landing at 9 o'clock. Sieur de Bourlamaque then effected his retreat in their presence with the three battalions of the Portage, in the best possible order; he joined M. de Montcalm who was awaiting him in order of battle on the heights of the Right river<sup>1</sup> of the Falls, with the Royal Rousillon and 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of Berry. These five battalions united, crossed the river and destroyed the bridge, and with those of La Sarre and Languedoc, occupied the heights bordering on the Left river.<sup>1</sup>

This retreat would have been effected without the loss of a man, had not M. de Trepezec's detachment gone astray; abandoned by the small number of Indians which acted as guides, it lost itself in the mountains covered with trees, and after a march of 12 hours, fell into an English column which was marching towards the river of the Falls. 6 officers, and about 150 soldiers belonging to that detachment, have been taken; they fought for a long time but were obliged to yield to numbers; the English on that occasion suffered a considerable loss in the person of Brigadier-General Lord How of their army and Colonel of one of the regiments from old England.

At 6 o'clock in the evening, M. Duprat came with intelligence that the enemy was making head towards Bernets river with some pioneers, and that their design evidently was to throw a bridge across it. The Marquis de Montcalm ordered him to fall back, and commenced himself retreating towards the heights of Carillon, where he arrived at sundown. At nightfall a party of the enemy's regulars came to occupy both sides of the Falls, extending towards the bank of Berney, and intrenched themselves in like manner.

7<sup>th</sup> The entire army was employed at the works and abatis roughly prepared on the previous night by the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Berry. The officers gave the example and the colors were planted on the works which were traced from the height nearly 650 toises in front of Fort Carillon.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. Qui river, bank.* — Ed.



The left rested on an escarpment 80 toises distant from the bank of the Falls, and whose summit was crowned by an abbati that flanked an opening, in the rear of which 6 pieces of cannon were to be placed to batter it, as well as the river.

The right rested equally on an acclivity, the pitch whereof was not so perpendicular as that on the left; the plain between this height and the River St. Frederic was flanked by a branch of intrenchment and was to be flanked also by a battery of 4 pieces of cannon, which was completed only on the morning following the action; moreover, the cannon of the fort were directed towards that plain and the landing that might be effected to the left.

The centre followed 40 sinuosities, the ground<sup>1</sup> keeping on the summit of the heights, and all the sections (of the intrenchment) flanked each other reciprocally; several indeed both on the right and left, received the enemy's fire at an acute angle (*en echarpe*), but this was because they did not allow us time to throw up traverses there. These species of intrenchments were formed of trunks of trees piled one on the other, having others felled in front, the branches of which, cut and sharpened, produced the effect of chevaux de frise.

Between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, the pickets of our troops, detached under the command of Chevalier de Levy, arrived in the night.

Throughout the whole day our volunteers exchanged shots with the enemy's light troops. General Abercromby advanced in person with a large body of Militia and the remainder of the Regulars, as far as the Falls, to which place he sent up several barges and pontoons, each mounted with two pieces of cannon. The troops raised, therefore, that day, several intrenchments in front one of the other; the nearest of these was hardly a cannon shot from our abbati. We bivouacked throughout the night along the intrenchment.

8<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat at day-break, in order that all the troops might understand their ground for the defence of the intrenchment according to the annexed disposition, which was nearly that wherein the men had worked. The army was composed of eight battalions: La Reine, la Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, Guienne, the 2 of Berry and that of Bearn, and of 450 Canadians or soldiers of the Marine, which made, in all, 3600 fighting men.

On the left of the line were stationed the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc and two pickets which arrived the previous evening; Bernard and Duprat's volunteers guarded the opening towards the river of the Falls.

The centre was occupied by the first battalion of Berry, that of Royal Rousillon and the rest of the pickets of Chevalier de Levy.

La Reine, Bearn and Guienne defended the right, and on the plain, between the escarpment of that right and the River St. Frederic the Colonial troops and the Canadians were posted, also intrenched behind abbatis, throughout the entire front of the line. Each battalion had in its rear a company of grenadiers, one picket and reserve, both to sustain their battalion and to be posted wherever required; Chevalier de Levy commanded the right; M. de Bourlamaque the left, and the Marquis de Montcalm reserved the centre to himself.

This disposition regulated and known, the troops set again immediately to work; part were occupied in perfecting the abbatis, the remainder in constructing the two batteries before mentioned, and a redoubt which was for additional protection to the night.

On the morning of this day, Colonel Johnson joined the English army with 300 Indians, Tchactas, Mohegans and 5 Nations and Captain Jacob with 150 others. Soon after we saw

<sup>1</sup> Le centre suivait 40 sinuosités, le terrain conservant, &c. *Text.* The figure "40" is supposed an error for *les* and the word "le" for *du*; so that the correct reading would be: "The centre followed the sinuosities of the ground," &c. See *post*, p. 742. — Ed.



them and some light infantry on a mountain opposite Carillon on the other side of the river of the Falls; they also opened a considerable fire which did not interrupt the work. We did not amuse ourselves by answering them.

Half after noon, the English army defiled against us; the grenadier companies, their volunteers and the advanced guards fell back in good order and reëntered the line; at the moment and signal prescribed, all the troops were under arms and at their posts.

The left was first attacked by two columns, one of these, which was endeavoring to turn the intrenchment, found itself under the fire of the battalion of La Sarre, the other directed its efforts against an angle between Languedoc and Berri; the centre where the Royal Rousillon was posted, was attacked almost at the same time by a third column, whilst a 4<sup>th</sup> attacked the right between Bearn and La Reine. These different columns were intermixed with their light infantry and best marksmen, who, under cover of the two, directed a most murdering fire on us.

At the commencement of the battle, some barges and pontoons which had started from the Falls, advanced within sight of Carillon, but were forced to retire by some guns of the fort, and by the bold face shewn by Bernard and Duprat's volunteers whom *Sieur de Poulariés* supported at the head of a company of grenadiers and a picket of the Royal Rousillon.

The different attacks continued almost the entire afternoon, and almost throughout the engagement, with the greatest vivacity.

As the Canadians and Colonials were not attacked, they directed their fire against the column which was attacking our right and sometimes came within range of them. That column, consisting of English grenadiers and Scotch<sup>\*</sup> highlanders, continued charging for 3 hours without retreating or breaking, and several were killed within fifteen paces of our abbatis.

About 5 o'clock, the column which had vigorously attacked Royal Rousillon, fell on the angle defended by the battalion of Guyenne and on the left of that of Bearn; the column which had attacked the right, flung itself also against the same point, so that the danger became imminent there. *Chevalier de Levy* repaired thither with some troops from the right where the enemy were no longer seriously firing; the *Marquis de Montcalm* ran thither also, with some of the reserve, and the enemy experienced a resistance which finally abated their ardor.

The left continued to sustain the fire of the two columns which were attempting to enter at that point, where *Sieur de Bourlamaque* had been dangerously wounded about 4 o'clock. *Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Senezergue* and *Privat*, Lieutenant-Colonels of La Sarre and Languedoc, supplied his absence by issuing the best orders. The *Marquis de Montcalm* repaired to that quarter several times, and was attentive to dispatching a reinforcement thither at every critical moment.

At 6 o'clock both columns of the right, which abandoned the attack on Guyenne, came to make another attempt against Royal Rousillon and Berry, and finally a parting effort on the left.

At 7 o'clock the enemy was no longer occupied except by its retreat, under favor of the Light Infantry's fire which was kept up until nightfall; they abandoned, with the field of battle, their dead and portion of their wounded.

The darkness of the night; the exhaustion and small number of our troops; the enemy's forces which, despite their defeat, were still infinitely superior to ours; the nature of those woods in which 'twas impossible, without Indians, to engage an army that had 4 or 500 of them; several intrenchments thrown up *en échelons* from the field of battle to their camp; such were the obstacles which prevented us pursuing the enemy on their retreat. We even calculated

that they would attempt the next day to take their revenge, and we worked all night to set the neighboring heights at defiance by means of traverses; to complete the abbati of the Canadians and to finish the batteries of the right and left, which had been commenced in the morning.

9<sup>th</sup> Our volunteers having notified the Marquis de Montcalm that the posts at the Falls and the Portage appeared to be abandoned, he gave orders to Chev: de Levy to proceed at day-break next morning with the grenadiers, volunteers and Canadians, to discover what had become of the enemy's army. Chev: de Levy advanced as far as the Portage. Everywhere he discovered traces of a precipitate flight; wounded, provisions and baggage abandoned; remains of burnt barges and pontoons—an incontestable proof of the loss the enemy had incurred. We estimate the killed and wounded at 4,000. Were some among them, and the promptitude of their retreat to be relied on, the number would be still more considerable. They have lost many principal officers; Lord How, Major-General Spittal,<sup>1</sup> the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of New-York, and several others.

The Indians of the Five Nations have remained quasi spectators in the rear of the column. Before declaring themselves, they were doubtless waiting the result of a battle which did not appear to the English to admit of a doubt.

The Act in our hands, which has been published in their Colonies for the levy and maintenance of this army, announces the general invasion of Canada, and these very words are expressed in all the commissions of their Militia officers.

The justice is due them that they have attacked us with the most determined obstinacy. 'Tis not usual that such would be the case with intrenchments for seven consecutive hours.

This victory is due to the skilful manœuvres of our Generals before and during the action, and to the incredible valor of the troops; all the officers of the army behaved in a manner to entitle each of them to a special eulogium. We have about 450 killed or wounded, thirty-eight of whom are officers.

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*French printed Account of the Battle of Ticonderoga.*

CANADA.

Journal of the affair that took place in Canada on the 8<sup>th</sup> July, 1758, between the King's troops, commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, and those of England, which, to the number of twenty thousand men, have been routed by three thousand two hundred and fifty French.

Paris Doc. XV., 44. Would any one believe, Sir, that twenty thousand English have been obliged to fly before three thousand two hundred and fifty Frenchmen? This is exactly what has just happened to the King of England's troops commanded by Major General Abercromby.

<sup>1</sup>This is a mistake. JOHN SPITAL was commissioned Captain in the 47th foot, 24th November, 1755, and acted *Brigade Major* in this campaign. He accompanied the expedition against Quebec under Wolfe, in the same capacity, and was attached to Monckton's brigade. He was promoted to be Major, 1st March, 1760, in which year he commanded the 5th battalion of the 1st brigade of the army in the expedition which proceeded from Quebec to form a junction with Amherst at Montreal. On 15th June, 1764, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbitt, 21st March, 1765, after which his name is dropped in the *Army List. Knox Journal*, I., 255, 256, 355; II., 374. — Ed.



The English design was to take Fort Carillon, in order afterwards to render themselves masters of Canada. Full of confidence in the superiority of the number of their troops, that conquest appeared to them certain, but they had counted without M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil and without the Marquis de Montcalm.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil had sent the Marquis de Montcalm to protect the frontier of the Colony towards Lake S<sup>t</sup> Sacrament. That General arrived on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June at Fort Carillon, where he found only eight battalions of Regulars, two companies of gunners and about three hundred workmen and a few Indians. Some days afterwards, Captain Raimond brought him a reinforcement of 400 Colonials, but having learned that the English with an army of twenty thousand Militia, and six thousand Regulars were in the vicinity of Lake St. Sacrament, and that Major-General Abercromby was to set out to capture Fort Carillon and drive us out of Canada, he immediately advised the Marquis de Vaudreuil of the circumstance, which that governor had already previously learned from other reports furnished him. He thought proper to change the destination of Chevalier de Levis who had been detached towards Corlac; ordered him to join the Marquis de Montcalm, and took measures to forward additional reinforcements without delay to the latter officer.

The Marquis de Montcalm, in view of checking the enemy, occupied the post of the Falls on the borders of Lake S<sup>t</sup> Sacrament, where he remained until the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, when the enemy appeared in force on the Lake.

The Marquis de Montcalm sent out several detachments to harrass the English on their landing; then recrossed the River of the Falls with all his troops and came to encamp under Fort Carillon, where he had had the precaution to have a camp laid out. A detachment of about 300 men, which had been sent to annoy the enemy, having lost its way through fault of the guides, fell on a column of the enemy, already formed; one hundred and eighty soldiers were killed or made prisoners, the remainder joined our troops.

On arriving at his camp, the Marquis de Montcalm had only 2800 men belonging to the troops from France, and 450 Colonials, from which number must be deducted one battalion of Berry that was reserved, with the exception of the Grenadier company, to guard the fort.

7<sup>th</sup> In the morning the entire army was employed constructing abbatis; the men at work were protected by some grenadier companies and volunteers; the officers had planted their colors on the work, and axe in hand, were the first to set the soldiers an example, and each strove with the greatest ardor to surpass the other.

Our left wing was composed of the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc; it rested on an escarpment eighty toises distant from the River of the Falls; an abbatiss crowned the summit of the escarpment and flanked an opening guarded by two companies of Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers. Six cannon were posted behind this opening. The right was guarded by La Reine, Bearn and Guyenne; it also was protected by a declivity, the pitch whereof was less precipitous than that on the left. The troops of the Colony and the Canadians occupied the table land between this declivity and the River St. Frederic, and intrenched themselves there with some abbatis.

The cannon of the fort was directed both against this part and the place where the landing might be made, to the left of our intrenchment. The centre, preserving the summit of the heights, followed the sinuosities of the ground, and all the parts reciprocally flanked each other.<sup>1</sup> The battalions of Royal Rousillon and the first Berry battalion composed the centre; each

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 739, note. — Ed.

battalion had in its rear a company of grenadiers, and a picket of reserve along the whole of the front of the line.

Intrenchments had to be constructed of logs placed one on the top of the other, having felled trees in front, whose branches were cut and sharpened, forming a sort of chevaux de frise.

On the evening of the 7<sup>th</sup> our army experienced great joy, on the arrival of 400 picked men. Chevalier de Levis arrived shortly after with Lieutenant-Colonel Senezergues of the regiment of La Sarre.

Chevalier de Levis had charge of the defence of the right; M. de Bourlamaque of that of the left; the Marquis de Montcalm reserved to himself the command of the centre, in order to be in a convenient position for observing, and for giving his orders, all round. The army bivouacked throughout the night.

8<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat at the break of day, and all the troops reconnoitred their posts; one portion was employed in completing the abbatis, whilst the other was constructing the batteries.

At ten o'clock in the forenoon, the enemy's light infantry showed itself on the opposite side of the river and opened a considerable fire, which, the distance being too great, was ineffectual in preventing us continuing the work.

At half an hour after noon their army deployed against us. Our guards advanced, the volunteers and grenadier companies fell back and reëntered the lines without the loss of a single man. The workmen and all the troops ran, on the first signal, to their arms and to their posts.

Our left was first attacked by two columns, one of which endeavoring to turn the intrenchment found itself under the fire of the regiment of La Sarre; the other attacked a salient angle between Languedoc and Berry;<sup>1</sup> and a fourth column attacked the right between the battalions of Bèarn and La Reine. Captain Raimond, who was in command of the troops that had gone to the level land alongside the River St. Frederic, not being attacked, made a sortie from its intrenchments, took the column attacking our right in flank and charged it with intrepidity. About 5 o'clock in the evening, the column which had attacked the Royal Roussillon battalions, threw itself on the salient angle of the intrenchment defended by the battalions of Guyenne and by the left of Bearn; the other of the enemy's columns, which at first had attacked the battalions of La Reine and Bearn, fell upon it also, and the attack became murderous. The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis perceiving it, the former ran thither with some troops of the reserve, and the latter with some detachments from the right. The English, repeatedly repulsed, again made another attempt, which had no better success, and were obliged to prepare for a retreat, which was covered by the fire of the light infantry that continued until night.

Divers considerations prevented our pursuing the enemy; his forces which, notwithstanding their defeat, were greatly superior to ours; the darkness of the night; the nature of the country in which, even in broad daylight, it is impossible to travel without guides, and lastly, the fatigue of our little victorious army.

M. de Montcalm the next day detached Chev: de Levis to reconnoitre the enemy. He everywhere discovered only traces of a flight which terror had precipitated.

<sup>1</sup>The centre, where the Royal Roussillon was posted, was attacked almost at the same time, by a third column. *Supra*, p. 740.



According to the report of the English prisoners in our hands, the enemy lost four thousand men, in killed and wounded. They have lost a great many officers of distinction. Lord How and Major-General<sup>1</sup> Spital of the Regulars are among the slain.

We have had the satisfaction of remarking that 500 Indians attached to the enemy's army, would never engage in the action.

This brilliant victory confers infinite honor on the French. The Marquis de Montcalm has shown himself to be a great captain and a brave soldier. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque have covered themselves with laurels in the command of the right and of the left. M. de Levis has received several musket-shots in his clothes. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bougainville and de Langis, aids-de-camp of M. de Montcalm, have been wounded at his side.

We have lost 12 officers and 92 soldiers who have remained on the field of battle.

We have had in all 25 officers and 248 soldiers wounded.

Permitted to be printed and distributed.

Rouen, this 23 December, 1758.

(Signed), BOREL

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*M. Doreil to M. de Moras.*

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

The accounts which the Marquis de Montcalm has had the honor to render you, will have given you to understand the small force he had to oppose the enemy's expedition on the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, particularly against Fort Carillon. The campaign might have been regarded as much more fortunate than the one preceding, had he escaped being drawn into action. What idea will be formed of it after the marvelous and incredible event which has just occurred?

As the Marquis de Montcalm will, perhaps, not have it in his power to render you, my Lord, a detailed account by the frigate which is to sail in a few days, I shall endeavor to make up for it in part, by fulfilling his intentions.

I have the honor of transmitting to you hereunto annexed, my Lord, copy of the two letters that General has written to the Marquis de Vaudreuil on the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month, to inform him of the signal victory gained on the 8<sup>th</sup> by the King's troops over the English army, which numbered 25 thousand men, more than 14 thousand of whom have fought with great bravery and perseverance for over seven hours. I subjoin to the end of my copy a return of the English army. I propose rendering you an account, my Lord, of the Marquis de Montcalm's arrangements and of some interesting particulars of which 'tis well that you be informed.

I commence by the arrangement made for the defence of the abatis.

On the right, the battalion of La Reine; next, that of Bearn and that of Guyenne.

In the centre, Roussillon; four troops of 64 men who arrived the previous night, belonging to the detachment which was to march into the country of the Five Nations with Chevalier de Levy; the second battalion of Berry.

<sup>1</sup> Brigade-Major. *Supra*, p. 742.

On the left, the battalions of Languedoc and La Sarre—this last closing the line.

The eight companies of grenadiers and two troops of 64 men belonging to those which were to march with Chevalier de Levis, formed the reserve, and were distributed to the left and centre.

The volunteers of Captain Duprat, of the regiment of La Sarre, and those of Captain Bernard, of the Bearn regiment, were posted on the bank of the river to prevent the enemy, by means of some barges full of men, landing and turning our left.

The few Colonial troops and Canadians, numbering about 400 men with a few officers, were stationed in the opening to the right of the battalion of La Reine, under the protection of the fire from our intrenchment, the guns of the place and some abatis in front of them.

The third battalion of Berry, under the orders of M<sup>r</sup> de Trecesson, its commander, was with the exception of the grenadier company detailed to guard Fort Carillon and to convey ammunition to the abatis.

The troops mutually aided and assisted each other, and our grenadier companies have always effected the manœuvre of passing successively from one attack to the other.

Although the Marquis de Montcalm was posted in the centre at the commencement of the action, he repaired equally and in succession to all points, principally from the Guienne battalion to the extremity of the left. About the middle of the fight, he confided the right of the line wholly to Chevalier de Levis; his aids-de-camp conveyed to him continually news from that quarter.

The attack which was attended with most danger, was that made by both the enemy's right columns combined, and on that part of the abatis defended by the Guienne battalion. The Marquis de Montcalm from his side and Chevalier de Levis from his, immediately applied a remedy by repairing thither in person with a reinforcement.

Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque deserve the greatest encomiums for their excellent arrangements, and for their example and firmness during the action. Towards the close of the engagement, the latter received a shot which fractured his shoulder blade and uterus.<sup>1</sup> We begin, however, to augur favorably of this wound.

M<sup>r</sup> de Pont le Roy, Captain *en premier* of the Corps Royal, Chief Engineer of Canada, and M<sup>r</sup> Desandrouins, Captain *en second* and Engineer attached to the French troops, have rendered essential services by the zeal and rapidity with which they had the abatis constructed in 24 hours; they were both at the defence animating the soldiers by their examples. M<sup>r</sup> de Desandrouins acted as aid-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm whose orders he did not cease to convey in all directions from the commencement to the close of the action.

The Commandants and every individual officer of the Corps have performed prodigies of valor, and nothing can be compared to the courage of the lowest soldiers.

In fine, whatever occurred on that brilliant and glorious day must be ever remembered. The Colony which would find itself cut in the centre, was lost beyond recovery. The enemy made the attack with surprising vigor, having the élite of the best regulars, the grenadiers and volunteers at the head of his columns. If defeated, we had no retreat; nothing could have prevented the enemy with a force of 25 thousand men, from being already at the gates of Montreal, which is without any defence. What must the more excite the public admiration and joy, is the fact that no Indian has contributed to this great event, a circumstance which perhaps never occurred in this country; there was not a single one of them. The glory of

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. humerus.* — Ed.



the General and of the French troops is indeed much greater in consequence ; but the enemy's force would, at the same time, have been entirely defeated in its precipitate retreat, had M. de Montcalm had 200 Indians to guide a strong detachment which he would have sent in pursuit, under the orders of Chevalier de Levis. Although the enemy could not have been pursued, his retreat has rather been a flight in terror and uttermost disorder, abandoning wounded, provisions, ammunition, implements &c. A detachment which went out on the 10<sup>th</sup>, has discovered all these on the road, and nearly 500 dead bodies junked on one side and another. The enemy's army did not consider itself safe at the Portage, it retreated to the head of Lake St. Sacrament where Fort George formerly stood, and where it is carefully intrenching itself.

Besides feeling myself obliged, My Lord, to render you an account of these particulars, the Marquis de Montcalm has directed me to do so. You will remark, in his Narrative,<sup>1</sup> that about 500 Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations accompanied the English army to witness our defeat, and to act, afterwards, openly against us. Some individual officers have even stated that they fired from the hills on our advanced guards. This proceeding justifies the opinion of those who believe that those people, gained over by the English, were assisting to pay us back in our own coin, by sending deputies to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to engage him to divide his forces, precisely when the enemy were on the march to attack us on Lake St. Sacrament.

M. de Rigaud arrived at Carillon with some Colonial troops, Canadians and about 600 Indians, only on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The Marquis de Montcalm informs me on the 17<sup>th</sup> that he has advanced a party of Canadians and Indians to encamp at the Portage. The remainder and the Colonial troops are encamped at the Falls, and the eight French battalions are working industriously in constructing regular intrenchments and in finishing Fort Carillon. M. de Pont le Roy and, under his orders, M. Desandrouins are directors of the work. M. de Lotbinière is here since the fifteenth.

By intelligence received yesterday from Louisbourg the English had not as yet opened the trench on the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month, and were only one thousand toises from the place. They had lost, up to that time, about 1500 men, in killed and wounded. 'Tis reported that sickness prevails among their land forces. Our troops are in the best possible spirits; perfect understanding exists everywhere; that begins to tranquilize us somewhat in regard to the fate of this place. Nevertheless, flattering hopes must not be entertained. The bravery of the garrison can be relied on, but 'tis very feeble, regard being had to the condition of the place.

M. du Chaffault's fleet had on board one sergeant and 26 soldiers of the battalion of Cambis, who were sick at the time of landing at St. Anne; I have claimed them, and he has given them up to me by order of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. I shall keep them here and make them do duty until the siege of Louisbourg be decided.

Up to this date, my Lord, only 328 recruits have arrived; of these, the Colonial troops have received 98. I have embodied the other 230 into our battalions and sent those to the army who were in good health. I would still require about 550 men to complete them on the ancient footing, independent of the augmentation prescribed for the six first by the King's ordinance of the month of January, 1857. You perceive, my Lord, that it is very desirable that some more arrive.

M. Bernier, ordinary Commissary of war, who has been sent to serve under me, has arrived about a month ago in the frigate *le Prince Edouart* of Rochefort; but so far from being able to



give me any assistance, his situation has increased my cares and embarrassments. He is sick since his arrival with a malignant fever, which has carried him to death's door; he is out of danger only since a few days.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), DOREIL.

An Account of the Descent of the English into Canada, and of the Victory gained over them by the French.

On the night of the 5 and 6 July, 1758, the English to the number of 16 or 18 thousand men, came with intention to land at the Portage; the camp was occupied by M. de Bourlamaque, who commanded the regiments of La Reine, Guyenne and Béarn; the superior force of the enemy obliged him to fall back on M. de Montcalm, who was in the occupation of the Falls with the regiments of Rousillon and Berry. M. de Montcalm, informed of the number of the enemy, judged proper to fall back during the day; he crossed the River of the Falls and remained two hours on the right of the regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc, that were guarding the heights through which the enemy could pass on the direct course to Carillon; he afterwards retired with all the troops under the guns of Carillon, halting every 50 paces, although the enemy were constantly advancing. He did not lose a man in that retreat, which was one of the most beautiful. Arrived under Carillon on the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pont le Roi and de Sandrouins were directing the work at the intrenchment which was crowning the height, having the river on the left and a curtain on the right; M. de Langy had been despatched on the same night with 150 volunteers to attack some barges, reported to number 60, but on meeting 5 @ 600 he was obliged to retreat, and not having had any notice of M. de Bourlamaque's retiring, returned to the Portage, where he arrived that night. On approaching he cried, *Qui vive?* the English answered, *Français*; and as soon as he had somewhat advanced, he was surrounded by enemies and fired on at a brave rate; he fought desperately; the English drove him back to the brink of a small stream; no quarter was given inasmuch as all his volunteers plunged in to wade; M. de Langy was the only officer who rejoined the camp with 10 or 12 volunteers; the fate of the rest is not known.

It has since been ascertained that Captain Bonneau, of Guyenne, retreated, constantly fighting, to a peninsula, with full 150 men, because they had offered to lay down their arms were they allowed quarter, which was refused them; whereupon they fought with incredible vigor, and though their number diminished, they killed a great many people; this obliged the enemy to cry *Quarter* to them, which they accepted. News has since been received from M. Bonneau, who speaks highly of General Albercrombie's kindness. In the pockets of some English officers killed in the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup> have been found commissions, which they received as officers for the general expedition against Canada.

Among the papers of the enemy has also been found a printed proclamation published at New-York on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March last, stating in the title the invasion assigned to the Regulars who were to form, altogether, a corps of 30 thousand men; proceed to commence operations at Fort Carillon, continue by that of Point St. Frederic, and push their conquests up to Montreal.



General Albercromby, on his return to the camp at Fort St. George after the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>, has publicly forbid, on pain of death, any mention to be made of the affairs of Louisbourg, and the loss they incurred in the action at Carillon, and to represent the dead only at 1200 men.

'Tis proved that their army was 20 thousand strong.

Copy of the Letter written by M. de Montcalm to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.  
July 9, 1758.

Sir,

Too much occupied with business and events, I have instructed M. le Mercier to despatch a canoe to you last night to inform you of the victory just gained by the King's troops over the English, and that I was preparing even to recommence this morning, if they wished. You have been informed of the very splendid retreat which we made on the 6<sup>th</sup>; we should have suffered no loss thereby [had it not been for] the adventure of M. de Langy's detachment; although that retreat had been effected with considerable boldness, and at the moment 6 thousand of the enemy's troops were landing, we arrived at my position on the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup>. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pont le Roy, de Sandrouins, have superintended the work of the intrenchment; which was crowning the height, the left on the river, and the right on a curtain. Our 7 battalions—the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Berry having been entrusted with guarding the fort and all the details of that part, under the orders of M. de Trecesson, who on this occasion rendered great services to the army—our 7 battalions, I say, worked with incredible ardor in constructing abbatis, which in the course of the day of the 7<sup>th</sup>, were finished, both good and bad; Chevalier de Levy's pickets reached us on the same day, and he himself arrived on the 8<sup>th</sup>. The few Canadians and Colonial troops I had by me, were posted at 5 o'clock in the morning at the opening between the abbatis and the river; the general disposition for the reception of the enemy was completed by the 7<sup>th</sup>. Throughout the whole of the 7<sup>th</sup> we had our guards and grenadiers outside to protect the work; the companies of volunteers drafted from our troops, and which I had placed under the command of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Bernard and du Prat, were always in advance to give intelligence of the enemy's movements. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Langy and Daillebout were going to scout also; the army lay on its arms.

8<sup>th</sup>. Men continued strengthening the abbatis, our volunteers as usual exchanged shots with the enemy's advanced guards; the arrival of Chevalier de Levy caused no other change in my arrangement than to commit the defence of the right to him, and to remove M. de Bourlamaque to the left; M. Mercier and all our artillery officers were busy placing cannon at the points at which I had ordered them to be placed; at half past noon the English columns defiled against our guards, who, with the grenadier and pioneer companies, entered immediately and without any confusion. The signal gun was fired, and in a moment all the troops were at their different posts.

At 1 o'clock we were attacked by the enemy with an impetuosity worthy of better troops; they made 6 consecutive assaults, and even reached the abbatis; they formed 3 principal columns; the firing on both sides was kept up briskly until 6 o'clock in the evening and continued until night; the army, which consisted only of 2,900 effectives of our troops and 400 Canadians or soldiers of the Colonials, resisted all those attacks with the courage of heroes. The danger was alike at all points and for a long time; fortunately no troop wavered. The officers performed prodigies of valor on this occasion, and their example has had a surprising influence

on the lowest soldier. The Colonial troops and Canadians have caused us to regret that there were not in greater number. Chevalier de Levy, under whose eyes they fought, speaks highly of them; because they were nimbler men he ordered two sorties, under the orders of such of your officers as were capable of going on such service; M. d'hery, Adjutant of La Reine, headed one; Captain Denau, of the same regiment, the other. M. de Raymond, who had the honor to command the troops of the Colony, displayed much zeal and intelligence, and I cannot speak too highly of him, of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Saint Ours, la Naudière, Gaspé, and generally of the small number of officers we had there; we are indebted for this advantage to the courage of the troops, to the sorties Chevalier de Levy ordered to be made at the right by pickets and a company of grenadiers, at the same time that he had dispatched some active grenadiers into the opening; and to M. de Bourlamaque's arrangements and firmness on the left.

All the Commandants of corps, and generally all the officers, acted in a manner to leave me only the merit of finding myself the General of such brave troops, and of attending to have them successively reinforced, according as parts of our abbatis were more or less vigorously attacked. As the enemy could land a force in barges, which, in fact, they attempted at the beginning of the attack, Bernard's and Du Prat's volunteers guarded this part, and M. de Louvicourt, who was managing 3 guns of the fort, sunk a barge and pontoon; this, joined to the fire of the volunteers, compelled the retreat of the 200 barges which the English had caused to advance. Chevalier de Montreuil used the greatest activity in the world to transmit all the orders necessary for the encouragement of the troops, and for the distribution of the ammunition which the gentlemen of the second battalion of Berry and the officers of the artillery had conveyed to us with great diligence; that battalion had its grenadier company defending the abbatis, and although the officers belonging to it regret much not to have been at the same place, they coöperated effectually in all the manœuvres, and have not failed to lose some soldiers in the transportation. M. du Plessix, who had landed in the midst of the affair, marched immediately with his 80 soldiers. The enemy retired at night, abandoning a part of their wounded, and we have passed the night in order of battle, because they had some fresh troops with which they might recommence under favor of the night.

We estimate from the report of prisoners, that they were at least 1200 of their best fighting troops; they had left the remainder behind some abbatis, between the Falls and our field of battle to protect their retreat. Their loss must exceed 4000 men, including killed and wounded, (such is our conclusion from the report of prisoners), and 2000 corpses which lie along our abbatis. Lord Howe who commanded the attack, we are assured has been killed. Our loss, the exact extent of which I do not yet know, will be 250 @ 300 killed or wounded; this number includes a few Canadians and Colonials. This day, and the misfortune of the detachment of the 6<sup>th</sup>, inevitably reduce our battalions. Annexed to this despatch is the return of officers killed or wounded. On this day, the 9<sup>th</sup>, I have sent some volunteers in advance, and it appears certain that the enemy have retired to the Portage and burnt the Mill at the Falls and the barges they had sent forward.

M. de Lusignan writes me, this moment, that three deserters have arrived at his quarters, who report that the army consisted of 20,000 men; and I have learned the same fact from a letter of an officer who was killed; that they lost Lord Howe, the Major-General and 3000 killed, exclusive of the wounded. In that case their loss must be greater than I had stated to you. What a day for France, had I had only 200 Indians to let loose at the close of the action, and to serve as guides to a strong detachment which I would have confided to



Chevalier de Levy! It is a great battle, and perhaps the first that has been fought in Canada without Indians.

I am, &c.,

(Signed), MONCALM.

M<sup>r</sup> de Sandrouins, who has been my secretary, has acted as my aid-de-camp, and always has been from the right to the left, encouraging the soldiers. M<sup>r</sup> de Pont le Roy has followed us.

#### News from Carillon.

Our success continues: Friday, 20<sup>th</sup> of July, a detachment of 400 men, Canadians, Colonials and Indians, all under the command of M<sup>r</sup> de Saint Luc la Corne, Captain of the Colony, attacked, at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the Lidius road, about 150 men, captured 53 wagons loaded with provisions, 230 oxen, took 80 scalps and 60 prisoners, including men, women and children; we lost only one Iroquois Indian and one wounded.

Return of the Officers killed, wounded and drowned, in the Affair of the 6<sup>th</sup> of July, and in the battle of the 8<sup>th</sup>.

#### Staff.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Colonel de Bourlamaque, most dangerously .....	1		
Assistant Quarter Master General de Bougainville, slightly in the head...	1		

#### Regiment of La Reine.

Captain Daubecourt .....	1		
Captain Le Compte .....	1		
Lieutenant De Manial .....	1		
Lieutenant De Floid .....	1		
Lieutenant Bernard .....			1
Sub-Lieutenant Baudin, of the grenadiers .....	1		

#### Regiment of La Sarre.

Captain Chambredoude .....	1		
Captain Chev: de Morant .....	1		
Adjutant De Minéré .....	1		
Captain Beauclerc .....		1	
Lieutenant Forcet .....		1	
Cadet Chevalier Previllac, in charge of a post .....	1		
Cadet de Grasset .....	1		

#### Royal Rousillon.

Captain Du Coin .....	1		
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#### Languedoc.

Captain Freville .....	1		
Lieutenant Chevalier de Parfouru .....	1		

	Killed. Wounded. Missing.		
Captain Basserode .....	1		
Lieutenant Du Glas .....	1		
Lieutenant Marillac .....	1		
Lieutenant Blanchard .....	1		
Lieutenant Courcy .....	1		
Chevalier d' Arenne, recommended for a lieutenancy, wounded; his arm amputated .....	1		
Guyenne.			
Captain De Patris .....	1		
Captain Bonneau .....			1
Captain St. Vincent .....	1		
Captain Le Bretache, slightly .....	1		
Lieutenant Restorand .....	1		
Lieutenant La Rochelle .....			1
Berry.			
Captain De la Breme, acting Brigade-Major .....	1		
Captain Carlan, Adjutant .....	1		
Captain Chateauneuf .....		1	
Lieutenant Demmery, of the grenadiers .....	1		
Sub-Lieutenant De Charmont .....		1	
Bearn.			
Captain Arepesée .....	1		
Lieutenant Jaubert .....			1
Lieutenant Pons .....	1		
Lieutenant Douay .....	1		
Captain Macartie, adjutant .....		1	
Captain Montguay .....		1	
Captain Kgus .....		1	
Colonial Troops.			
De Langy, 3 wounds, not dangerous .....	1		
Lieutenant Nigon .....	1		
Lieutenant, Chevalier de Rezy .....			1
	<u>16</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>5</u>

Regiment of La Reine, 94 soldiers, few killed. In La Sarre, 44 soldiers, few killed. In Royal Rousillon, 26 soldiers, few killed. In Languedoc, 50 soldiers, few killed. In Guyenne, 93, a great number killed. In Berry, 63 soldiers, more than half killed. In Bearn, 91 soldiers, few killed. In the Colonial troops, 28 soldiers, few killed; 38 Militia drowned or taken prisoners. In all 527, 28 of which Colonials.



*M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

You will have seen by one of my despatches of the 16<sup>th</sup> of June last, to the Marquis de Paulmy, which will have reached you by the frigate *La Sirene*, if she have the luck to pass, what were the plans of the campaign. The Marquis de Montcalm's position on the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament was difficult and critical. With the few forces and means at his disposal, I should have regarded his campaign as much more fortunate than those preceding, had he, whilst restricting himself to a defensive course, escaped blame. What opinion must be entertained of him after the marvelous and incredible event which has just taken place.

As the Marquis de Montcalm will, perhaps, not have it in his power my Lord, to render you detailed accounts by the frigate about to sail in a few days, I shall endeavor to make up for the deficiency, in fulfilling his intentions.

I have the honor to transmit you, hereunto annexed, my Lord, copies of the two letters that General has written to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month, to render him an account of the signal victory gained on the 8<sup>th</sup>, by the King's troops over the English army, 25,000 strong, more than 1400 of whom have fought with great bravery and firmness for more than 7 hours. I have subjoined, at the close of my letter, a return of the English army. I am about to give you an account, my Lord, of the Marquis de Montcalm's arrangements, and of some interesting particulars, of which it is necessary that you should be informed.

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Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque deserve the greatest encomiums for their excellent arrangements, and for their example and firmness during the action. Towards the close of the engagement, the latter received a shot which fractured his shoulder blade and uterus.<sup>1</sup> We begin, however, to augur favorably of this wound.

M. de Pont le Roy, Captain *en premier* of the *Corps Royal*, Chief-Engineer of Canada, and M. Desandrouins, Captain *en second* and Engineer attached to the French troops, have rendered essential services by the zeal and rapidity with which they had the abatis constructed in 24 hours; they were both at the defence, animating the soldier by their examples. M. Desandrouins acted as aid-de-camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, and did not cease conveying his orders in all directions, from the commencement to the close of the action.

The Commandants, and every individual officer of the corps, have performed prodigies of valor, and nothing can be compared to the courage of the lowest soldiers. In fine, whatever occurred on that brilliant and glorious day must be ever remembered. The Colony, which would find itself cut in the centre, was lost beyond recovery. The enemy has attacked with surprising vigor, having the élite of the best Regulars, his grenadiers and volunteers at the head of his columns. If defeated, we had no retreat; nothing could have prevented the enemy with a force of 25 thousand men from being already at the gates of Montreal, which is without any defence. What must the more excite the public admiration and joy, is the fact that no Indian has contributed to this great event—a circumstance which perhaps never occurred in this country; there was not a single one of them. The glory of the General and of the French troops is indeed much greater in consequence; but the enemy's force would, at the same time, have been entirely defeated in its precipitate retreat, had M. de Montcalm had only 200 Indians to guide a strong detachment which he would have sent in pursuit, under the orders of Chevalier de Levis. Although the enemy could not have been pursued, his retreat has rather been a flight in terror and uttermost disorder, abandoning wounded, provisions, ammunition, implements, &c. A detachment which went on the 10<sup>th</sup> has discovered all these on the road, and nearly 500 dead bodies junked on one side and another. The enemy's army did not consider itself safe at the Portage; it retreated to the head of Lake St. Sacrament, where Fort George formerly stood, and is carefully intrenching itself there.<sup>2</sup>

As we have reason to suspect that the bureaux of the Marine will endeavor to vaunt the glory of four hundred men belonging to the troops and Militia of the Colony, who were in this action, and perhaps to diminish those of the troops of the line, I must inform you, my Lord, of what the Marquis de Montcalm has written me, individually, on the fourteenth. He expresses himself on this subject as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* See *supra*, p. 745, note.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding is a copy of what M. Doreil wrote to M. de Moras, the Colonial Minister, on this date. *Supra*, p. 744. The next seven paragraphs, containing reflections on and complaints of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, are not in the despatch to the Colonial Minister, but exclusively in that to Minister of War.—Ed.



"I must say in truth that the Colonial troops and the Canadians have behaved very indifferently. M. de Trecesson, the Commandant, has been obliged to fire on some of them who were abandoning their post, in the two sorties ordered on the right by Chevalier de Levis; few officers, soldiers and Canadians made a sortie after orders to that effect had been given. Adjutant Druil, of the battalion of La Reyne, and Captain Demoes, were sent to persuade them to do so, and to lead them. Nevertheless, as a good servant of the King, I have considered it for the good of the service to praise them in a Narrative which was to be published. Captain de Raymond of the Colonial troops, and who commands them and the Canadians, a relative of the Brigadier-General who has been in command at Isle Royal, has personally acted very well; I greatly fear that M. de Vaudreuil will not do any thing for him, because he does not like him. I have been obliged to deceive both the French officer and soldier who said openly, that M. de Vaudreuil was desirous of having us strangled, by giving us so small a force to face a real danger, whilst he was uselessly retaining a corps of two or three thousand men for the purpose of making experiments in the country of the Five Nations, where three hundred men were sufficient, and that he did not deign to put the other forces of the Colony in motion, *et cetera*.

"God be thanked, the excitement is calmed at present. M. de Vaudreuil will doubtless endeavor to justify himself on the ground of want of provisions of which we had only five day's supply at the time of the attack, but 'twould be easy to prove to him still more his mistake in this regard; there was a prodigious quantity of them at St. John and at Chambly.

"For myself, tired of working miracles and of not being listened to, I shall demand my recall at the end of the Campaign.

"I am engaged at present in introducing order among two thousand Canadians and six hundred Indians, who, at last, arrived yesterday evening, the greatest portion of whom, had it not been for the ordinary and affected delays, might have been here, like Chevalier de Levy, before the action. They are come now to devour provisions, when there is no longer any need of them."

I must here report another circumstance to you, my Lord, which proves more and more that M. de Vaudreuil, jealous no doubt of the glory that the Marquis de Montcalm has acquired, would, without affecting it too much, fain have deprived him of the means of succeeding in making a good defence.

The latter, aware of the importance of having an experienced Engineer, such as M. de Pont le Roy, of whose merit and talents in the army of Italy and Provence he was cognizant, requested him of M. de Vaudreuil, who appeared to comply, and even left him master of ordering that officer to leave here for the purpose of joining him at Montreal. M. de Montcalm wrote in consequence to M. de Pont de roy. The latter who was burning with the desire of making the campaign and of acquiring a personal knowledge of the state of the fortification of Carillon, of which he entertained a bad opinion, in consequence of what he had heard of that place, makes his arrangements, fixes the day for his departure, and informs the Marquis de Montcalm of it, and reports it to M. de Vaudreuil, who, on almost the very day he granted the Marquis de Montcalm's request, let the Engineer know, that whenever he thinks it fit that he shall repair to the army, he (M. de V.) will give him his orders. This snare surprised M. de Pont le Roy; he shewed it to me, and concerted with me an answer importing that on his first order notified by the Marquis de Montcalm, he had fixed on the tenth of June, which was the next day; that he had no time to lose in joining the Marquis de Montcalm at Montreal,

whence he was to march on the twenty-fourth or 25; that his baggage had already been sent off; ('twas no such thing.) He set out the following day in the hope that he could only feel obliged to him for the zeal and ardor with which he obeyed orders. He arrived at Montreal; M. de Vaudreuil through the guise of politeness evinced some appearance of anger; no matter, the object of the public good was attained. He dared not openly and to his face refuse this Engineer-in-Chief to the Marquis de Montcalm, with whom he left on the 25<sup>th</sup> for the army.

The event has justified how much his presence there was necessary, and this little detail will, besides, convince you still more, my Lord, of all the troubles to which people are incessantly exposed here, though having no object in view but the good of the public service. The Marquis de Montcalm has been unceasingly exposed thereto, from the first moment of his arrival, and it is only by the force of zeal and philosophy that he has resisted it.

Besides feeling myself obliged, my Lord, to render you an account of these particulars, the Marquis de Montcalm has directed me to do so. You will remark in his Narrative that about 500 Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations accompanied the English army to witness our defeat, and to act afterwards openly against us. Some individual officers have even stated that they fired from the hills on our advanced guard. This proceeding justifies the opinion of those who believed that those people, gained over by the English, were assisting in giving us change, by sending deputies to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to engage him to divide his forces, precisely when the enemy were on the march to attack us on Lake St. Sacrament.

The Marquis de Montcalm informs me the 17<sup>th</sup> that he has advanced a party of Canadians and Indians to encamp at the Portage. The remainder and the Colonial troops are encamped at the Falls, and the eight French battalions are working industriously in constructing regular intrenchments in place of abatis, and in furnishing Fort Carillon, which ought to have been done long ago. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pont le Roy and Desandrouins are directors of the work, under his orders.

We continue very uneasy for Fort Louisbourg, where the English landed on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June to the number of eighteen thousand men. We rely considerably on the valor of the troops, but they are too few of them and the works (*corps de place*) are worth nothing. M. du Chaffault's fleet came to take refuge here, after having had hardly time to put on shore at Port Dauphin the Cambis battalion, which proceeded over land to Louisbourg the moment it landed. This fleet has one sergeant and twenty-six men belonging to that battalion who remained sick on board. I have reclaimed them and shall retain them here until the siege of Louisbourg be decided. If the place be taken we shall keep them, and will put them on the roster of one of our battalions, with which they will do duty; if not, we shall send them back this fall.

The King's frigate *La Valeur*, commanded by Sieur Canon, a famous cruiser, is the bearer of this despatch.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

P. S. Since writing my letter we learn that the English had not as yet opened the trench on the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month before Louisbourg; they were then encamped only one thousand



toises from the place, and had lost 1500 men in killed and wounded. 'Tis reported that sickness prevails among their land forces, and that misunderstanding exists between Admiral Boscawen and the Commander of the land forces. Our troops are in the best possible spirits, perfect understanding exists everywhere; that begins to tranquillize us somewhat in regard to the fate of the place. Nevertheless no flattering hopes must be entertained. The bravery of the garrison can be relied on, but 'tis very feeble, regard being had to the condition of the place.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Massiac.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp at Carillon, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1758

My Lord,

Since the night of the eighth, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, full of *advantageous ideas*, which experience in war and knowledge of a frontier he has never seen, would soon make him lay aside, does not cease writing to me by his letters of the twelfth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, *that it is possible, by means of strong detachments*, to oblige the enemy to abandon their position at the head of Lake St. Sacrament. I am justified in apprehending that he presents this chimerical idea as practicable, inasmuch as it has indirectly come to my ears that he had, last year, written to the same effect on the possibility of the siege of Fort Lydius.

I have the honor to annex hereunto the extracts of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters, dated the twelfth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth, and my answers beside each. I flatter myself that you will find them as firm as they are respectful.

You may, my Lord, assure his Majesty that diversity of opinions will never injure his service, so far as I am concerned. 'Tis to this diversness of opinions, and to the respectful firmness I always infuse into it, that the Chouaguen expedition is due. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, after having desired it, was ready to renounce it, and I encouraged him only by memoirs.

In case doubts are entertained of the strength of the English on this continent, I can assure you according to the almanac which they had printed in New-York on the first of January, 1758, that they had then twenty regiments of regulars from Old England, five independent companies, two companies of artillery, and that their regiments consist of ten companies of one hundred men each. They have also forwarded by sea a large force for the siege of Louisbourg.

I am respectfully,

My Lord,

Your most humble, &c.

*Correspondence between M. de Vaudreuil and M. de Montcalm.*

Extract from the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter to the Marquis de Montcalm, 12 July, 1758.

Our circumstances are sufficiently favorable, Sir, not to lose sight of the great advantage we have acquired over our enemies by your victory of the eighth of this month. Their retreat to old Fort George may be with a view to fortify and arrange themselves there, and to dispose all things so as to be ready to march after the reunion of their troops who are employed at the siege of Louisbourg. But whatever may be their views, and whatever interpretations we may put upon them, all must engage us to employ every means so as not to allow them time to adopt new measures which, whatever they be, would always seriously prejudice us, in regard to the small quantity of provisions we have, and to the necessity of having our Canadians back to save the harvest. I enter strongly, Sir, into the projects you have formed on this subject; the retreat and terror even of the enemy, only augment my anxiety to forward to you all the forces at my disposal; that is to say, I send you all the militia belonging to the government that are fit for duty, to execute such movements as you will deem proper; you have already many of these men, and some will reach you every day, so that exclusive of Indians, your strength will be considerable. *'Tis of importance, Sir, that we always have strong detachments both on the lake and at the head of the bay. They could not be too numerous, so as to harrass our enemies constantly, cut off their communication with old Fort George, and intercept their convoys. No better manœuvre is in our power to force them to abandon their position, batteaux, artillery, campaign train, provisions, &c. 'Twill oblige them to retire, and thereby deprive them forever of all hope of renewing their attempt.*

Observations of the Marquis de Montcalm in answer to the preceding Letter.  
16<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

This part of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter appears to have been written only with a view to make the Marquis de Montcalm responsible for all the events that may arise, so as to say: I have sent him all the forces of the Colony; he has had them for a month, and did not know how to profit by them, in order to prevent the enemy establishing himself at Fort George. If, on the contrary, the Marquis de Montcalm was marching with all his forces and did not succeed, the Marquis de Vaudreuil would not fail to write: He has marched without orders and has compromised the Colony. 'Tis always astonishing that the Marquis de Vaudreuil considers himself qualified at a distance of fifty leagues to determine on operations of war in a country he has never seen, and where the best Generals, after having seen it, would have been embarrassed. The Marquis de Vaudreuil forgets that that army was at least 20,000 strong, and, according to several prisoners, 25,000. Supposing that it had lost in killed and wounded 5,000 men; that a portion of the Provincials had returned, they would still have 12 @ 14,000 men, and consequently the superiority in the field, and would be at liberty to do as they pleased in their country.

'Tis with pain, and without departing from the respect which is due, that we are obliged to add that the part of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter which is italicised, is the work of a thoughtless Secretary and not of a man skilled in war. A communication is not cut off except



by proceeding with a respectable force between two bodies, and a superior enemy in force is not compelled to abandon a position by simple detachments. He may nevertheless abandon it, and that will be the consequence of a change of plan on his part rather than of our movements; this is what we shall learn on the earliest day.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will find in my Observations some distrust of him; this will never prevent me applying myself to the good of the service and of the Colony without embarrassing myself with what people might write against me, either directly or indirectly. But I do not conceal from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that I shall be able to demonstrate to him on my return to Montreal, that, if he has had the goodness in his despatches of last year to pay me some eulogiums which I cannot merit, he did not omit persuading the Minister of the Marine that he had supplied me with the means of laying siege to Lydius. Although the King's service ought not to suffer anything at my hands on account of that, and I shall on all occasions afford the Marquis de Vaudreuil tokens of respect and affection, 'twere desirable that, forgetful of the past, we should labor without delay on a new plan, and that I should not have to complain of, or to dread the obscurities and doubts of his instructions and letters.

Extract of the Letter which accompanied the preceding Observations.

When you think it necessary, Sir, to withdraw the Canadians, on account of provisions and the harvest, I shall endeavor to do without them. I shall never answer for any event, but certainly, that the General and the troops will do their utmost. I expect, however, that, even during the harvest, you will leave me a certain number of Canadians, and these good ones, with some Indians. These, Sir, are my plans. Do you think the enemy will persist in remaining at Fort George? We shall endeavor to drive him thence. I am ready to march thither with the entire army. Such will not be my advice, but a distinct order from you will be sufficient for me. If it be by the head of the bay, I leave this place exposed to the enemy; if by Lake St. Sacrament, 'twill require a land march (*portage*) of three weeks, exhaust the army by fatigue and delay the harvest. If they be willing to retire voluntarily of themselves and in consequence of the movements I shall make, I shall be overjoyed.

Were I so fortunate, Sir, as that your important occupations would permit you to be at the head of the army, you would see everything yourself, and I should have the satisfaction to receive clearer and less embarrassing orders, and you would have judged that I have combined boldness, prudence and some activity. All this does not prevent, however, that the Colony, on the eighth of July, had been played for (*jouée*) odd or even (*de peir ou non*.)

You perceive, Sir, that, as usual, I express myself to you with truth and respectful firmness. The same love of truth prompts me to inform you that I demand my recall from both Ministers, and that I request President Molé<sup>1</sup> and M. Lablée, Count de Bernitz to solicit it. If you will be so good, Sir, as to unite with them in obtaining that favor for me, it will make me forget all the annoyances I may have had. I shall preserve, in return, a gratitude which will equal the respect with which I am, &c.

P. S. The desire of economising the provisions was the cause, Sir, of our having been without Indians in the affair of the eighth. You must recollect that I had foreseen it. I had

<sup>1</sup> MATHIEU FRANÇOIS MOLÉ was born 30th March, 1705. He was first President of the Parliament of Paris after the resignation of René Charles de Maupeau in 1757, and filled the office until 1763. He died at Paris in 1793. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

requested you, three weeks before I left, to go and raise the war-song among the Abenakis and to let me bring them with me. If you send me all the Militia of the government of Montreal, shall we not fall, without any determinate object, into an opposite and unfortunate extreme?

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Extract of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters to the Marquis de Montcalm; 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

'Tis a very proper time, Sir, to finish whatever regards Carillon, and may increase its defence, but we have nothing more urgent than to profit by the immense advantage of the precipitate retreat, consternation and ancient discouragement of our enemies. The proofs we have thereof are not equivocal, and everything must induce us to profit by a circumstance so favorable in order to oblige them to abandon their position at old Fort George. I cannot sufficiently reiterate to you, Sir, all that I have had the honor to observe to you on that point. You are, in fact, now in a position to have constantly considerable detachments of Regulars, Canadians and Indians along the lake and head of the bay, to harass our enemies with vigor, to cut off their communication with Lydius, to intercept their convoys, to force them to retire and perhaps even to abandon their artillery, field train, bateaux, provisions, ammunition, &c. These movements are worthy your attention; they must be decisive for this Colony, since thereby we can deprive our enemies forever of the power of renewing a similar enterprise. You perceive, besides, Sir, that we can be sufficiently fortunate to enrich the Colony, at the same time, with whatever we shall oblige the enemy to abandon.

This is of such great consequence that, so far from reducing the forces that I have destined for you, I have nothing more pressing than to increase them, and to hasten their departure to you. You have the elite of our officers, of our young men, of our Canadians and of our Indians. They will act with as much zeal as ardor in the movements you will order them to execute, inasmuch as their early return will depend thereon. I request you to announce this to them, and you will see that they will perform wonders. We should have to reproach ourselves with losing so fine an opportunity of utterly humbling our enemies.

16<sup>th</sup> July.

I cannot forbear having the honor again of renewing to you, Sir, all the observations I have submitted to you in my last letter. You cannot want for canoes, Canadians and Indians to send out large detachments. We could not have a finer opportunity to oblige the enemy to retire from old Fort George.

Extract of the Marquis de Montcalm's letter in answer, 18<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

M. d'Aillebout is arrived this moment and hands me the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 15<sup>th</sup>. As it generally contains only the same things you have done me the honor to write me on the 12<sup>th</sup>, I have already answered them, whereunto I shall add, that I have not been able to send large detachments by Lake St. Sacrament until I have reëstablished my camps at the Falls and Portage, and sent over bateaux and canoes, a manœuvre which is done only when executed, and advances less expeditiously in fact than in theory. Up to this



time I have done impossibilities in Canada with my slender means. I shall endeavor to do my best and require no spur. Happy (would it be) were you at the head of the army; you would then judge very correctly, Sir, on every point.

To profit by the fear of enemies, would require to be in a condition to pursue them the very next day. An army that can be pursued only by detachments ten or twelve days afterwards, gets rid of its fright.

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Extract of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter to the Marquis de Montcalm, 17<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

You perceive, Sir, that I have not neglected anything for the prompt conveyance to you of a great number of Indians and the élite of our Canadians. You have now a very considerable force; therefore, we have nothing better to do, as I have had the honor to observe to you, than to employ them, without the loss of a moment, in vigorously harassing our enemies, cutting off their communication with Fort Lydius and intercepting their convoys. We have no better manœuvre to oblige them to abandon their position at old Fort George. Their consternation and discouragement ought even make you hope that, finding them hard pressed, they will perhaps be under the necessity of abandoning their artillery, bateaux, etc., and will think only of their flight to Fort Lydius.

What I have had the honor to write to you on this subject in many of my letters, merits, Sir, your attention. Your brilliant affair must not remain incomplete; 'tis important that we place our enemies in the real impossibility of returning to the charge, for so long as we shall have a fear of their renewing the attempt this fall, our provisions are being consumed without any benefit, and perhaps when our Canadians [will be under the necessity of returning for the harvest] you will be obliged to retain them at Carillon, or else, having constantly on the lake and at the head of the bay, very large detachments of troops, Canadians and Indians on the track of our enemies, you will terminate your campaign in a few days, in a manner not to leave us anything to apprehend for our frontier. These reasons, Sir, lead me to defer writing to France, because, in rendering the Court an account of your brave affair of the eighth of this month, I hope to inform it that we have not neglected the great advantage of the retreat and discouragement of our enemies, and that we have rendered it impossible for them to make any new attempts at least for this year; and if we are so fortunate as to make them abandon their field train, &c., they will not have it in their power for a long time to undertake a similar expedition. You know how much the Court will be charmed by all these events. I shall therefore postpone writing my despatches for a fortnight. Thus, Sir, you will have time to prepare yours.

Extract of the Marquis of Montcalm's letter in answer, 26 July.

Sir, I now answer the letters you have done me the honor to write me on the 16 and 17<sup>th</sup>. The large detachments you desire, have been, and will continue to be organized. M. de St. Luc is out with 5 @ 600 Indians or Canadians, but is he to fight convoys which the enemy do not form? Should he meet with the greatest success and surprise the fort containing their supplies, the enemy will never abandon their position, as you expect. I request you to pay

attention that now when I have two months provisions at St. Frederic, the English General might have beaten and intercepted your convoys, you would not order me to abandon the position I actually occupy.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the consternation you always suppose that army to be in; 'twas considerable on the eighth and ninth, but now we are in the 26<sup>th</sup>. The art of war demands a thing to have been done, in order to be able to judge of the enemy's operations.<sup>1</sup> Again a people are mistaken, and I do not hesitate to assert that the wars of Canada which have preceded this one, do in no wise resemble it.

True copy according to the original.

MONTCALM.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Massiac.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Minister of the Marine, and put into cipher by M. Doreil, to be transmitted to My Lord Marshal the Duke de Belle Isle, 28 July, 1758.

My Lord,

The situation of the Colony is most critical should peace not interpose. The English command, including the troops of their Colonies, over fifty thousand men, notwithstanding the Louisbourg expedition they have had thirty thousand in the field this campaign against Canada, which opposes thereto eight battalions amounting to three thousand two hundred men; the remainder, Colonial troops, whereof two hundred only are in the field; of the surplus at Quebec, Montreal, the Beautiful river, Upper countries and Canadians, no more than about twelve hundred have been this year in the field, either here or at the Beautiful river. I consider in the field those who have made the entire campaign. Two thousand four hundred Canadians have been loaned us from the thirteenth of July, when there was no further use of them, to the 12<sup>th</sup> August, when they were recalled for the harvest. Could a larger number of them be drafted, I believe yet 'twill ever be impossible to keep over three thousand during the entire campaign without undermining the country. As for the rest, these people, like the Indians are fit only for forays, and do not know what it is to remain five months in the field. The Indians are well adapted to forays; they must not be calculated on for one year's capital.

With so small a force, how preserve, without a miracle from the Beautiful river to Lake St. Sacrament, and attend to the descent on Quebec; 'tis an [im]possibility. Whoever will write to the contrary of what I advance, will deceive the King. However unpalatable soever it be, 'tis my duty, as a citizen, to write it. This is not discouragement on my part, nor on that of the troops, for we are resolved to bury ourselves under the ruins of the Colony. 'Twould require fifteen hundred recruits of a good description, making allowance for deserters, or one man per

<sup>1</sup>The text is so obscure that 'tis impossible to make sense of it. — Ed.



company to place our battalions at fifty ; it has been impossible to complete them to forty for want of the recruits taken in the passage ; and six battalions of seventeen companies and the companies placed before their departure at fifty, with some provisions for their support for one year.

In proposing the only means of coping with the immense forces of the English, I am but too apprehensive that it will not be possible for France to send these succors, owing to the superiority of the English army. But the English set too large a force on foot in this continent to expect ours to resist them, and to look for a continuation of miracles which saved the country from three attacks.

I this moment learn that they have penetrated to Frontenac. I feared it long ago. The Colony will be cut in two.

I take the liberty to reiterate to my Lord Marshal Belle Isle, the assurances of my profound respect,

DOREIL.

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*M. Doreil to M. de Cremille.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

Sir,

I hope that all the letters I have the honor to write to you this year in triplicate will have reached you ; viz : one on the 30<sup>th</sup> of April, one on the 15<sup>th</sup>, and one on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June. Duplicates of the two last go with this dispatch by the frigate *La Valeur*. Those letters, those I have written this year to the Marquis de Paulmy, numbering ten, and my correspondence with Marshal de Belleisle, will have sufficiently instructed you in regard to what regards my duties ; what has occurred in this hemisphere and our situation which has improved in consequence of an event incredible to posterity.

I had the honor to communicate to you, in my short despatch of the 22<sup>nd</sup> June, the intelligence that the Marquis de Montcalm had just then put me in possession of, as to the proposed projects of the enemy to march in force to the Oyo river and to attack Fort Duquesne. In fact, everything was to be apprehended and little to be hoped. We were too bare in that quarter, and the fort is not capable of a good defense. By the avowal of M. Dumas, who has been in command there, it is fit only to dishonor the officer who would be intrusted with its defence. Five hundred men have been sent thither, and the intelligence we have received about it, joined to the event which has just happened at Lake St. Sacrament, convinces us that the enemy sought, by his proceeding, only to excite our jealousy for that quarter in the same way that he had won over some deputies of the Five Iroquois Nations, in order to engage the Marquis de Vaudreuil to send to their country a detachment of 2 or 3000 men, so as to divide our forces, whilst the enemy would be marching with all his might to surprise the Marquis de Montcalm, on the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, where he had only about 3,700 men, almost all regiments of the Line.

Hardly had they reassembled and scarcely had he arrived in person at the camp before Carrillon, having been able to set out from Montreal only on the 25 June, when he received intelligence from all parts, that the English already assembled at old Fort George, to the number of 25 to 30 thousand men with artillery and necessary material for a siege, were making preparations to set out to attack him and Carillon. M. de Montcalm lost no time; he prayed and urged M. de Vaudreuil anew to send him reinforcements, and, meanwhile, arranged his little army in the best manner to try at least to arrest the further progress of the enemy, resolved to fall back on Carillon and to fight there notwithstanding the great inequality. He was so good as to communicate everything to me, and I avow to you, Sir, that I trembled for the result, the rather as we knew that the enemy had about ten thousand of excellent regular troops from Europe. In fact there was enough to make one shudder. Fort Carillon is not finished. It is capable of containing only a garrison of 400 men; provisions only for 10 @ 12 days; no Indians; no retreat.

The enemy could land above Carillon without fighting, cut off the communication of that fort with that of St. Frederic and consequently with Montreal, and afterwards march against this last place, leaving a third of his army to blockade those two forts and M. de Montcalm. That General would have no other course to pursue, his provisions being consumed, than to surrender himself with his little army, prisoners of war, and perhaps at discretion. The total loss of the Colony would follow. 'Twould be found cut in two and its forces destroyed, for whatever would encounter the passage of the enemy on the route from St. Frederic to Fort St. John, and from Fort St. John to Montreal, would inevitably be beaten in detail. Forts St. John and Chambly which are, especially the latter, miserable huts, would be carried by assault together with the supplies for the army, to which they serve as entrepôts.

Such, Sir, was the melancholy situation of this Colony when the enemy commenced appearing on the 6<sup>th</sup> instant at daybreak on Lake St. Sacrament. As many as 700 barges were then counted. The vanguard, composed of six thousand picked men, landed first. We had in advance only three feeble battalions under the orders of M. de Bourlamaque, the only ones fit to contest the landing. The inequality of the forces, the just fear of being cut off and enveloped, determined the Colonel to fall back on the camp at the Falls where the Marquis de Montcalm was posted with four battalions. That place is only half a league from Carillon on which the General retreated entirely that evening. He had left the three battalions of Berry guarding the fort.

The Marquis de Montcalm, on arriving, set the whole army at work at the abatis, under the direction of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pont le Roy and Desandrouins. The work was commenced with order, continued the day of the 7<sup>th</sup>, and completed the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup>. Never was work finished so apropos, nor of such essential utility for the good of the state. Too much cannot be said on this occasion in commendation of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pont le Roy and Desandrouins.

The enemy deployed at half-past noon on the same day, the 8<sup>th</sup>, in four principal columns; advanced within 45 paces with great boldness; and were received with heroic firmness and courage, and always repulsed for the space of seven hours of the briskest and most obstinate fighting. Never was there a day so fortunate and so glorious for the King's troops. I shall not enter into a detail of it, Sir; to supply this, I think you will be pleased to take cognizance of the letter I have the honor to address to Marshal de Belleisle, which accompanies the duplicates of those written on the 9<sup>th</sup> by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, communicating his victory and the circumstances of that ever memorable day to his Excellency..



It has cost us dear in officers, and M. de Bourlamaque received on the occasion a very dangerous wound. The loss of soldiers is not in proportion.

What increase of good fortune for the Colony and for France, had the Marquis de Montcalm had only 2 @ 300 Indians and smart Canadians to join a strong detachment of troops which he would have sent in pursuit of the enemy, who effected their retreat in terror and in the greatest disorder, abandoning a portion of their wounded. Their loss in killed and wounded exceeded 5000 men. We are certain of more than two thousand corpses. They have had two generals killed, one or two colonels, and the major general.<sup>1</sup> The English have vigorously attacked and maintained the fight with great courage, having their best troops always at the head of the columns. But the least of our soldiers performed miracles, and the officers, prodigies of valor.

What praise do not the Commandants of corps equally deserve? What firmness, coolness and wisdom did not Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque exhibit? What would have to be said of the Marquis de Montcalm, is beyond all eulogium. Conqueror of Chouaguen and of Fort George, ever victorious since his arrival in Canada, nothing more was wanting to his glory than to save the Colony at the moment decisive of its loss. In his letter to M. de Vaudreuil, you remark, Sir, that, whilst heaping praises upon all those who have fought under his orders, he has the modesty of saying of himself: "*Mine was only the glory of finding myself the General of such brave troops,*" &c. Who after that would believe that such a man is serving here with considerable annoyance? This, nevertheless, is but too certain; he therefore is thinking of his retreat, which, I hope, will be followed by mine.

You are too kind to me, Sir, and Marshal de Belleisle is too just to allow me to fear being sacrificed any longer. I shall treat this subject elsewhere.

I am, with much respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

P. S. Were it not for the cipher, I would have the honor to send you copy of my letter to Marshal de Belleisle. I confine myself to sending you, Sir, copy of the Marquis de Montcalm's two letters to M. de Vaudreuil, and the return of the killed and wounded.

Since writing my letter to Marshal de Belleisle we learn from Louisbourg that the English had not yet opened the trenches up to the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month. They were then only one thousand toises from the place, and had lost 1500 men in killed and wounded. 'Tis reported that sickness prevails among their land forces. Our troops are in the best disposition possible. Perfect understanding exists everywhere. We are thereby somewhat tranquilized as regards the fate of the place. Nevertheless, we must not flatter ourselves with any hopes. The valor of the troops may well be relied on, but they are too few for the poor condition of the place and for the use of the enemy.

DOREIL.

<sup>1</sup> Brigade-Major in the British service. See note, *supra*, p. 741. — Ed.

*M. Doreil to M. de Paulmy.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

The letter wherewith you have honored me on the 26<sup>th</sup> February last, which has been handed me by M. Bernier, confirms to me your retreat and my misfortune. I am inconsolable, my Lord, in no longer serving under the orders of a Minister whom I cherish as much as I respect, and on whose protection I grounded all the hopes of my promotion and of the favors whereof I may be susceptible. In losing you, my Lord, I have also lost the hope of returning this year to France. I was expecting everything from your goodness in this regard; I was flattering myself that you would deign cast a favorable glance on my most humble representations, and that you would be pleased to remember that I should not have consented to abandon my family and domestic affairs after the losses I had then experienced, had yourself, my Lord, not assured me that my absence would be only for a year and a half, or two years at most. So long an expatriation, the circumstances of a service beyond the seas, altogether extraordinary, a service moreover, of labor, inasmuch as, up to this moment, I have been obliged to discharge it alone, had led me to expect, this year, some favor from the King, and I had taken the liberty, my Lord, to inform you of that which was most flattering to me. Had the Marquis de Montcalm's dispatches of the month of November reached you, you would have seen, my Lord, that that General considered me then entitled to it. May I, at least, hope that you will have the kindness to recommend me, on this point and whatever may interest me, to Marshal de Belleisle. I have, indeed, the honor of being known to him, but he probably does not possess the same goodness whereof you have given me so many proofs.

M. Bernier, whom you have designated, my Lord, to come and serve with me, arrived in the last days of June. When I was about instructing him to enable him to aid me he fell seriously ill, and has been in a dangerous condition for more than 15 days. This danger has passed, but his convalescence will be slow, and I shall not be able to derive any assistance from him for a long time, more especially as he is altogether a novice in the duties of Commissary at War, which differ here, in many essential respects, from the service in France. Notwithstanding this additional inconvenience, nothing will suffer more than hitherto. I expect, even, in the course of the winter, to instruct M. Bernier sufficiently that he may be qualified to replace me next year. He has talent and intelligence, and I shall have him assisted by M. de la Rochette, my Secretary, who is conversant with all the details of the Commissariat.

I have had the honor to write you, in all, ten letters this year in triplicate, reckoning from the 26<sup>th</sup> February to the 16<sup>th</sup> June, in answer to those I have received from you, and to continue to keep you instructed; and have rendered an account of the service with which I am intrusted. The letters will have passed into the hands of Marshal de Belleisle, except one, my Lord, which was private.

My last, of the 16<sup>th</sup> June, will have communicated to you my fears in regard to the smallness of the force furnished the Marquis de Montcalm wherewith to oppose the enemy on the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, whilst a detachment of 2,000 men *d'élite*, exclusive of a considerable number of Indians, was detailed to march into the country of the Five Nations and against



Corlar, on a slender hope held out by those Nations, who have always been treacherous that they would be able to take up the hatchet for us and strike the English. This Colony was placed within an ace of its ruin, by that diversion, which was concluded on by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, without having consulted the Marquis de Montcalm, who justly pretended that a detachment of 4 @ 500 men, at most, was sufficient. Scarcely was the Marquis de Montcalm arrived at the camp of Carillon, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June last, than he had the enemy on his shoulders to the number of 25,000 men, 3,000 of whom were Regulars from Europe, besides 500 Indians. He had but about 3,500 men, whereof 400 only were Colonials and Militia. The plan of the enemy was to carry Fort Carillon, to defeat our little army and to penetrate into the interior of the Colony. Might they not flatter themselves with success? Nevertheless, O ever memorable day! and one which posterity will scarcely credit, that formidable, hostile army has been repulsed, beaten and routed on the heights of Carillon, where the Marquis de Montcalm was waiting for it with firmness, under the protection of indifferent intrenchments constructed, in 24 hours, of abatis composed of trees laid one on the other. The enemy have lost, on that occasion, 5,000 of their best Regulars, killed or wounded, two Generals and the Major-General. All was achieved by the incredible valor of both officer and lowest soldier. They knew 'twas necessary to conquer or to die; they have done wonders. Nothing can be compared to the conduct and firmness of Chev. de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque. The former has received several shots without being wounded; the latter has been wounded very dangerously. He has had his collar bone and shoulder blade broken; nevertheless, he appears, since some days, out of danger. During the whole of the engagement, which lasted several long hours, the Marquis de Montcalm exposed himself the same as the commonest soldier, and from the centre, where he was posted, repaired successively to all points to issue his orders and to convey reinforcements to the spots which were in danger. The General is so far above all eulogium, that I pass over all he merits. Conqueror of Chouaguen, of Fort William Henry, with a very small force and means! all that was wanting to his glory was to save Canada at the moment she was cut in two and irremediably lost; to gain the victory with French troops only, and (what never happened and never does occur) without Indians, the enemy having 500 of them. What I admire most is, that this worthy General, writing on the 6<sup>th</sup> to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to express to him all the danger of his situation and to reiterate his entreaties for reinforcements, said:

"Meanwhile I hope much from the valor and will of the troops; I perceive those people yonder march with precaution and are picking their steps. If they allow me time to reach the position I have selected, on the heights which command Fort Carillon, I will beat them," &c. And in his letter informing the Governor-General of his astonishing victory, after having eulogized almost all the officers individually, he has the modesty to say, "As for myself, I have only the merit of finding myself the General of such brave troops," &c. Who would believe after that, my Lord, that such a man is serving with so much annoyance as to be forced, as well as myself, to demand his recall?

To enable you the better to judge of what he has just done, I have the honor to transmit you here annexed, my Lord, copy of his Narrative. 'Tis as much on his part as on my own, for I conclude he will be unable, for want of a copyist, to address you one himself. It is the same that he transmits to Marshal de Belleisle, M. de Moras and M. de Cremille.

You will have learned, my Lord, before receiving this despatch, the expedition of the enemy against Isle Royale. A fleet, consisting of 22 or 24 ships of war, 14 frigates or bomb ketches,

and 120 transports with forty barges, made their appearance off that island on the first of June, having a landing force of 17 @ 18 thousand men. We had, at the time, in the port of Louisbourg, six men of war and three frigates, which are blockaded there. M. de Bregnon, captain in the navy, commanding *le Bizarre*, 64, loaded with provisions and ammunition and armed as a packet boat (*en flûte*), entered the harbor in view of the English fleet, remained there 8 days and sailed in the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, passed through the enemy's ships and fortunately arrived here with his cargo which was not needed at Louisbourg.

Five 64 gun ships, under the orders of M. du Chaffault,<sup>1</sup> were unable to enter the port; they landed the battalion of Cambis at Port Daupin and have come here. The enemy landed there on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June; lost some people and would have lost more had the battalions of Artois and Bourgogne, which did wonders at Gabarus, not been cut off by a strong detachment of the enemy which had climbed a rock that was deemed inaccessible. We have just received news from that Island, dated 8<sup>th</sup> of July. At that time the English were encamped within one thousand toises of the place. They had lost 1,500 men, and had not yet opened the trenches. Sickness is reported in their army, misunderstanding between Admiral Boscawen and the General of the land forces. Ours are in the best disposition and perfect accord prevails. All that begins to afford hope for the fate of that island; nevertheless, its escape from the English cannot reasonably be expected. The bravery of the troops can well be depended on; but the place is good for little or nothing, and the enemy is master of the sea.

I make use, as you perceive beforehand, my Lord, of the permission which I have solicited, to have the honor of writing to you occasionally. I shall continue to do so, if agreeable to you. I shall satisfy thereby my inclination and sentiments of gratitude and attachment which I flatter myself you do not doubt.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DORÉIL.

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*M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

This letter is more important than those I have just had the honor of writing to you, dated the 28<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of this month. I should annex thereunto a detailed account of the operations

<sup>1</sup>Lieutenant-General Count DU CHAFFAULT DE BERNÉ, was born in the year 1707; he commanded, in 1756, *l'Atalante*, 36 guns, when he fought and captured the English ship of the line the *Warwick*, 64, commanded by Captain, afterwards Lord, Shuldham. In 1778, he had charge of the vanguard of the fleet, under Count d'Orvilliers, which engaged the British fleet 27th July, and was severely wounded at the battle of Ouessant. In 1779, he was Commander-in-Chief of the combined fleets of France and Spain, but resigned at the close of the campaign, and afterwards lived retired at his chateau, near Montaign, until 1793, when he was arrested by order of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, and imprisoned in the Castle of Luzançai. 'Twas under the windows of his prison that the horrible "drownings" in the Loire were perpetrated. Here, with no other crime than his virtues and services, he died, it may be said, of grief, in the tenth month of his imprisonment, the 9th of Thermidor (August), 1794, at the age of 87 years. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.



of that campaign and principally of the glorious affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>, were I not certain that the Marquis de Montcalm has the honor of sending you one, which leaves nothing to be desired. But I must not observe silence on what the General, through modesty, does not express. All that he has performed since his arrival in America, without forces and without means, so to speak, is admirable and even incredible under all the circumstances, to those who had not a near view of them. What he has done in saving Canada, at the moment it was most in danger, is so much above all eulogium, that I confine myself to two points, which have struck me with admiration.

The Marquis de Montcalm writing on the 6<sup>th</sup> to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to expose the danger of his situation and to reiterate his entreaties for reinforcements, assumed nevertheless the tone of a conqueror. He said to him: "I hope much from the will and bravery of the French troops. I perceive that those people yonder are marching with precaution and are picking their steps; if they afford me time to reach the position I have selected on the heights of Carillon, *I will beat them*," &c. And in his letter informing that Governor-General of his astonishing victory, after having made the eulogium of almost all the officers individually, he has the modesty to say to him, "For myself, I have only the merit of finding myself the General of such brave troops," &c. How beautiful that is, my Lord! Who would believe, nevertheless, that such a Chief is serving with so much annoyance that he is forced to demand his recall? Having left his cypher at Montreal, he is unable, my Lord, to have the honor to write you as he would desire, and commissions me to supply the defect. To satisfy him, I employ the cypher furnished me on my departure by Count d'Argenson, the duplicate whereof is in M. de Fumeron's office. I use it also with M. de Crémille.<sup>1</sup>

The following, then, is what he has instructed me to communicate to you :

What follows to the  
end was in cipher  
in the original.

Neglect, ignorance, tardiness and obstinacy have thought of irremediably losing the Colony. To save it has required a miracle and supernatural bravery of the French troops. After so grand an event, no excuse can be resorted to but the want of provisions. The first convoy from Bourdeaux [consisting] of ten thousand barrels of flour, had nevertheless arrived at Quebec the nineteenth of May, and there was a quantity of it at Fort Chamblé and St. John before the end of June. M. de Vaudreuil is not excusable in having uselessly detained at Montreal the Colonial troops and the Militia and Indians, inasmuch as Chevalier de Levis arrived at Chibouton<sup>2</sup> on the morning of the eighth of July, preceded on the night of the seventh by four hundred picked men belonging to the French troops of his detachment. At least the 400 Colonials and the nearly 800 of Canadians whose destination was the same, and the Indians assembled at Montreal, might use the same diligence in joining the Marquis de Montcalm, had they been ordered to do so. This great proof is sufficiently strong, not to offer any other. The Indians themselves have complained, and some of the Colony have murmured at the loss of their time in Montreal and at the affected sojourns which have been made at La prairie de la Madelaine, St. Johns and elsewhere. Since the battle, M. de Vaudreuil sends too many Canadians, who did not begin to arrive until the thirteenth, and that with a view to write to the Minister of the Marine, that the Marquis de Montcalm has not known how to profit by his

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS HYACINTHE BAYERODE CRÉMILLES was born on the 10th December, 1700. He entered the French army as Cadet in the Guards; was afterwards Captain of Dragoons; and in 1734, Quartermaster-General, in which capacity he served for several years with admitted distinction. In 1757, he was created Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis, and 9th April, 1758, was adjoined to Marshal de Belle Isle in the office of Minister of War. He resigned this appointment in 1761, and died in 1768. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic*.



victory. As if one could go like a fool with about six thousand men, two thousand of whom were Militia, in pursuit of an enemy who has yet fourteen to fifteen thousand men intrenched in a single camp, and a start of ten days. We may be convinced he is capable of so doing, since he has truly dared to write last year that the Marquis de Montcalm, after the capture of Fort William Henry, could have undertaken the siege of Fort Lidius or Edward, where the enemy had six or seven thousand men, and could in twice twenty-four hours convey double the number from Orange, whilst the Marquis de Montcalm, who had six thousand at most, was obliged, out of this number, to send back the Canadians for the harvest, and all the Upper country Indians had gone away, and a portage of six leagues had to be made without horses or carriages, in order to arrive at the object. This is a calumny without example, after which much greater acts of treachery may be expected.

In all views of the case, Fort Carillon is worth nothing and costs the King as much as Brisack. An ignoramus constructed it—a relative of M. de Vaudreuil, whose fortune 'twas desirous to make and who has made it. See in this connection, M. de Pont le Roy's memoir,<sup>1</sup> which I have put into cipher. Ineptness, intrigue, lies, cupidity, will in a short time destroy this Colony, which costs the King so dearly. If it escape this year, which is not yet certain, as the enemy can return in greater strength and with more precaution, 'tis absolutely necessary to conclude peace this winter, my Lord, or the Colony will belong to the English next year, whatever M. Vaudreuil may write or cause to be written or to be said; it is of the greatest importance to change the entire administration when peace is made; should the making of it be delayed, change this moment the general government, otherwise the Marquis de Montcalm will have sustained this machine, always threatening to tumble, in order to see it perish at last, and perhaps be the unjust victim of it. For two years he has not ceased talking of the expedition and descent the enemy may effect at Quebec. There is no disposition either to foresee or to order anything; he uses his ruined health, his purse; sees all the evil, is penetrated by it, unable to remedy it or to do any good. He demands his recall, and in the meanwhile serves as usual. He will owe ten thousand *écus* on the first of January. His disinterestedness excites criticism and jealousy and attracts enmity. He has had a great deal of trouble in quieting the French officer and soldier, who at last, after more than three years' suffering, have exploded; the latter during the action of the eighth, have made several remarks worthy of being collected; here is one among the rest: "M. de Vaudreuil has sold the country, but f . . . ! we will not suffer him to deliver it up. He has sacrificed us in order to have our throats cut. Let us defend them. Long live the King and our General."

Peace, Peace, my Lord, no matter at what sacrifice as regards boundaries; 'twill be so much gained if people will work well when 'twill be concluded. 'Tis necessary that the Marquis de Montcalm inform his Minister so as to enable him to advise the King. He will continue to report to him, but perhaps flatters himself that his despatches reach him. The principal ones of last year have been intercepted or stopped at the Bureau of the Marine. He will not write again to the Minister of the Marine except for form sake, and through pure politeness, without any detail. Also, his despatches can never quadrate with those of M. de Vaudreuil. This interruption or retention of the Marquis de Montcalm's despatches, is the cause that no French officer, deserving of the favors demanded, has received any, whilst the officers of the Colony have received theirs. This is a pity, and an affliction for the troops

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 720.—Ed.



that serve so well and have performed wonders. The Marquis de Paulmy has had the goodness to express his regret at not having received the recommendations.

After these details on the part of the Marquis de Montcalm, permit me, my Lord, to add from myself, some arguments in favor of peace, without which this country is lost. It has been maintained by a miracle up to the present time and with nothing, by the conduct, talents and virtue of the Marquis de Montcalm, seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis, de Bourlamaque, by the bravery of the officers individually, by the goodness of the French soldier, and the great docility of us all. We are come to defend the country. We are ruining our health and purse in it. In return, we have experienced only unworthy preferences, endless injustices, calumnies, treachery. We have suffered through wisdom and the love of peace. We have sacrificed everything through zeal, for the King's service, and in order to establish good harmony. Three years passed in this cruel situation, at last weary their patience. The measure is full. The Marquis de Montcalm has only to reproach himself with too much goodness and deference. He asks you for his recall, my Lord; I am astonished that he has not demanded it sooner. On my knees I beg you to grant me mine, which I am long soliciting in vain. I have abandoned children in the cradle, and all my affairs in France. They are endangered for more than three years; occasion me considerable losses, and are completing my ruin there. Here 'tis impossible to live these two years past, on the King's allowance. The twelve thousand *livres* which I have, are equivalent to three thousand in France. Judge, my Lord, if it be possible to support oneself with a furnished house. I expect, in this regard, everything from your justice and your goodness. I have made every arrangement, this winter, so that the service will not possibly suffer by my departure, and I shall place the Marquis de Montcalm in a position to assure you thereof. Whether the war is to continue or not; if it be desirous to save and settle Canada solidly, let his Majesty confide the general government of it to the Marquis de Montcalm. He possesses political science as well as military talent; a statesman and a man of detail, a great worker, just, disinterested even to scruple, clearsighted, active, and having nothing in view but the public good; in a word, a virtuous and universal man. I do not know whether this place would be to his liking, and perhaps he would be very little obliged to me if he imagined that I hazarded this proposition. I submit it, my Lord, only for the public good and through zeal for the King's service. Though M. de Vaudreuil should possess similar talents, he will always have one original drawback—he is a Canadian. That qualification is of more serious consequence than I can express. The Marquis de Montcalm is, at present, more thoroughly acquainted with what suits the country than M. Vaudreuil. He knows how to deal with the Indians, to attach them to him, and to make them act according to circumstances. They know him, love him, respect and fear him. 'Twas a popular error to imagine that M. de Vaudreuil was necessary in Canada solely on account of the Indians. It would be greatly to be desired that M. Duquesne had remained here until now, acting in concert with his friend the M<sup>th</sup> de Montcalm. They would have done great things. As for the rest, this place which may be very well filled, requires a general officer of the land service and not a marine. M. de Vaudreuil is neither the one nor the other. War is now carried on here the same as in Europe, and the functions of the Governor-General regard in nowise the Navy. Thus 'tis only within some thirty years that the Colony is governed by Marines, although war, previously, was not waged as it is to-day.

How surprised you, my Lord, and the entire kingdom will doubtless be, at not receiving, perhaps until the end of October, news of the great event which has just occurred. The

frigate *La Valeur*, selected to carry the news, is commanded by Captain Canon, a famous privateer of Dunkirk. He is ready to sail these fifteen days, and I shall not be surprised if he will not be dispatched for a month. The same slowness prevails everywhere here. The vessel that carried the news of the fall of Chouaguen in 175 , which was taken on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August, did not set sail until the 22<sup>nd</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>. The same delay occurred last year in forwarding the news of the capture of Fort William Henry. I am just assured that Captain Péan, Town-Major of Quebec, is to go to France in this frigate. If that be the case, he will be employed in carrying the news to M. de Moras. I shall adopt all possible precaution to make you receive the intelligence at the same time, and perhaps before. That will occasion another secret letter which I shall have the honor to write you on the eve of Captain Canon's departure.

This, my Lord, is a detail of very strong and very important matters which I deposit in the breast of my respectable Minister with full confidence, flattering myself that I shall not be compromised and that he will approve of my zeal, which is, in truth, all tested.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you hereunto, copy :

1<sup>st</sup> Of the letter of General Abercromby wrote me on the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month,<sup>1</sup> which reached me only a few days after the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>. That General detained, up to that time, the officer who conveyed my dispatches, and the small detachment which accompanied him.

2<sup>nd</sup> Of the parole of honor he has exacted, on the 21<sup>st</sup> July, from Captain Corriveau of a company of our Militia, who was taken in the affair of the Baron de Dieskau.

3<sup>rd</sup> Of the power he gave, on the 21<sup>st</sup> July, to Colonel Schuyler to treat for his exchange and for that of the other English officers who are prisoners in this Colony, in lieu of French officers whom he has in his power.

4<sup>th</sup> Of the letter which that General has written on 21<sup>st</sup> July to the Marquis de Montcalm.

5<sup>th</sup> Of the letter the Marquis de Montcalm wrote to that General on the 24<sup>th</sup> July.

6<sup>th</sup> Of the letter which I have written, myself, to that General on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month.

You will see, my Lord, that General Abercromby, far from being as particular as I have been, in inviolably executing the Capitulation of Fort William Henry, regards it, on the contrary, as null and void.

I shall wait to terminate the exchange of our prisoners taken since the 9<sup>th</sup> of August of last year in the manner I have proposed to General Abercromby, in order to have the honor to render you an account thereof.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* — Ed.



Copy of the Letter written by General Abercromby to the Marquis de Vaudreuil  
from Fort Edward, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1758.

Sir,

I have received the letter your Excellency had done me the honor to write me on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, with divers observations on the subject of the Capitulation of Fort William Henry, concluded the 9<sup>th</sup> of August last. Without entering into any discussion, permit me to inform your Excellency that the infraction of that Capitulation committed by a part of the forces of the King, your master, immediately after the surrender of the fort, has been so manifestly contrary to the good faith which exists among all nations, that, in honor and justice to the King, my master, who has confided to me the command of his troops in North America, I find myself obliged to regard that Capitulation as null and void, which I make known to all the Governors and Commanders by sea and land in North America.

I persuade myself that, in considering things in a proper light, your Excellency will be convinced of the justice of my proceeding in regard to the Capitulation, and that nothing will induce you, by forgetting the laws of humanity, to use the least violence towards his Majesty's subjects, whether belonging to the Civil or Military departments, who are included in that Capitulation, and who might unfortunately fall into your hands, as that would oblige me and the other of his Majesty's Commanders by sea and land, to use reprisals on all his Most Christian Majesty's subjects, who are actually prisoners with us, or who may become so hereafter.

Permit me once more to inform your Excellency that I am determined to carry on the war with all possible humanity, agreeably to the intentions of the King, my master, and nothing will induce me to adopt contrary measures except the infractions which the troops of the King, your master, may commit in this regard.

In respect to the proposals which have been made for the exchange of Colonel Schuyler, Captain-Lieutenant Martin and Surgeon Stakes, it has been made solely in view not only of accommodating these gentlemen, but also M. Corriveau and the others who have an extreme desire to return to Canada; but since your Excellency does not approve that proposal, I shall let Colonel Schuyler and the other gentlemen know that they will have to repair immediately to Canada.

Your Excellency may be assured that the letters you have confided to my care will be forwarded.

I shall always consider myself highly honored by being in correspondence with your Excellency, and I shall be charmed to seize every opportunity to convince you that I have the honor to be with the greatest respect, your Excellency's

True copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Most obedient and

Most humble servant,

(Signed), JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Parole of Captain Corriveau.

I, the undersigned, Jean Jacques Corriveau, Captain of Militia of the troops of Canada, a prisoner of war of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, taken in the month of August, 1755, having obtained from his Excellency Major-General James Abercromby, Esquire, Colonel of

the 44<sup>th</sup> regiment of Infantry, Colonel-in-chief of the Royal American regiment and General-in-chief of all his Britannic Majesty's troops in North America, &c., &c., &c., [permission] to visit my family and attend to my private affairs, on condition of returning to New-York the 21<sup>st</sup> of January next, if I be not previously exchanged, do pledge my word of honor that during the last term of 6 months, I shall not in anywise meddle with any except my own private affairs, nor interfere in anywise in any military or other affair, which may in anywise prejudice his said Britannic Majesty or his arms. And that in case I be not exchanged at the time prescribed, I shall then surrender myself without delay to New-York, on the day abovementioned. In witness whereof I have signed these presents at the camp of Lake George, this 24 July, 1758, to serve as is reasonable.

(Signed), JACQUES CORRIVEAU.

True copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Authority to Colonel Schuyler to effect an Exchange of Prisoners.

By his Excellency James Abercromby, Esquire, Colonel of the 44<sup>th</sup> regiment of Infantry, Colonel-in-chief of the Royal American regiment, Major-General and Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces levied and to be levied in North America, &c., &c.

To Peter Schuyler, Esquire,

Whereas we have in our hands one Captain, four Lieutenants and three Cadets of his most Christian Majesty's troops, who have been made prisoners in our last expedition against Carillon, and as the French, on the other hand have, besides yourself and Captain-lieutenant Martin of the regiment of Royal Artillery, who is returning to Canada in execution of your parole, Captain-Lieutenant Pringle, Lieutenant Roach and Ensign Downing,<sup>1</sup> for all whom I wish to make an exchange, which you would effect the more promptly and without any loss of time, as you will be on the spot, should his most Christian Majesty's General be willing to accede thereto. Wherefore these presents are to authorize and empower you to treat with his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Marquis de Montcalm or any other persons authorized on the part or for his most Christian Majesty, in order to effect the exchanges aforesaid of the prisoners on the following conditions, to wit, officer for officer of equal rank, namely, yourself, who hold the rank of Captain in the service, for Captain Bonneau, and the four French Lieutenants for Captain-Lieutenant Martin, Captain-Lieutenant Pringle, Lieutenant Roach and Ensign Downing; observing that such exchange be made on the conditions above expressed from hand to hand and not separately the one from the other of the aforesaid parties; and if such can be executed in that way, you are by these presents authorized to sign all act or acts necessary to this subject, which I engage to ratify.

Given under my hand and seal at Lake George this 21 day of July, 1758.

(Signed), JAMES ABERCROMBY.

By His Excellency's order.

(Signed), J. APPY.

A true copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> WILLIAM DOWNING was commissioned an Ensign in the 55th, or Lord Howe's regiment, 27th November, 1755; was promoted to a Lieutenancy 13th July, 1759. His name is not on the Army List of 1765. — Ed.



Copy of General Abercromby's letter to the Marquis de Montcalm.

Camp at Lake George, 21<sup>st</sup> July, 1758.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you by Lieutenant Smalk,<sup>1</sup> the bearer of this letter, that Captain Bonneau, Lieutenants Joubert, Laroche, Chevalier de Rene and Chevalier Bernard, Sieur Granet and Permillat, Cadets with 144 non-commissioned officers or soldiers belonging to the troops under your orders, having been taken in the affair of the 6<sup>th</sup> have been treated with all possible humanity and care. I doubt not but you evince the like towards all the English officers and soldiers who will have fallen into your hands. I beg you to send me by the bearer a list of the officers with the number of soldiers. Under the escort which conducts this letter to your Excellency, go also Colonel Schuyler and Captain Martin, whom I have detained until now only in the view to do a favor to some of your officers who had solicited me to propose the exchange which I have offered to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, they appeared convinced that he would accept it with pleasure, but as he has refused the proposition, I send you back the two prisoners abovementioned, to convince your Excellency of the desire I feel that the war be carried on with humanity and generosity as in Europe and as it ought to be everywhere. I have not hesitated upon the entreaties of Captain Corriveau, to permit him to return on his parole to Canada for the purpose of arranging his affairs, and to that end have allowed him 6 months; which being expired, I expect, if he be not exchanged in the mean time, that he will return to New-York. Meanwhile, I request your Excellency if you are disposed for an exchange, to communicate your propositions to me on this point by the return of the bearer hereof. You must be aware, however good the treatment prisoners receive in the place of their captivity, they always have much to suffer.

I have the honor to be with great consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble and

True Copy,

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

(Signed), JAMES ABERCROMBY.

Copy of the Marquis de Montcalm's Letter to General Abercromby.

Camp at Carillon, 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

Sir,

I received, yesterday evening, the letter your Excellency has done me the honor of writing to me by Lieutenant Smalk.<sup>1</sup> Colonel Schuyler and Captain Martin, whom I shall forward to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, have been given up to me at the same time. 'Tis at the request of these two officers that I have kept Lieutenant Smalk<sup>1</sup> to-day, that they may write by him. I feel all possible gratitude for the good treatment you have been pleased to show our officers and soldiers who are prisoners. I was well assured of it beforehand; it is unnecessary for me to observe to you that we shall do the same on every occasion, and for myself, personally, I shall always pay the most particular attention to it. I have the honor to address to your Excellency some letters for our officers who are prisoners, and one which I write personally

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*; but see VIII., 588, note. — Ed.

to Captain de Bonneau, of the regiment of Guyenne. Your Excellency is not ignorant that the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup> continued until night-fall. I could not have the field of battle reconnoitred until the next day, and the delay of a night has been fatal to the wounded who remained there. I have paid the greatest attention to the removal of all those who remained on the ground, to the number of 70. In spite of all the care which I had taken of them, which was the same as that bestowed on our troops, the wounds having been considerable, the majority of them have died; 34 remain who have been fit to be conveyed with our own to Montreal, where they will be cared for with the greatest attention. A sergeant has come in, since the affair, who has given himself up as a prisoner, and an orderly sergeant of the New-York regiment. Among the number of wounded we have recognized only two officers, who were unconscious; no information could be got from them. I should think, by his commission, that one of them was George Needham, Captain of Thomas Murray's regiment;<sup>1</sup> a party has brought us in, since the affair, 7 prisoners, who have declared themselves as belonging to Nicholson's regiment lived in New England, before the affair, and since Captain Pringle and Lieutenant Roche have been taken prisoners, we have not had any other except one ensign of Lord Howe's regiment. A note thereof has been sent when Lieutenant Wolfs, of our troops, carried you the Marquis de Vaudreuil's answers. Some days after, we took 19 persons with one officer belonging to Robert Rogers' company.

Your Excellency must have remarked, from the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters, that the obstacle to individual exchanges arises from the non-execution of the capitulation which I granted to the garrison of Fort W. H., and as there is question of my proper act, I can say nothing, except that I have nothing to reproach myself with on that occasion. I even believe that all England renders me justice, and during the 36 years that I have the honor of serving the King, my master, I believe I have never exposed myself personally so much as I have done to keep my word; as for the rest, no person would desire the exchanges more than I do; however well treated prisoners may be, their condition is always to be pitied, but although I have the honor to command the King's troops in war, I am subject to the orders of M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France; I send him copy of the letter you have done me the honor to write me; I request him to communicate to me promptly his intention, and if there were any means to apply a remedy, in order to respond to your views regarding individual exchanges, I shall have the honor to communicate them immediately to your Excellency, observing the same form you have observed in sending me Lieutenant Smalk,<sup>2</sup> to whom I furnish a detachment for his return and safety, which has orders to accompany him to within hail of your first post.

I thank you for the gracious permission you have granted to Sieur Corriveau, Captain of the militia, and answer you, that if there be no means of making exchanges, he will be surrendered at Fort Edward, at the expiration of the leave that you have been pleased to grant him.

I am, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your most humble, &c.,

Copy.

(Signed), MONTCALM.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> The 48th; Captain Needham had been commissioned captain of a different regiment, 20th November, 1749, and joined the 48th on the 30th April, 1757. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 774.



Copy of the Letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Abercromby,  
from Montreal, the 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1758.

Sir,

I have received the letter your Excellency has done me the honor of writing to me on the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month.

I shall not renew to you my observations on all that concerns the capitulation of Fort William Henry, and what you do me the honor to observe to me on that point, convinces me that it is an object, the decision of which regards actually the Kings, our masters, who will judge of the rectitude of my intentions in that regard.

I persist always in the sentiments of humanity with which your Excellency is yourself penetrated; these dispositions are for you, Sir, a certain guarantee of the manner I shall apply them, as much as it will lie in my power, even towards the subjects of the King, your master, dependent on that capitulation.

I am very sensible of the liberty your Excellency has been pleased to grant Captain Corriveau to return to this Colony on his parole, and although I do not think he was obliged to give any, I shall not the less cause him to return to your Excellency within the time you have allowed him.

The Marquis de Montcalm has reported to me the attention you have had to furnish him news of the officers and soldiers that were taken on the 6<sup>th</sup>. Please accept, Sir, my thanks for the good treatment you have been pleased to show them. I shall always do my best not to remain in your Excellency's debt in this regard.

Colonel Schuyler<sup>1</sup> has communicated to me the power your Excellency has given him to treat with me for the exchange of the officers therein described. I shall accept, Sir, with

<sup>1</sup>Colonel PETER SCHUYLER, grandson of Philip Pieterse Schuyler and Margaretta Van Slechtenhorst of Albany, and 2nd son of Arent Schuyler, of Pompton, New Jersey, by his second wife, Swan Van Duykhuisen of Albany, was born about the year 1710. In 1746, on the projected invasion of Canada, he was put in command of the New Jersey regiment, and was stationed at Oswego until the peace in 1748, when he returned to private life. On the renewal of hostilities in 1755, his regiment was again called out and reached Oswego on the 20th of July. In December following, Colonel Schuyler attended the Congress called by Governor Shirley at New-York, and afterwards returned to Oswego, where he continued in garrison until its reduction, 14th August, 1756, when he was sent prisoner to Canada. He was allowed to return to New-York in November, on parole, and on his arrival in that city several houses were illuminated. He reached his home, at Peterboro', New Jersey, 27th November, 1756. Having been recalled to Canada, in June, 1758, he at once set out on his return; left Lake George 21st July, and arrived at Montreal towards the close of that month, with power from General Abercromby to treat for an exchange of prisoners, which he effected, and having been himself soon after exchanged for M. de Noyan, the commandant of Fort Frontenac, he once more returned home, after an absence of nearly six months. He commanded the Jersey Blues again in the campaigns of 1759, 1760, under Amherst, entered Montreal as a victor where he had been so lately a prisoner, and then returned to New Jersey, where he died at his residence on the Passaic, near Newark, Dunlap says on 7th March, Mr. Ch. King, November 17th, 1762, aged about 52 years, leaving behind him a high character for bravery and chivalrous honor. He had qualities, besides, that greatly recommended him to his acquaintance, being of a frank, open behavior, of an extensive generosity and humanity, and unwearied in his endeavors to accomplish whatever appeared of service to his country. Whilst a prisoner in Canada, he kept open house for the relief of his fellow sufferers, and advanced large sums to the Indians in the French interest, for the redemption of captives; many of whom he afterwards, at his own expense, maintained whilst there, and provided for their return, trusting to their abilities and honor for repayment, and lost considerable that way, but seemed to think it money well bestowed. As to person, he was of a tall, hardy make, rather rough at first view, yet a little acquaintance discovered a bottom of sincerity, and that he was ready to do every kind office in his power. In conversation he was above artifice or the common traffic of forms, yet seemed to enjoy friendship with its true relish; and in all its relations, what he seemed to be, he was. His half-length portrait in oil, dressed in a military costume of blue, with red facings, in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society, corresponds very well with the

pleasure that exchange, but I have the honor to propose to your Excellency, to make all the other prisoners in your power rejoice, at the same time, over the same sentiments of humanity which you feel for the officers, and to exchange them; I think you will readily consent, inasmuch as Colonel Schuyler has appeared to me willing to take upon him to make that exchange; but as his own orders do not give him authority except for the officers, I have considered that it would be proper to ascertain first your Excellency's intentions on that point; I intend, nevertheless, to ask of you by preference in this exchange, those who depend on this Colony, both soldiers and Canadian Militia, and only those taken prisoners since the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757. And if you accept this proposition, I request you to send me the list of the prisoners in your hands, and I shall authorise the Marquis de Montcalm to agree with your Excellency on the means and place the most proper to terminate the exchanges, from hand to hand.

It will always give me real pleasure to afford your Excellency proofs of the sincerity of my intentions by the liberality with which I shall treat, without attaching myself too scrupulously to the inequality of ranks.

If Sieur de Belletre, Cadet in the Marine troops, who was taken in the neighborhood of Fort Cumberland in Virginia, be actually at your Excellency's disposal, I request he may be included in these exchanges.

I shall ever seize with earnestness every occasion to prove to your Excellency how much it gratifies me to correspond with you, as it will afford me occasion to renew to you the assurances of the most profound respect with which I have the honor to be, &c.

P. S. On the assurances given me by Colonel Schuyler, that Surgeon Major Stakes is detained by reason of serious sickness, I shall consent to his remaining at home until the time of the general exchange which I propose to your Excellency, if it take place.

P. S. I feel a sincere pleasure, Sir, in placing under your Excellency's cover, the enclosed dispatches from Mr. Schuyler and the other English officers.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Massiac.*

Camp at Carillon, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1756.

My Lord,

Although I dare flatter myself that you render me the justice of believing that personal annoyances will never effect my zeal for the King's service, I wish to edify you by transmitting

description of his personal appearance given by Samuel Smith. Catharine, his only child, married Archibald Kennedy, King's Collector, Receiver-General of the quit-rents and member of His Majesty's Council of New-York, and removed to England with her husband, and left no issue. Among the houses in New-York city owned by Colonel Peter Schuyler, was his residence, No. 1 Broadway, corner of the Battery, now celebrated as having been the headquarters, during the Revolutionary war, of Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Guy Carleton. *Letters of S. Alostern and W. A. Whitehead, Esqs., New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, I, 53, 58, 178, 179; *Dunlap's New-York*, I, 375, 394, 395. II, *Appendix*, lxvi, clxxxv.; *Smith's New-York*, II, 224, 257, 265; *Smith's New Jersey*, 493. — Ed.



to you copy of a last letter, dated yesterday, to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and you will see therein that it depends only on him to live in harmony with me, and that I am sacrificing everything in view of his Majesty's service.

You will perhaps be surprised that I speak to him of the composer of his letters ; he admits that he does neither write nor dictate any ; besides it was really necessary that I should seek an excuse for him. He has acknowledged to me that he wrote to you last year that he had furnished me every means to go and lay siege to Lydius, but that he did not intend accusing me thereby, inasmuch as he did not say that I ought to do so, and that he knew well that it was impossible for me to do it under the circumstances.

Content with this justification, my Lord, and more so with the hope I entertain that you will be pleased never to enter judgment in my regard, on what might be written to you, without having heard me, I shall continue to labor with the same zeal in defence of this Colony, until it will please his Majesty to grant a recall which my health and debts oblige me to demand. Until then I shall willingly shed the last drop of my blood, and give up the last breath of my life for his service.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

( Signed ), MONTCALM.

I might, my Lord, have no need of the King's pecuniary favors, were I willing to follow the tone of the country, and I would not owe ten thousand *écus*, were I to do nothing but what is civil and decent for the service, and to live militarily.

Extract of a letter from the Marquis de Montcalm to the Marquis de Vaudreuil,  
from the camp at Carillon, 2<sup>nd</sup> August, 1758.

Be assured, Sir, that the personal matters of which I complain, and which I really impute to the composers of your letters, to the turbulent and mischief-making spirits who are seeking to estrange you from me, will never diminish either my zeal for the public good, nor my affection for you, nor my constant attention to write nothing but good of you and your brother, and not to speak of, nor afford a favorable coloring to things on which I think you have not fully determined. Wherefore should you not act in the same manner by me? Why not alter your secretary's style? Why not give me more of your confidence? I dare say the King's service would gain thereby, and we should not have the air of disunion, which transpires to the degree that I send you a New-York newspaper which mentions it. You believe, Sir, you are not to blame; I, that I am not; for I think I have always been prodigal of advances to you, and have given way more than any other man in order to agree in opinion with you on all occasions. But false reports are made to you, efforts are made to embitter you; for myself, I shall forget, although it pain me, what you have written last year; I think you have not weighed its consequences, and I flatter myself you will never afford reason to suspect my military conduct, when I do all that I know how. Repel effectually those who will think of writing, or of speaking to you of me; say aloud and in public, that my recommendation to you must be the best, and you will soon see that your Colony will alter its tone. Will you begin with me, Sir,

by doing me a pleasure? Accept M<sup>r</sup> de Montbelliard's proposal; send back his commission to the Court, and ask that he serve as detached from his corps under your orders, and send M<sup>r</sup> de Louvicon to the company, and serve M<sup>r</sup> de Bonafous the same way. Fear not that this is to have them under my discipline, for I do not mean any such thing, and wish them no manner of harm; and I should greatly desire to be able to give you all the troops of the line to discipline. If you consult only your heart, you will accept my proposition; the Minister will be obliged to you and I shall be grateful therefor. If you consult strangers, you will be told: 'tis impossible, having an order from the King, as if 1500 leagues off, it is not your's to suspend those with whom there is any inconvenience. But those who approach you have the ill address to endeavor, contrary to your intentions, to engage you to mortify, without wishing to do so, the General, the troops of the line and all that relates to them. What need have you, Sir, after my three years service under your orders, to prescribe to me useless or minute details, which I should blush to prescribe to a lowest captain; that proceeds from your secretary having but one mould wherein to fashion instructions and letters for all officers, from me down to the Colonial ensign. I have already had the honor to tell you that we do not think ourselves wrong, neither the one nor the other of us. It is to be supposed, then, that we are both so, and that some change must be applied to our mode of proceeding. For me, Sir, I shall neither answer complaints on your part, nor seek to justify myself, nor furnish you any memoir except when you will require it of me or the King's service shall really be interested. You will write to me or act as you please in the matter. If it be well in my regard, I shall be very grateful, and shall so express myself to you; if ill, my silence will teach you that I am not content. But I flatter myself that I shall not find myself in this case, after so frank a letter on my part, and which will prove to you that I am really willing to preserve your friendship and deserve your confidence until my departure; for I request you to demand my recall on account of my health and of my debts. The Minister might suppose that I am induced to ask it because of my dissatisfaction with you, Sir; that is also true, but you have at hand the remedy on this point, and you have it not on the other two.

I flatter myself that my letter will not go to your Secretary, and that you will be so good as to honor me yourself with an answer. Your Secretary would preserve spite against me which would always be prejudicial to the King's service.

A true copy.

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 4<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to render you an account, in one of my letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> of last month of the brilliant victory we have gained on the 8<sup>th</sup> of that month over the English army, commanded by General Abercromby.

That day confers on us infinite honor, but I fear it will draw down pernicious consequences on the Colony; I have been unwilling to mention in that letter what has occurred.



I reserved to myself the development of them to you in this letter, in order that you alone may be informed of them. To enable you, my Lord, to judge that the account I have the honor to render you of them is free from passion, I annex copy of the instruction I gave the Marquis de Montcalm, when he announced to me the day of his departure for Carillon, but on the following day he declared to me by a memoir and a letter (annexed hereunto) that he would not leave unless I furnished him other instructions. His refusal failed not to excite noise; it became public. I foresaw, my Lord, the ill effect it might produce at the opening of the campaign. M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm found me as complaisant as he was petulant and excited. In order to avoid noise and rupture, I consented to sign the annexed instruction which he had drawn up himself. When I regard only myself, my Lord, I sacrifice everything to maintain union; but I foresee with pain that, in wishing to make use of mild means, I shall indubitably compromise the authority the King has confided to me. I am the more founded in this belief by the Marquis de Montcalm having been, after the action of the 8<sup>th</sup>, so transported with joy, that he lost sight of the moderation he owed to himself; he exalted his victory in terms so indiscreet as to produce in his army expressions the most indecent against the Government, and especially whatever emanates from the Minister of the Marine.

He no longer remembered, my Lord, your recommendations in favor of our Indians. So far from managing them, he repelled them to the degree that they have almost all returned. You will judge of their discontent by the Council hereunto annexed, which these Nations have publicly held at my quarters on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, in presence of the Intendant.

Had I been aware of the subject of their speeches, I would have given them a secret audience. I could not do better than in my answers to justify the Marquis de Montcalm and to engage these Indians to return to Carillon.

I could not have expected to find the same docility in the Upper Nations, how devoted soever they may be, were a similar thing to happen to them. What is the more unfortunate, my Lord, is, that the 3 Chiefs of the 5 Iroquois Nations, whom I had attached to M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm's army, have been witnesses of the manner in which he has treated our domiciliated tribes, and that the account they will render of it at their villages will possibly prejudice my negotiations.

If the troops of the Marine have not exploded so openly, we are indebted for their restraint to their subordination, but their pain, though secret, is not the less acute, seeing that M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm, far from doing justice to their services, attributes these to the troops of the Line. This proceeding disgusts both officer and soldier.

In regard to the Canadians, they cannot but be rebuffed by the manner he is making them serve. They have always been excited by their feelings; they have rendered the greatest services; now they are degraded by the harshness with which they are commanded; they clearly perceive the importance made of them each time they are wanted. They bear, without a murmur, the *corvées* with which they are continually burthened. They ask nothing better than to be placed in the most exposed situations, either in encampment, scouting parties, and even in front of the enemy. They distinguished themselves on the day of the 8<sup>th</sup>.

Effectually, my Lord, the troops of the Marine, the Canadians and the Indians had to themselves a space as large as the rest of the army, although it does not include the quarter of that intrenched ground; as soon as they received orders, they advanced with ardor to charge the flank of the enemy who wanted to penetrate the part defended by Chevalier de Levis. They approached them so near that they have made many prisoners; during the action the



different corps which have been engaged with our enemies, equally distinguished themselves, and have acquired the same degree of glory. 'Tis a truth to which the Marquis de Montcalm rendered the justice it deserves. He wrote to me on the day after the victory in these terms: "The few Canadians and Colonials I had, were placed at the opening (in the intrenchment) between the abatis and the river; they made us all regret that we had not more of them. Chevalier de Levis, under whose eyes they have fought, praises them highly; he ordered them to make two sorties. M<sup>r</sup> de Raymond, Captain of the Colonials, who had the honor to command them, exhibited on the occasion, as much intelligence as zeal. I cannot speak in too high terms of him, as well as of all the other Colonial officers."

The Marquis de Montcalm, forgetting no doubt, the eulogium he made to me, does not render them the same justice in the annexed Narrative, which he sent me; on the contrary he took particular care to pass over their actions in silence, which has induced me to comment on that Narrative in order, my Lord, that you may possess an exact knowledge of the truth.

That Narrative has not been in existence long; he has made out another, hereunto annexed, still less favorable to the troops of the Marine and Canadians. It has been a principle with him, to make that day turn only on the troops of the Line.

The Canadians have a great deal to suffer from the petulance and ill humor of M. de Montcalm; several officers of the Regulars, imitating their General, treat them harshly.

I can assure you, my Lord, that M. de Montcalm's first arrangements had only in view the checking of the enemy, by occupying the head of the Portage, without in any way intending to dispute the ground with them, inch by inch; his plan was to abandon Carillon to its own forces, to remove his camp back opposite St. Frederic, and to intrench himself at that place; there is even reason to believe that he would have adopted that course had it not been for the representations of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Lemer cier and Solbinière.

The day of the 6<sup>th</sup> was humiliating to the nation; a portion of the tents and baggage were burnt on that day at the head of the Portage; no opposition was offered to the landing of the English, a manœuvre always critical and difficult to be executed when resistance is offered. M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque, who was aware of all its advantage, notwithstanding the trifling force he had under his command, exacted three consecutive orders from M. de Montcalm before retiring. If the enemy had profited by the circumstance and pursued our army, already panic stricken by its retreat, and the major part of which was occupied that day in conducting their baggage to Carillon, there is reason to believe 'twould have been cut in pieces.

It lay that day, also, in order of battle, after having passed the Falls, instead of having employed that time in constructing intrenchments. Fortunately, the Lord has fought for us, and our enemies did not attack us until the 8th, without having reconnoitred our intrenchments.

The plan of the fort and of the intrenchments, will enable you sufficiently to understand the risks he incurred in his arrangements, without my pointing them out to you; it is sufficient to show that the troops of the Marine, the Canadians and Indians were too feeble to resist and prevent the enemy from turning the intrenchments, and that they were masking the fire of the artillery and musketry of the fort.

I lost no time, my Lord, in writing to the Marquis de Montcalm that the victory he had just won made me hasten more and more the departure of the Militia and provisions, to enable him to terminate his campaign as favorably as he had begun it. I urged him not to lose the advantage we had gained over our enemies; they had furnished us proofs of their discouragement by their precipitate retreat under the ruins of old Fort William Henry, by abandoning provisions,



other effects and even some wounded. As early as the 11<sup>th</sup>, M. de Rigaud was at the orders of the Marquis de Montcalm, with about 600 Indians and a corps of picked Canadians; he would in a short time afterwards, have had as many as 10,000 men had he not successively sent back a large number of them.

My letter and my hurry to increase his forces, displeased him to the degree that he sent me back a copy of that same letter with comments. You will find it annexed. He did not sign the letter which followed them, but I could not be mistaken, inasmuch as there was an article in his handwriting. You will see, my Lord, the answer I have sent him.

The Marquis de Montcalm pretends to be informed of letters I had the honor to write you last year, by a respectable lady whom he has cited; I do not name her to you because he has not said so to me.

The entire army desired that M. de Montcalm should confide the two principal detachments to Chevalier de Levis and M. de Rigaud; I wished it more than any person, in consequence of the satisfaction you would have had, my Lord, in communicating at the same time to the King, both our victory of the 8<sup>th</sup>, and the necessity we should put our enemies to, of abandoning their position on the shore of Lake St. Sacrament; it is only with that view that I postponed the departure of the frigate commanded by Sieur Kaon.

Had the Marquis de Montcalm executed the movements I wished him to have made, with considerable detachments by the Lake and the head of the Bay, they would have had all the success I expected from them. The encampment of the English at old Fort George was, doubtless, only momentary; we cannot have a stronger proof than their inactivity up to the 20<sup>th</sup> of last month, when they began to intrench themselves. They have had time to recover from their terror, since they have not, since the 21<sup>st</sup>, seen the appearance either of Canadians or Indians. M. de Rigaud is at the Falls with the troops of the Marine and a portion of the Canadians; he has a party in advance at the other end of the portage, but as M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm has not been willing to defend the landing, he has given orders to the troops of the Marine to fall back on Carillon, should the enemy make their appearance. Thus it is, my Lord, that our light troops lost the advantage they possess of fighting the English in the woods.

I consider it useless to repeat to you the behavior of the M<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm towards me; from the last campaign until his departure I have affected ignorance of it. I have anticipated him in politeness; I have had conferences with him, to gratify the envy he has of being consulted, although I have repeatedly experienced that as soon as I had communicated any project to him, it became public by the Memoirs he made on my ideas, and which he was showing to divers persons with a view to attribute them to himself.

The attachment the troops in general, the Canadians and the Indians, feel towards Chevalier de Levis, has produced in the mind of the M<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm feelings of jealousy, which he has exhibited on occasion of the detachment that Brigadier was to command. 'Twas which of the regular troops should accompany him, as he was not to march until after M. de Montcalm. He evaded his departure for Carillon, although I had repeatedly observed to him that it was proper he should be at the head of the army, that the enemy, aware of his arrival, might slacken their march.

I omit nothing to avoid the explosion of a rupture with the Marquis de Montcalm; there is nothing that he does not risk, my Lord, to compel me to it; I pass in silence all the infamies or indecent acts he has committed or authorized.

After all these reasons, my Lord, I should consider myself wanting in my duty to the King's service, and to the confidence with which you honor me, were I not to supplicate you to be pleased to demand of his Majesty the recall of the Marquis de Montcalm. He desires it himself and has requested me to demand it of you. So far from thinking of injuring him, I consider, my Lord, that he deserves to be promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general; he will be able to serve very usefully in Europe. No person renders more justice than I do to his excellent qualities, but he does not possess those which are required for war in this country; 'tis necessary to have a great deal of suavity and patience to command the Canadians and the Indians. The King having confided the Colony to me, I cannot avoid anticipating the unfortunate consequences which the Marquis de Montcalm's longer sojourn might produce. I shall retain him with me next spring, until I have received your orders. It is essential that they reach me early; you will be so good, my Lord, as to send them to me by several of the first ships which will leave France.

The regular troops will be highly flattered to remain under the command of Chevalier de Levis, which circumstance authorises me to renew to you the demand I have the honor to submit to you in his favor for the rank of Major-General. He has richly deserved it by the distinction with which he served in the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>. He unites within himself all the good qualities of a general officer; he is generally beloved, and deserves to be so.

M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque will suffice as second to Chevalier de Levis.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

#### Memoir to serve as Instruction to the Marquis de Montcalm, Maréchal of the Camps and Armies of the King.

The Marquis de Montcalm is not ignorant:

1<sup>st</sup> How much we have attended, since the last campaign (notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions), to procuring everything that may tend to the safety of the Colony.

2<sup>nd</sup> That during the winter we have performed almost impossibilities, to suffice for the different Canadian and Indian parties and for the preparations relative to defensive and even offensive operations, in the confidence that powerful succors, of every description, would reach us early in the spring.

3<sup>rd</sup> The different messages we have received from the Five Iroquois Nations founded on the assurance we give them, since a long time, of early succor.

4<sup>th</sup> The desire of those Nations to unite themselves with a large force (*un gros*) to drive the English from the lands they (the Indians) inhabit, and to attack them without incurring the risk of compromising themselves.

5<sup>th</sup> The advices we have had of the preparations and movements of the English to reëstablish Theyaguin, to construct forts from distance to distance, with a view to make Choueguen insensibly spring up again, to extinguish the favorable dispositions entertained towards the French by the Iroquois, and to reduce the latter to the unavoidable necessity of taking part with them against us.



We hope that the steps we have taken with the 5 Iroquois Nations will have suspended the effect of the reiterated negotiations and entreaties of the English.

But we are informed that the object of our enemies is always the same in those parts, and that, independently of the siege of Louisbourg, they appear to have offensive views on the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament and even on that of the Beautiful river.

According to all this, we have conferred with the Marquis de Montcalm on the actual position of the Colony and the measures which we consider the most just to secure our frontiers against the enemy's attacks; we have found the last Memoir he has submitted to us on this subject, as well as his reflections, very judicious; but, although he is aware of our intentions and is sufficiently informed of everything that can contribute to the general welfare of this Colony, it comports with the good of the service that we communicate to him the present Instruction.

Lake St. Sacrament, appearing the part most menaced, we deliver to the Marquis de Montcalm the command of an army composed of 8 battalions of Regulars, about 600 soldiers of the troops of the Marine, who will form, also, one battalion, 5 @ 600 Militia, and suitable artillery, which, with the officers, servants, workmen of every description, employés both in the store and with the contractor, amount to over 5,000 persons to be fed; and the Marquis de Montcalm is aware that we have received four months' provisions for only 5,000.

We have furnished the Marquis de Montcalm the list of officers of the detachment of the Marine who are going under his orders.

We adjoin to that army the greatest number of Indians we can.

The straitened circumstances to which we are reduced for provisions oppose an obstacle (which we cannot surmount) to the desire we would feel to furnish the Marquis de Montcalm with a larger force. He, himself, sees that we have scarcely provisions for the most urgent necessities, and that, besides, as none of our posts is provided with any, it behooves our prudence carefully to preserve those which will possibly reach us so as to enable us to call together the remainder of the Colonial forces for the defence of the threatened frontier, when we shall learn that the enemy are really on the march to attack it. On this directly depends the salvation of the Colony; we are well assured that the Marquis de Montcalm will concur, on his side, in the strictest economy, by avoiding all imprudent consumption, and that he will send back even useless people.

We doubt not that, on the Marquis de Montcalm's arrival at Carillon, M. de Bourlamaque will arrange everything so as to operate according to the exigency of the case.

Our first object being to create a powerful diversion of the forces which appear to threaten the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, and even to render the enemy undecided, we cannot do better than to seem willing to act offensively; we have given our orders accordingly to M. de Bourlamaque. 'Tis important that the Marquis de Montcalm make, the moment he arrives, all the offensive demonstrations *which circumstances will permit him, all things considered*. The enemy will not fail to have cognizance thereof, and we must have the more reason to believe that such expedient will possibly occasion some change in their arrangements, as, before they can be in a position to operate offensively, they will have doubly matter for reflection and for being undecided, because the detachment which we are sending under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier, &c., by the River of Corlac, will then direct its blows against the English settlements, and render our enemies uneasy. If our views on this point be fulfilled, as we must not doubt they will be, from M. de Levis' zeal, this diversion, joined to that which the



Marquis de Montcalm will create on his side, cannot but place it out of the power of the English to act offensively at either of these two points.

On the movement we are making in the Corlac district essentially depends :

- 1<sup>st</sup> The complete decision of the 5 Iroquois Nations against the English ;
- 2<sup>nd</sup> The non-execution of the project of the latter to reëstablish Theyaoguen and successively Choueguen.

These two objects demand, in every point of view, our attention. The Marquis de Montcalm feels all their importance ; he is even aware that it would be very desirable that our situation in regard to provisions should become sufficiently favorable to keep Chevalier de Levis with his detachment until late in the season, in the district we have confided to him, or to enable him to push on to the Beautiful river, if the case demand it.

Supposing the English come to Lake St. Sacrament, where old Fort George stood, their proceeding may be susceptible of two interpretations : 1<sup>st</sup> We ought not believe that they are in sufficient force to act offensively against that frontier, if it be true, as all announce, that they are carrying on their expedition against Louisbourg as well as their movements against the Beautiful river country, and to reëstablish Theyaoguen ; 2<sup>nd</sup> It would appear more probable that the enemy will direct their attention to a bold defensive demonstration.

However it be, the Marquis de Montcalm will neglect nothing to throw light on the conduct and manœuvres of the enemy ; we hope he will not delay obtaining an exact knowledge thereof.

But if the English should happen to occupy Lake St. Sacrament with a superior force, the Marquis de Montcalm must not lose an instant in occupying on his side the portage of Lake St. Sacrament ; he will make his arrangements so as to preserve the offensive on that lake ; he will annoy and harass with vigor the enemy on the road from Lydius to Lake St. Sacrament, and everywhere else he will consider it best to direct his attention, especially in order to try and intercept their convoys. In fine, he will always hold himself in readiness to profit by whatever advantages events and chance will favor him with. As for the rest, we cannot but defer to the Marquis de Montcalm respecting the movements and manœuvres he will make according to the exigency of the case.

If, contrary to all expectation, the enemy should decide on coming to lay siege to Carillon, it will be for the Marquis de Montcalm to determine whether he will go and meet them, in order to give them battle on their march or on the lake, or wait for them in an intrenched camp or other position which he will believe most advantageous. We only observe to him that he will not be able to decide on going to meet the enemy unless he will believe that he has enough of Indians and Canadians to fight them successfully in the woods. The Marquis de Montcalm knows that whatever desire we may have to keep many Indians at Carillon, it has happened that they retired after having struck a blow ; he then will do his best to induce them to remain with him, but should he not succeed, he will confine himself to harassing the enemy, in order to retard their march, it being prudent to avoid compromising himself by a general and decisive affair.

In other respects, we shall augment the Marquis de Montcalm's forces according as we receive provisions, and circumstances require, and he will furnish us information regarding his position. We shall call together, as far as our situation in respect to provisions will admit, all the forces of the Colony, and we are resolved to proceed in person, should the case demand, to succor the threatened frontier. We have issued to this effect our orders to concentrate at St. John, the greatest number of bateaux possible. The Marquis de Montcalm



will send back to that place, on his arrival at Carillon, all those who will not be necessary for the daily service.

We regard as useless entering into any fuller details with the Marquis de Montcalm, on whatever may concern the objects of his mission and tend to the glory of his Majesty's arms and the good of the Colony ; we refer them to his knowledge, his experience and his zeal, in which we have always reposed our confidence.

Done at Montreal, the 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1758. (Signed), VAUDREUIL.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, at Montreal.

Sir,

I have the honor to beg of you to read again the Instruction with which you have honored me this evening and the annexed Memoir, and I expect from your equity that you will think it fully enough that I take upon myself, under circumstances which may be so critical, to defend as much as it will be possible for me, the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament with 4000 men, against very superior forces, without burthening me with an instruction, the obscurities and contradictions whereof appear to render me responsible for events which may happen and we must anticipate. I render justice to the uprightness of your intentions, but I cannot leave until you have furnished me an instruction with all the changes as necessary as they are indispensable to preserve the deputation<sup>1</sup> of a General officer who has served with so much zeal for your own glory and the defence of this Colony.

I am with respect,

Sir,

Your most humble &c.,

(Signed), MONTCALM.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of a Memoir of the Marquis de Montcalm.

Paris Doc. XV., 165. The Marquis de Montcalm who has read, with a great deal of attention, the Instruction which has just been communicated to him by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, has the honor to represent to him :

1<sup>st</sup> That he has nothing to object to the principle of his plan of campaign, as that depends on speeches and negotiations, of which the Marquis de Montcalm has never had any knowledge except in common with the public in a vague and indeterminate form.

2<sup>nd</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm represents that, according to what the Marquis de Vaudreuil did him the honor to communicate, he was calculating on 1200 Canadians which are now reduced to 5 or 600. Consequently, as the calculation of mouths to feed, does not correspond with the number of fighting men, the Marquis de Montcalm declares to the Marquis de

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*, reputation.

Vaudreuil that he does not reckon on more than 4,000 fighting men at most, in the body of troops confided to him. He makes no objection to this article, the moment the want of provisions is assigned, but declares he can operate only relatively to that number of combatants.

The Marquis de Montcalm does not understand how the Marquis de Vaudreuil advances that an offensive demonstration on Lake St. Sacrament can turn the enemy's forces away from it; that proposition is so contradictory, that it must be owing to some error of his secretary.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil is pleased to conceal from him alone, the force of the English in that quarter, the prisoners' depositions are too constant and uniform and the M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil is well aware that notwithstanding the Louisbourg expedition, the English have 10 battalions of Regulars, 5 companies of Rangers between Orange and Lydius, and can be easily joined by a large body of Militia.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil knows well that the interception of convoys is a difficult operation when Indians are few in number; he is still less ignorant, in consequence of the reports rendered him by the Marquis de Montcalm, Chevalier de Levy and M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque, that the post of the Carrying place is the bottom of a tub, whence the enemy will easily drive us with a superior force whenever 'twill be his pleasure, and even turn it by a road with which his parties must be conversant, and we have made them acquainted, in going last year to Fort George.

The Marquis de Montcalm appears to contradict himself formally in the most important article of his Instruction. He begins by leaving it to the Marquis de Montcalm to go and meet the enemy to fight him on his march on the lake, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil adds in that same article, that he must not expose himself to a general and decisive action. The Marquis de Montcalm cannot leave until the Marquis de Vaudreuil has entirely changed this article of his Instruction and explained it clearly; for if the Marquis de Montcalm should march forward to fight, the action is commenced and he contravenes the Marquis de Vaudreuil's Instruction; if he wishes to abide by the latter part, he must adopt measures in consequence which will depend on circumstances and the time the enemy will afford; for an intrenched camp is not always easy to fix nor prompt to make, and it would be still better to retire to St. Frederic than to compromise oneself or shut oneself up in a post which would not be tenable; the Marquis de Montcalm owes these observations to himself; whether the enemy has collected so large a force only for defensive purposes, or in consequence of the arrival of our battalions, we shall soon learn, and as he must, in case of an offensive policy, have commenced his operations for the whole of next month, Chevalier de Levy's expedition, the earlier execution of which has been prevented by the want of provisions, is of no utility and cannot create any diversion in favor of the defence of Lake St. Sacrament, but it is capable of fulfilling other objects.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has omitted in his Instruction one point of the greatest importance, which is to determine at what time the about 600 men of the Marine troops, and the 5 @ 600 Canadians, whom he promises, will be at Carillon; it is necessary to know this in order to make his arrangements.

The Marquis de Montcalm must again observe that the Marquis de Vaudreuil demands the bateaux to be sent back, except those necessary for daily use; this article is contradictory with that of avoiding a general and decisive affair, because we must always reserve a sufficient number of bateaux for the retreat of the troops, and therein follow the arrangement made in 1756, when Chevalier de Levy, with as many and more troops, was entrusted with attending to the defence of that quarter, whilst the Marquis de Montcalm was besieging Chouaguen.



The Marquis de Vaudreuil must also be aware that should the enemy force us, by the superiority of his forces, promptly to abandon the Carrying place, we can never have time to bring off, but shall burn, any bateaux we should have conveyed there in order to have a navy on Lake Saint Sacrament.

Montreal, this twenty-third, at night.

(Signed), MONTCALM.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Narrative of the Victory gained over the English on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, 1758, by the King's army, under the command of the Marquis de Montcalm.

M. de Vaudreuil's Observations.

1.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, uncertain of the enemy's movements, did not consider himself in a position to act at the same time towards Louisbourg and on the frontier of Lake St Sacrament; he, consequently, determined to divide his forces and to entrust Chevalier de Levis with a particular expedition, with a corps of 1600 picked men, 400 of whom, drafted from our battalions, formed six pickets of 64 men, each with double officers. This strong detachment carried off with it the greatest portion of our Indians.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil never entertained a doubt that the English, with the greatest number of troops they had, might act offensively against Carillon; but no provisions having arrived from France, he was unable to defend that frontier except by a diversion in which he would have succeeded, had the provisions arrived early enough to enable him to send the detachment he had confided to Chevalier de Levis, the object of which was to produce a grand diversion; to give the Five Iroquois Nations a proof of the King's protection, and to engage them, in fine, to make use of a hatchet the M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil had permitted them to suspend as long as the proximity of the English and the safety of their families required such a course. This detachment had also for object the defence of the Beautiful river, and was to be victualled *a la côte*, in order to diminish the consumption of the provisions, it being regarded only as a *coup de main*, which was capable of conferring one of the greatest benefits on the Colony.

2.

The Marquis de Montcalm, commissioned to defend the frontier of Lake St Sacrament, arrived at Carillon on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June with Sieur de Pontleroy, Capt<sup>n</sup> of the Corps Royal and Engineer-in-Chief of New France, and Sieur Desandrouins, also Captain of the Corps

The Marquis de Montcalm did, indeed, find at Carillon only eight battalions of Regulars, but he is not exact as regards the troops of the Marine and the Canadians, since he makes no mention of 50 gunners and bombadiers, and of more than 300 Militia workmen employed

Royal and Engineer attached to the Regular troops. The corps of troops he found assembled there, consisted of eight battalions of Regulars and, what will hardly be believed, 15 Indians, an unfortunate circumstance which perhaps will never recur.

Up to the 8<sup>th</sup>, the day of the affair, he received no other reinforcement from the Colony than about 400 soldiers of the Marine, or Canadians, commanded by Captain de Raymond of the troops of the Marine.

Colonel de Bourlamaque, who commanded at Carillon, informed the Marquis de Montcalm of the news he had just learned of the enemy from the prisoners. According to their report, he was no longer permitted to doubt that the English had assembled at the head of Lake St' Sacrament, near the ruins of Fort William Henry, an army composed of 20,000 men of the Militia of the country and of a corps of 6,000 troops from old England, consisting of 2 battalions of the Royal Americans,<sup>1</sup> one regiment of Scotch Highlanders,<sup>2</sup> and Murray's,<sup>3</sup> Blakeney's<sup>4</sup> and Lord Howe's<sup>5</sup> regiments, under the command of Major-General Abercromby, and that this army, provided with a number of barges and a proportionate train of artillery, was to move in order to attack us the first days of July. The Marquis de Montcalm dispatched several couriers to the M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil to report to him this intelligence, and to demand of him to hasten whatever reinforcements the Colony could furnish.

At the same time he did not hesitate to order the battalions of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn,

in the Artillery and Engineer department, exclusive of those attached to the hospitals and the different employés. The number of Indians was at least 150. But the capture they made on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, under the command of Sieur de Langy Montegron, of 19 English (two of whom were officers) had occasioned the return of several, and there never remained less than 40.

The Marquis de Montcalm when he left Montreal, was not ignorant that all the Abenakis who were then returning from hunting, were designed for Carillon, as well as more than half the Iroquois of the Saut Saint Louis, the Lake of the Two Mountains, Nepissingues and Algonkins, who amounted to over 500.

## 3

On the report of the prisoners made on the 26<sup>th</sup>, and M. de Bourlamaque's letters, the M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil had suspended the departure of Chevalier de Levis' detachment and changed entirely its destination, even before receiving the Marquis de Montcalm's despatches, and anticipated them by the precipitate departure of Chevalier de Mercier, commanding the artillery of the Colony. He notified the Marquis de Montcalm that he would not confine himself to sending him the 800 Canadians and the 400 Indians which he asked for, inasmuch as he ordered the entire of Chevalier de Levis' detachment to march, and that he should moreover notify the Militia, previously commanded, to be prepared to march as soon as the provisions would arrive from St' John and Quebec.

## 4.

The Marquis de Montcalm attributes to himself the bold manœuvre of going to occupy

<sup>1</sup> The 60th; <sup>2</sup> the 42nd; <sup>3</sup> the 46th; <sup>4</sup> the 27th; <sup>5</sup> the 55th — Ed.



under the orders of *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, to occupy the head of the Portage on the border of Lake St. Sacrament, and also sent forward the battalion of *Royal Rousillon* and the first of *Berry* to the right of the Falls, and the battalions of *La Sarre* and *Languedoc* to the left of that river, where he posted himself in person, to be equally within hail of all the parties. He left *Sieur de Trecesson* at *Carillon* with the second battalion of *Berry*, to command there.

This bold manœuvre, which presented the appearance of a larger force than we had, retarded some days the enemy's movements, according to the report of prisoners; their first plan had been to establish at the Portage, under the orders of *Lord Howe*, a head which the main army was to follow only some days after; our advance movement determined them to march the entire army, which delayed their operations until the 5<sup>th</sup>.

The *Marquis de Montcalm*, at the same time, went to reconnoitre and to determine the position he should take, for the defence of *Fort Carillon*, by occupying the heights that command it.

From the 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> several small parties were sent out to fight in order to obtain news of the enemy; and as there were no Indians, two companies of volunteers were organized with drafts from the Regulars, the command whereof was given to *Captain de Bernard* of the regiment of *Bearn* and to *Captain du Prat* of the regiment of *La Sarre*.

On the 4<sup>th</sup> the *Marquis de Montcalm* organized a detachment of 130 volunteers under the orders of *Ensign de Langy Montegron*, of the Colonials, an officer of the highest reputation. The *Marquis de Montcalm* having called for some volunteer officers for that detachment, notifying them beforehand

the Falls and the Portage, although the *Marquis de Vaudreuil*, who wished to give an offensive character to that army, had ordered *Sieur de Bourlamaque* to do it, who had in consequence prepared everything, and had written to the *Marquis de Vaudreuil* on the 26<sup>th</sup> of June that he would have already taken up a position there, did he not daily expect the *Marquis de Montcalm*.

## 5

Although the *Marquis de Montcalm* wishes to insinuate that this manœuvre put a check to the enemy and retarded their operations, 'tis no less certain that, not having had any design to embarrass with abatis the lake shore, from *Bald Mountain* to the old camp of *Sieur de Contrecoeur*, to oppose the landing, and to defend the Portage inch by inch, which appeared the only course to pursue, it would have been more advantageous to work first at the intrenchment on the heights of *Carillon*, and to secure his communication with the Fort.

## 6.

The scouts have been always formed by the Canadians and Indians; but the *Marquis de Montcalm*, wishing that the Regulars might imitate them, formed his two companies of volunteers without daring to promise himself great success therefrom; as appears by the detachment he formed on the 4<sup>th</sup>, the command of which he confided to *Sieur de Langy*, by adjoining to it some captains under his orders, as he expressed himself.

The *Marquis de Montcalm* passes in silence the gallant manœuvre of this officer, who fell in with the vanguard of the English army, in going thither with a solitary bark canoe, well armed.

that they would be under *Sieur de Langy's* orders, irrespective of their grades, even of captains, and he was obliged to limit the number to one officer per battalion. This detachment started on the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> in a bateau on lake S<sup>t</sup> Sacrament, returned the 5<sup>th</sup> at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, having discovered, on the lake, the vanguard of the English army, led by Colonel *Blastrik*<sup>1</sup> and Major Roger, chief of their rangers.

The Marquis de Montcalm ordered, immediately, on the retreat becoming general, the troops to take their arms, pass the night in bivouac, and the baggage to be removed; and *Sieur de Bourlamaque* received orders to keep some detachments on the South and North sides to observe the landing of the enemy, and Duprat's volunteers to proceed to a river which runs between the mountains wherewith that country is covered, and flows into that of the Falls, for fear the enemy should try to turn us by the rear of these mountains. They went thither immediately, and *Sieur de Langy* was sent by *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, at night fall, to occupy Bald Mountain with a detachment of 130 volunteers, supported by three pickets under the command of Captain Trepezec, of the regiment of Bearn, who was to make his retreat with him, following the left shore of Lake St. Sacrament.

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, at four o'clock in the morning, the Marquis de Montcalm, being told that a number of barges were seen in the offing, immediately sent orders to *Sieur de Pontleroy* to trace out abatis intrenchments on the ground selected the 1<sup>st</sup> of the month; to *Sieur de Trecesson* to set the second battalion of Berry, with the colors, to work at it; to 200 men of the Colonial troops, who arrived the previous evening, to join them on the heights of the Falls.

7.

Supposing that the M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm did order the baggage to be removed, nothing was done that day. Wherefore it became necessary to burn a part of it, as well as the tents, within sight of the enemy.

8.

'Twould appear that the M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm would wish to shew that the detachment commanded by *Sieur Trepezec* was given conjointly to *Sieur de Langy*, whereas this officer did not arrive until after the departure of that detachment. 'Tis true that he was to rejoin it in his quality of officer.

9.

This article proves the solidity of the reasons alleged in the observation on article 5.

<sup>1</sup> Bradstreet. *Mante*, 145.



At 9 o'clock the enemy landed at half a quarter of a league from the Portage; our advanced posts fired on their first troops and fell back on *Sieur de Bourlamaque's* corps, who having joined the *M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm*, the 5 reunited battalions passed the defile of the River of the Falls, destroyed the bridge over it and ranged themselves with the two battalions of *La Sarre* and *Languedoc* in order of battle on the heights which bordered it. This retreat was effected in the enemy's presence, without the loss of a single man. But by a real fatality, the detachment under the command of *Sieur de Langy*, and whose retreat was secured by the right bank, was abandoned by the small number of Indians which acted as their guides, lost its way and fell in with a column of the opposite army which was marching towards the River of the Falls.

About 4 o'clock in the evening, we heard a considerable firing, and perceived the remnant of this unfortunate detachment pursued by the English. Some companies of grenadiers immediately lined the rapid of the Falls to check the enemy's pursuit, and several of our men, under cover of their fire, waded the stream. Of this detachment, consisting of about 300 men, we have had two officers killed, 4 miners and 184 soldiers, and one Canadian killed or taken prisoner. The *Marq<sup>e</sup> de Montcalm* retired on the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the camp before *Carillon*; the army then numbered about 2800 Regulars, 450 Colonials, without any Indians; and from this number must be deducted one of the battalions of *Berry*, which, with the exception of the grenadier company, that was on the same service as the other grenadiers of the army, was occupied guarding and doing duty at the fort.

On the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup>, the army was all employed in working at the abatis under cover of the grenadier and volunteer companies; even the officers gave the example with axe in hand, and the colors were planted on the

10.

'Tis certain that we have not lost a single man in that retreat, and that it was effected in good order, the enemy not having followed us. It cost us, however, as I have stated, a part of the baggage and tents, which were burned immediately after the landing.

11.

'Tis easy to see the motive which induced the *M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm* to suppose that *Sieur de Langy* had the command of the detachment which was under the orders of *Sieur de Trepezec*.

12.

This article does not differ except as to the number of combatants.

13.

The head of the intrenchment was distant only 450 toises from *Fort Carillon*, which might be regarded as inaccessible on its left, but could easily be turned at the right, there being 350 toises of intrenchment at the water side, as is

works which had been laid out, the evening before, by Sieurs de Pontleroy and Des androuins on the heights, nearly 650 toises from Fort Carillon; the left, occupied by the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc, rested on an escarpment 80 toises distant from the River of the Falls, the summit of which was crowned by an abatis; this abatis flanked an opening, abreast of which were posted the two companies of Bernard and Duprat's volunteers, in whose rear six guns were to be placed to batter it and the river. The right, guarded by La Reine, Bearn and Guyenne, rested in like manner on a height, the pitch whereof was not so steep as that on the left; the Colonial troops and Canadians were stationed on the plain, between the latter height and the River S<sup>t</sup> Frederic, where they, too, intrenched themselves with some abatis; it was flanked by that part of the intrenchments occupied by the regiment of La Reine, and was to be flanked also the next day, by a battery of 4 guns; moreover, the guns of the fort were brought to bear on that quarter, as well as on the landing that might be made to the left of our intrenchments.

The centre followed the sinuosities of the ground, keeping on the top of the heights, and all the parts flanked each other reciprocally; many, indeed, there, as well as on the right, were attacked by the enemy *en écharpe*, but that was because they did not allow us time to construct traverses there. The centre was occupied by the battalions of Royal Rousillon and the first of Berry, to which were adjoined, throughout the entire front of the line, some pickets which arrived with Chevalier de Levy on the previous evening. Each battalion had in its rear one company of grenadiers and one picket of reserve, for the purpose both of supporting their battalions and of marching wherever they were required.

These intrenchments were constructed of trunks of trees laid one on the other, having in front trees felled, the branches of which

easy to be seen by the plan, (appended to the first); this part being defended only by troops of the Marine, Canadians and Indians, the intrenchment which the M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm announces here, did not occupy more than a quarter of that ground, and was, besides, very imperfect.



being cut and sharpened, served as chevaux de frise.

On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup>, the 400 picked men belonging to our Regulars, who were detached on a particular expedition under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, arrived to the great satisfaction of our little army. The joy was so much the greater as they announced the person of Chevalier de Levis; in fact he arrived in the night with Lieutenant-Colonel de Senezergue, of the regiment of La Sarre. The Marquis de Montcalm entrusted to him the defence of the right, and to Sieur de Bourlamaque that of the left; he reserved to himself to remain at the centre, to be better able to issue his orders equally.

The army bivouacked. At day-break on the 8<sup>th</sup> the *generale* was beat, in order that all the troops might understand their positions, according to the arrangement agreed upon; after this movement, they immediately set to work, some in perfecting the abatis, the rest in constructing the two batteries abovementioned, and a redoubt which was still to protect the right. About ten o'clock in the morning, the enemy's light troops appeared on the other side of the river and opened a brisk fire, so distant that the work was continued without noticing them.

At half-past twelve their army filed on us; our advanced guards, the volunteers and grenadier companies fell back in regular order and entered the lines without the loss of a single man; in a moment, at the signal agreed upon, the workmen as well as all the troops were at their arms and at their posts. The left was the first attacked by two columns, one of which endeavored to turn the intrenchment and found itself under the fire of the regiment of La Sarre, the other directed its efforts against a salient point between Languedoc and Berry; the centre, where the Royal Rousillon was stationed, was attacked almost at the same moment, by a third column, and a fourth

14.

The arrival of the 400 men and of Chevalier de Levis personally, produced as much joy as hope in our army.

directed its attack towards the right, between Bearn and La Reine. The enemy had on the 7<sup>th</sup> their barges and pontoons drawn to the Falls; whence some twenty were seen defiling on that river. Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers, who were posted there, received them with a will; Sieur de Poulharies, at the head of a company of grenadiers and a picket of the Royal Rousillon, likewise appeared there, and the cannon from one of our batteries of the fort, commanded by Lieutenant de Louvicourt of the Corps Royal, having disabled two of them, they have not appeared any more throughout the entire of the action. As the Canadians and troops [of the marine] were not attacked, they, under cover of the intrenchment, directed their fire against the column which was attacking our right, and which sometimes was in range of them. Chevalier de Levis sent successively Adjutant Dhert and Captain Daynau of the regiment of La Reine, to order the most alert of them to make two sorties and to take that column in flank. Sieur de Raymond, antient captain of the Colonial troops, who commanded them, always headed these sorties; the different attacks of the enemy continued almost the whole afternoon, and almost with equal vivacity throughout.

About five o'clock the column which had attacked the Royal Rousillon, threw itself on a salient defended by the Guyenne battalion and on the left of the Bearn; the column which had attacked La Reine and Bearn with the greatest desperation, also threw itself on that point, so that the danger from that attack became imminent. Chevalier de Levis repaired thither with some troops of the right, when the enemy were doing nothing but firing. The Marquis de Montcalm ran thither also with some of the reserve, and the enemy experienced a resistance which finally cooled their ardor. The left was sustaining always the fire of the two columns which were trying to enter at that part, where their dépôt was

15.

The Marquis de Montcalm, always with a view to make this action turn only on the troops of the line, makes the barges fall back before Bernard's and Duprat's volunteers; 'tis easy to be seen by the plan, that they could not, from their position, annoy those barges. He makes his partiality still more manifest in attributing to Sieur Lauvicou the command of the battery which stopt them, whilst Chevalier Lemer cier was there in person.

16.

The troops of the marine, the Canadians and Indians, who were stationed at the weakest point, were fortunately not attacked. But they rushed boldly from the intrenchment and made a flank attack on the column which appeared most determined to clear the intrenchment. They displayed so much valor that even during the action they took most of the prisoners.



also located. *Sieur de Bourlamaque* had been wounded there about three o'clock, and lieutenant-colonels *de Sennezergue* and *de Privast*, commanding the regiments of *La Sarre* and *Languedoc*, had supplied his absence by continuing to issue the best orders there. The *Marquis de Montcalm* repaired thither several times and was careful to dispatch a reinforcement there at every critical moment. For during the whole of the affair, the companies of grenadiers and the reserved pickets always hastened to the points that were most pressed.

About six o'clock, the two right columns which abandoned the attack on *Guyenne*, came to make another attempt at the centre against *Royal Rousillon* and *Berry*, and, in succession, one last effort against the left; from 6 to 7 o'clock the hostile army was busy retreating, under cover of the fire of the light troops, which continued until nightfall.

During the battle several places caught fire, but it was immediately extinguished, the soldiers courageously passing over the reverse to arrest its progress. Besides the munitions of powder and ball, barrels full of water were almost continually [conveyed] from the fort, and *Sieur de Trecesson*, who commanded the second battalion of *Berry*, and who was also in the fort as well as *Sieur Mercier*, the Commandant of the artillery, rendered on this occasion the greatest services by their activity in causing to be conveyed to us the ammunition and refreshments necessary in so long an engagement.

The darkness of the night, the exhaustion and small number of our troops, the enemy's forces which, notwithstanding his defeat, were infinitely superior to ours; the nature of these forests in which it was impossible, without Indians, to engage an army which had 4 or 500 of them; several intrenchments that the enemy had formed, one behind another, from the field of battle to their camp; such were the insurmountable obstacles which prevented us pursuing them in their retreat; we calculated

even on their attempting the next day to take their revenge, and we consequently worked all night to protect ourselves (*nous défilér*<sup>1</sup>) against the neighboring heights by traverses, in perfecting the abatis of the Canadis<sup>2</sup> and in completing the batteries on the right and left, which were begun in the morning.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> our volunteer companies went out and advanced to the Falls. On the news they brought us that the enemy had apparently abandoned the Falls and Portage posts, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered Chevalier de Levis to march at daylight the following morning with our volunteers, eight companies of grenadiers and one 50<sup>th</sup> of the Canadians, to discover with caution what had become of the enemy's army.

Chevalier de Levis advanced before the Portage; he found everywhere traces of a precipitate flight; wounded, barrels of flour, baggage abandoned, shoes left in swampy places, wrecks of burned barges—an incontestable proof of the loss the enemy have experienced. According to the statements of their prisoners, and from what we have seen, we estimate their killed or wounded at 4,000; if we were to rely on some of them and the promptitude of their retreat, their loss would be still more considerable. Ours has been 12 officers killed, 25 wounded; 92 soldiers killed and 248 wounded. The enemy have lost many of their principal officers, among others, Lord Howe, who has been killed on the 6<sup>th</sup> by our detachment on its retiring from Bald Mountain; Mr Spittall, Major-General<sup>3</sup> of the Regulars and the Commander-in-Chief of New-York.

17.

Five hundred Indians, Thiactas, Loups and Five Nations, arrived on the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> with Colonel Johnson; some of them appeared in the action, but the greater number, especially those of the Five Nations, remained inactive in the rear of the columns; before they

The Indians were not so numerous, and those who were there have been mere spectators, with the exception of a few Mohawks.

<sup>1</sup> This word is *défiler* in the previous Document. *Supra*, p. 741.

<sup>2</sup> Brigade-Major. See *supra*, p. 741, note. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic. Canadiana.* — Ed.



should decide, they were, doubtless, waiting for the result of the battle, which appeared to them uncertain for the English.

The proclamation of the 24<sup>th</sup> of March, printed at New-York, announces the general invasion of Canada, and these very words are expressed in the commissions of all the Militia officers.

This day's success is due to the incredible valor of both officer and soldier. Chevalier de Levis particularly distinguished himself on the occasion; he has received several musket balls in his clothes; Sieur de Bougainville, Deputy Quartermaster-General of the army, and Sieur de Langis, a Colonial officer, have been wounded at his side; Sieur de Bourlamaque deserves, also, great praise for his good conduct and firmness. Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General, had the orders and ammunition conveyed, with indefatigable zeal, to the various points of attack, whither he repaired in person. All the officers who composed this army have furnished such great marks of courage that each of them would merit a special eulogium.

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*Return of the French Officers Killed and Wounded in the Battle of Ticonderoga.  
8th July, 1758.*

Staff.

M. de Bourlamaque, wounded dangerously in the shoulder blade.

M. de Bougainville, Deputy Quarter-Master General, wounded slightly in the head.

Regiment of La Reine.

Captain d'Hébecour,	}	wounded, but not fatally.
Captain Lecomte,		
Lieutenant de Massia,		
Sub-Lieutenant Dodin, of the grenadiers, killed.		

Regiment of La Sarre.

Captain de Moran,	}	killed.
Adjutant Minneraye,		
Captain Chamredon,		

Captain de Beauclair,  
M. de Forcet,

} wounded slightly.

Royal Rousillon.

Captain Ducoin,

killed.

Regiment of Languedoc.

Captain de Freville,  
Lieutenant, Chevalier Parfourn,  
M<sup>r</sup> de Marillac,  
Duglas,  
Basserode,

} killed.

} wounded slightly; the first two continue on duty.

Regiment of Guyenne.

Captain d Patrice,  
Captain S<sup>t</sup> Vincent,  
Captain La Bretèche,  
Lieutenant Restorant,

killed.

dead of his wounds.

} wounded slightly.

Regiment of Berry.

Captain La Brême,  
Sub-Lieutenant Emmerick,

} killed.

Grenadiers.

Adjutant Carlan,  
Captain Chateaufneuf,  
Sub-Lieutenant Chermont,

wounded dangerously.

dead of his wounds.

wounded slightly.

Regiment of Bearn.

Lieutenant Pons,  
Ensign Douay,  
Captain Montgay,  
Adjutant Malartic,<sup>1</sup>

} killed.

wounded slightly.

is in danger of being somewhat lame.

Chevalier d'Arennes;

} named to a commission in the Languedoc, who is  
serving as an officer in Bernard's volunteers, will lose  
his arm.

Troops of the Marine.

Lieutenant de Nigon;

} fears are entertained for him on account of the disposi-  
tion of the blood.

Lieutenant de Langy;

} three wounds, none dangerous; he received them in  
the intrenchment near Chevalier de Levis.

<sup>1</sup> In the Return already printed, this name is "Macartie." There are other discrepancies between this and the return on page 750, which compare. — Ed.



Officers killed, or Prisoners, belonging to the detachment of the 6<sup>th</sup>.

Lieutenant Bernard, of the regiment of La Reine.

Chevalier de Prémillac, Cadet, appointed to a commission, .

Sieur Grasset, Cadet, designed for a commission,

Captain Bonneau,

Lieutenant La Rochelle,

Captain Trepezec, dead of his wounds, at Carillon, having rejoined.

Lieutenant Joubert,

Lieutenant Chevalier de Rezie, of the troops of the Marine.

} La Sarre.

} Guyenne.

} Bearn.

True Copy.

(Signed), DE VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil's letter to M. de Montcalm and the latter's Observations thereon.*<sup>1</sup>

Extract of M. de Vaudreuil's letter.

M. de Montcalm's Observations.

Carillon, 16<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

We are, sir, in sufficiently favorable circumstances, not to lose sight of the great advantage we have acquired over our enemies by your victory of the 8<sup>th</sup> instant; their retreat to old Fort George may have for its object to fortify themselves there or to make arrangements and dispose things so as to be ready to march, on the reuniting of their troops employed at the siege of Louisbourg; but whatever be their views, and what interpretation soever we may put on them, everything must engage us to use every means to deprive them of time for adopting new measures, which, whatever they be, would be always most prejudicial, regard being had to our small stock of provisions and to the necessity of having our Canadians back for the harvest.

I enter, strongly, Sir, in whatever plans you may have formed on this point. The retreat and even terror of the enemy only increases my zeal in having conveyed to you all the forces at my disposal; that is, in sending to

This part of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter, appears to have been written only with a view to render the Marquis de Montcalm responsible for all the events that may happen, in order to say: *I have sent him all the forces of the Colony; he has had them for a month, and has not known how to profit by them so as to prevent the enemy establishing themselves at Fort George.* Were the Marquis de Montcalm, on the contrary, to march with all his forces and not succeed, the Marquis de Vaudreuil would not fail to write: *He has marched without orders, and has compromised the Colony.* 'Tis always astonishing that the Marquis de Vaudreuil considers himself qualified to determine, at a distance of 50 leagues, warlike operations in a country which he has never seen and where the ablest generals would be embarrassed after having seen it. The Marquis de Vaudreuil forgets that this army was at least 20,000 strong, and according to many of the prisoners, 25,000. Let us suppose that it had lost in

<sup>1</sup> Compare Documents. *Supra*, p. 757. — Ed.

you all the militia of this government fit for service, and executing such movements as you will think proper; you have already a great many of them and others will reach you daily, so that, independently of Indians, your forces will be very considerable. 'Tis important, Sir, that we have, continually, large detachments, both on the Lake and head of the Bay. *They cannot be too strong to harrass our enemies vigorously, to cut off their communication between Fort Lydius and old Fort George, and to intercept their convoys; we have no better manœuvre to force them to abandon their position, bateaux, artillery, campaign train, &c., to oblige them to retire, and thereby deprive them, forever, of all hope of renewing their attempt.*

killed and wounded, 5,000 men, that a portion of those Provincials return home; they would still have 12 or 14,000 men, and consequently the superiority in the field, and be masters of acting as they pleased in their country.

'Tis with pain, yet without losing the respect due, that I am obliged to say that the passage in Italics is the work of a thoughtless Secretary, and not of a warrior. A communication is not cut except by going with a respectable corps between two bodies, and a superior enemy is not compelled to abandon his position by mere detachments; they may, however, abandon it, and such will be the result of a change of plan on their part, rather than of our movements; this we shall learn on the earliest day.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil will find in my Observations some distrust of him; this at least will never prevent me applying myself

to the good of the service and of the Colony, without troubling myself about what may be thought of me directly or indirectly, but I do not conceal from the Marquis de Vaudreuil that I shall be able to shew him, on my return to Montreal, that if he has had the goodness, in his despatches of last year, to accord me some praise that I may not deserve, he did not fail to persuade the Minister of the Marine that he had furnished me the means to lay siege to Laydius. Although the King's service ought not to suffer thereby at my hands, and I shall, on all occasions, afford the Marquis de Vaudreuil marks of respect and affection, it were desirable that, forgetting the past, we should work on a new plan, and that I should not have to complain of, or to fear the obscurities and double meaning of his instructions and letters.

Before I had received the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters, I occupied myself with a strong detachment of 500 Canadians or Indians, which marched this morning by the head of the Bay, and dispatched a scouting party, whose return I am expecting. [NOTE. These italicised words are in his own handwriting.]

The Colony is only to-day *en regle*, Sir, I review it to-morrow and I have yesterday informed your brother that on the 18<sup>th</sup> (after to-morrow) he should go in person with M. de la Valterie's corps, and encamp at the Falls, and M. de la Corne will go on the 19<sup>th</sup> with his, to encamp at the head of the Portage; we shall be in measure posted as before. I am waiting for M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc, and am immediately going to form a strong detachment for him which will proceed by Lake St. Sacrament. This, Sir, is all that I believe possible whilst making our troops continue our works. I am very glad to give on this occasion an important commission to your brother. I retain Chevalier de Levis by me, and we shall both be in a position to support or withdraw him when I shall receive news of the enemy, and that the reinforcements you announce will be arrived. I shall attend to profiting by them according to circumstances. Your brother, who will have all the Indians at his camp, will second me, to the best of his ability,



in retaining them as long as possible, and we shall, perhaps, be embarrassed therein, both the one and the other.<sup>1</sup> When you think it necessary, Sir, to withdraw the Canadians, on account of provisions and the harvest, I shall endeavor to do without them. I shall never answer for any event, but certainly, that the General and the troops will do their utmost. I expect, however, that even during the harvest, you will leave me a certain number of Canadians and these good, with some Indians. Such, Sir, are my plans. Did you wish the enemy to persist in remaining at Fort George? We shall endeavor to expel him thence. I am ready to march thither with the entire army. Such will not be my advice, but a distinct order from you will be sufficient for me. If it be by the head of the Bay, I leave this unprotected; if by Lake St. Sacrament, 'twill require a land march (*portage*) of three weeks, which will exhaust the army by fatigue and delay the harvest. If they be willing to retire voluntarily of themselves and in consequence of the movements I shall make, I shall be overjoyed. Were I so fortunate, Sir, as that your important occupations would permit you to be at the head of the army, you would see everything yourself, and I should have the satisfaction to receive clearer and less embarrassing orders, and you would have judged that I have combined boldness, prudence and some activity. That does not prevent the odds, that the Colony might been jeopardized on the eighth of July. Decide thereon when you will learn that the Canadian merchants or sutlers were offering, the night before the battle, the *velte*<sup>2</sup> of Brandy for nine francs; the valor of the troops has decided.

In regard to Mr Wolfs' statement respecting the 500 Indians; he has seen them; so to say, counted and even spoke to them, and with our telescopes we saw them on the opposite mountains, spectators, on the day of the battle.

I must add that on the day of Mr Wolfs' arrival at the enemy's, Abercromby interrogated him. When Wolfs maintained that I would arrive with Chevalier de Levis, that English General answered: You are not obliged to tell me the truth; I know beyond a doubt that M. de Montcalm is still at Montreal and that Chev. de Levis is going to Corlac, and must be near arriving there.

You perceive, Sir, that as usual I express myself to you with truth and respectful firmness. The same love of truth prompts me to advise you that I demand my recall of the Ministers, and I request President Molé and M. labbé Count de Bernitz to solicit it. If you will be so good, Sir, as to unite with them in obtaining that favor for me, it will make me forget all the annoyances I may have had. I shall preserve, in return, a gratitude which will equal the respect with which I am, Sir,

Your most humble, &c., &c.

P. S. M. de la Roche beaucour having arrived some hours subsequent to your second courier, has delivered me your despatches of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup>. I have the honor to thank you for the compliment you are pleased to make me, on the bravery of the troops; I have communicated it to them. I assure M<sup>me</sup> the Marchioness de Vaudreuil, of my respect, and thank her for the interest she takes in my preservation.

The desire of economising the provisions was the cause, Sir, of our having been without Indians in the affair of the eighth; you must recollect that I had foreseen it. I had requested you, three weeks before I left, to go and raise the war song among the Abenakis, and to let

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 758.

<sup>2</sup> A measure of six quarts. — Ed.

me bring them with me. If you send me all the militia of the government of Montreal, shall we not fall, without any determinate object, into an opposite and unfortunate extreme ?<sup>1</sup>

True copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Marquis de Montcalm. Montreal, 21 July, 1758.

Sir,

I have received, by the same opportunity, the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 17<sup>th</sup> inst., and an unsigned letter dated the 16<sup>th</sup>, but in the same handwriting as the first.

The English Sergeant-Major whom you announced to me in your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> has arrived; I have interrogated him; he told me that all the papers he had with him, when he arrived at Carillon, are in the possession of M. de Bougainville. I request you, Sir, to be so good as to send me, by the earliest opportunity, those papers and all others which have been found on the English, taken or killed; they may contain many particulars of interest, and it will, perhaps, be even necessary for me to make a report of them to the Court.

In regard to the unsigned letter, I am fully convinced it does not come from you, or at least that you did not intend sending it to me. But as it contains an extract of a letter which I have had the honor to write to you on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, I proceed to answer the Observations which relate thereto.

You will permit me to say, Sir, that a wrong interpretation has been given, in the first article of those Observations, to my mode of thinking. I flatter myself you will do more justice to the sentiments which you have always known me to have entertained for you, and that you have seen with pleasure my haste to increase your forces, in order to enable you to conclude your campaign as gloriously as you have commenced it.

These, Sir, are exactly my views; their tendency will always be to remove difficulties, humiliate the King's enemies and promote the good of the country which his Majesty has been pleased to confide to me.

I owe it to myself, and to the justice I render your mode of thinking in regard to me, to pass in silence the remainder of the 1<sup>st</sup> article.

The second article of the Observations refers to these words: *The detachments cannot be too strong in order to harass our enemies vigorously, to cut off their communication between Fort Lydius and old Fort George, and to intercept their convoys. We have no better manœuvre to force them to abandon their position, bateaux, artillery, field train, provisions, &c.*

I cannot but be surprised that I should have been literally understood as meaning to cut off entirely the communication between Fort Lydius and old Fort George, and that your army would be necessary for that purpose. In fact, 'tis easy to see by my letter itself, that my expression, to cut, signifies to try to cut, or at least to impede the communication of our enemies; large detachments may accomplish that object, and be able to take advantage of many favorable circumstances. My reflections in this regard could not escape your sagacity. They were founded even on the brilliant affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>. As for the rest, we have been

<sup>1</sup> Compare "Extract of the Letter," &c., *supra*, p. 758. — Ed.



sufficiently invited to these suggestions by the discouragement of our enemies; the proofs they have afforded us thereof cannot be more certain. We ought not, consequently, remain inactive, especially as the consequences of those movements, when ordered with the prudence I know you possess, can accrue only to the advantage of the Colony.

For the rest, Sir, I have always rendered and shall ever render you the justice which is your due, both in my despatches to the Minister of War and in my reports to the Minister of the Marine; therefore I cannot bring myself to believe that anything to the contrary has been written; you will do me a favor, Sir, to send me copy of the letter which you must, according to those Observations, have received on that subject. I am confident that you will not refuse me this satisfaction.

I am the more disposed, Sir, to abstain from mentioning those Observations to you, as I perceive that you have entered into my views by the detachment of 500 Canadians and Indians which you have dispatched on the 16<sup>th</sup> by the head of the Bay and by that you proposed giving to M<sup>r</sup> de St. Luc to go by Lake St. Sacrament. It is to be feared that those detachments have not been sufficiently strong; therefore I doubt not but you will augment the first that you will organize

I duly appreciate the destination you have given my brother Rigaud; I am well assured he will do his best to execute whatever movements you will order him.

You will see, Sir, by all my letters that I have referred the matter to you; my intention is not that you should march with your army to drive the English from old Fort George, but only that you should send out large detachments. I cannot omit having the honor to reiterate all that I have remarked to you on that point, and that I have in view solely to place you at your ease; should your operations require my presence, I shall actually be at Carillon.

You will be at liberty, Sir, to retain, to the end of the campaign, the Militia belonging to the government of Quebec, those of Three Rivers, 200 Canadians of the government of Montreal, and all the Indians; you will please send back, if circumstances permit, the remainder of the Canadians belonging to this district by the 10<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> of next month for their harvest, and to recommend that the 200 who will terminate the campaign, be selected with equity in proportion to the number from each parish; I shall keep bateaux and provisions at St. John to have all the Canadians belonging to this government promptly dispatched to you as soon as I shall receive word that the enemy are coming to attack you.

Already a number of Canadians have returned, many of whom have presented to me the furlough you have given them; the others say, that you have discharged them. Those men have been equipped, and it would be just that they should have finished the campaign; I beg you, Sir, to be so good as to avoid giving these furloughs; they have been the sole cause of my not having sent you the remainder of the Canadians belonging to this district who were ready to start.

I was ignorant, up to this time, that there were any Canadian merchants or canteen keepers at Carillon. At all events, Sir, you have had the power to send them away by the terms of my ordinance of last year, the execution whereof I beg you to enforce, and to send the canteen keepers back to me by the first opportunity. Nothing is more injurious than the retailing of brandy, as I have had the honor to tell you before your departure.

You may remember, Sir, that when you did me the honor to go to St. Francis, all the Abenakis warriors were in the woods hunting, and that they did not return even until long after your departure. Nothing was more urgent on my part than to send them to you immediately on their return.

It only remains for me, Sir, to assure you that the unsigned letter of the 16<sup>th</sup> makes no impression on me; that the justice I render your sentiments is for me a sure guarantee that you are fully convinced of the sincerity of those I have avowed to you; they will ever be the same, and you will recognize always in me, a constant desire to maintain the most perfect union with you, and to prove to you that nothing equals the respectful attachment with which I have the honor to be &c<sup>a</sup>.

True copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Speeches of the Iroquois, Nepissings,  
Algonkins, Abenakis and Mississag-  
ués, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 1758.

The General's answer.

Father. We are come to express to you the profound pain we feel at the manner M. de Montcalm has received us at Carillon. We took the earliest opportunity to tell him that we were greatly mortified in not having shared his victory. He answered us curtly: You are come at a time when I have no further need of you. Are you come only to behold dead bodies? go behind the fort, you will find some. I have no need of you to kill any English. We withdrew from his quarters to consult together.

The next day we were to bid him good morning; we asked him leave to go on the Lydius road. He struck his table, saying: F . . . ! you shall not go. Go to the devil, if you are not satisfied.

Father. We did not require an interpreter to understand these words. We immediately told him that we were surprised at his anger without having given him any provocation. The council was not long; we each returned home.

The same day, a young chief came back quite furious, and beside himself with rage, who exclaimed in a loud tone: "We must go away since we are treated thus; I've just been turned out of doors by M. de Montcalm."

We would not hearken to this young man; we continued to form our party, which finally obtained leave to march; you know the result; we would have returned immediately, but we said to ourselves, we are not depending on M. de Montcalm, but on our Father, M. de Vaudreuil, and though he be at Montreal, we must regard him as being here, and do his will all the same. We shall go afterwards and present him our complaints.

Children. You cannot fail to anticipate the grief I feel in hearing your words. I cannot credit what you have told me of the Marquis de Montcalm. I render more justice to his sentiments in your favor; you must have misunderstood him, or have exhausted his patience. However that be, forget the past, and you, Chiefs, endeavor to remove the dislike of your warriors to serve under the Marquis de Montcalm. I am persuaded that eventually they will be glad to do so, and acknowledge that so far from despising them, he loves them and is very glad to have them with him.



M. de Montcalm called us together and gave us a Belt to engage us to remain; we consulted our warriors as usual. Ganetagon, a new chief, flung the Belt into the middle of the ring and said: "We must be devoid of all sensibility to receive this message. I am going to get my canoe ready to proceed to Montreal with my men." Thereupon, each repeated the harshness he had experienced at M. de Montcalm's hands; the Iroquois of the Lake and all the other Nations who experienced the like ill treatment, said they would do the same. There was some talk of taking back this message, but no one would take charge of it. Nevertheless, it had to be done, and the more resolute presented it to M. de Montcalm, saying: "We are mortified that your message has been fruitless." He wished to know the reason. We were obliged to tell him that his head was turned since he had beaten the English without us; that he may have need of us, but should not find us. He relented; proposed to us to leave at least some warriors with him to act as scouts. We answered that the ill humor of the warriors did not permit us to leave him a single one. Finally, he altered his tone; he got M. de Levis to speak to Ganetagon, who is much attached to that gentleman. We held a third meeting, and, out of respect for you, Father, and in consequence of M. de Levis' behavior, we left him some warriors, after which we departed to bring home our wounded.

Father. You will ask: "Why did we not stay with M. de Rigaud?" We answer you, that M. de Montcalm did not wish it; he cares no more for him than for us, although he is your brother.

We came for comfort to you, Father, and to warn you that our men are so disgusted that they will never consent to go where M. de Montcalm will command. Therefore, Father, make your arrangements accordingly.

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*M. de Dieskau to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Bath, England, 5<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

Deign to receive this letter favorably, 'tis dictated by a heart overwhelmed with grief. I behold myself abandoned without resource; my bills of exchange drawn on the Marine, sent back protested, make me apprehend it, and cause me the most sorrowful reflections. Your goodness, my Lord, in which I have the greatest confidence, can alone extricate me from so critical a position. 'Tis Lord Barrington, the Minister at War, who has caused to be advanced to me all the money I have received here, and consequently 'tis to that Minister I owe the hundred guineas lately protested. This has made me adopt the course of drawing a bill of exchange direct on M. Le Normand, Secretary of the Marine, in the hope that he will take consideration on my embarrassment and pay it.

I am ignorant, my Lord, wherein I can have merited treatment so much the more rigorous as it appears that I am abandoned by the Court, not having received an answer to any of my letters for more than six months.

I have had the honor, my Lord, to inform you repeatedly of the offer which has been made me to permit me to return to France on my parole, which I did not wish to accept without receiving your orders on that point. I am always waiting for them with the greatest impatience.

Might I have had the misfortune to incur your displeasure, my Lord? I cannot believe it, as I have entertained for you, all my life, the deepest veneration.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Baron de DIESKAU.



*Marshal de Belle Isle to M. de Montcalm.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Versailles, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

Sir,

I have received the letter you have written to the M<sup>rs</sup> de Paulmy, the 12<sup>th</sup> June last, who has informed me that you had not yet received mine of the 26<sup>th</sup> of February, in which I notified you of the retirement of that Minister, and that the King had entrusted to me the War Department.

I observe, from what you state in that letter, that you were occupied in making the necessary arrangements to collect a body of troops at Carillon, and that you had dispatched M. de Bourlamaque to that effect, whilst Chev: de Levis was proceeding, with a detachment of 2000 men, in the direction of the Five Nations, less to attempt anything there than to endeavor to induce them to take up the hatchet.

I doubt not but you will profit by every opportunity at your command, to furnish me news of the events that will occur during the campaign, and, if circumstances require, you may use the cypher furnished you by the M<sup>rs</sup> de Paulmy.

I have acknowledged, by my letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> July, the receipt of those whereof you send the duplicates and triplicates, and have nothing to add thereto.

I have the honor to be, most perfectly, Sir, &c.



*Marshal de Belle Isle to M. de Montcalm.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris ]

Versailles, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

Sir,

I have just received the letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June last, and answer it at once, in order not to lose the opportunity of a schooner, which is to sail immediately from Brest for Canada.



M. de Marsiac, with whom I have conferred on the subject of what you represent, to wit, that the increase in the price of provisions, placed it out of the power of both officer and soldier to support themselves, pretends that the inconvenience will have disappeared on the arrival of the first ships, and that abundance will again insensibly prevail, according as the different shipments will reach their destination. I shall see, however, what is to be done, in consideration of what the troops may have suffered, and of the supplement of pay his Majesty has granted to those who will return to Europe. Meanwhile, M. de Marsiac has given orders for placing elsewhere the deductions the troops might have suffered for want of certain stores, so that they will lose nothing of what has been promised them. In regard to the cessation of specie payment, M. de Marsiac has explained to me, that they were driven to it, in order to put an end to a considerable premium (*agio*) which was very prejudicial to bills of exchange, that are always paid with exactitude in France.

I have the honor to be most perfectly, Sir, &c.



*M. de Vaudrevil to Marshal Duke de Noailles.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

The interest I take in your health, and my gratitude for your goodness, exact nothing less than the prayers I offer up for your preservation. Permit me, my Lord, to renew them, and to have the honor of expressing to you how much I should be flattered by receiving intelligence from you.

Persuaded, my Lord, that this Colony constantly occupies your attention, I have the honor to communicate to you whatever has occurred of interest since the last campaign.

You will possibly have learned, my Lord, how much this Colony has been afflicted by the scarcity of provisions, and how severely the detachment I had sent last fall, to wind up the campaign, had to suffer, less from the rigor of the season than from the want of provisions. Their principal supplies consisted in powder and ball, and nothing less than the industry of the Canadians and Indians in living in the woods could support the few soldiers that accompanied them. That detachment completely fulfilled its mission. It laid waste or burnt all the settlements in the Palatine district, situate between Corlac and the country inhabited by the Five Iroquois Nations.

The English, my Lord, had conceived the most flattering hopes from our short stock of provisions. They had found their people in the best disposition; were all at their ease; the great and small in New England equally concerned in the war. Their views were of the most extensive nature; they had, at first, laid their plan to scale Fort Carillon; their preparations were perfect; their ladders constructed, and their army ready to march; the detachments which were to precede their enterprise were to meet with nothing less than the success they hoped therefrom. I had been careful to send some parties of Canadians and Indians against them, who by their zeal and good disposition found resources for their support.

I shall confine myself, my Lord, to that detachment, on whose return the enemy's army was to put itself in motion. 'Twas a detachment *d'élite* commanded by Major Robert Rogers, the most celebrated English partizan. He had orders from his officer to break up the ice, to lay down the route the army was to follow. But that detachment was entirely defeated by a party of soldiers of the Marine, Canadians and Indians, the command of which I had confided to a few simple Cadets belonging to our troops.

In this way, my Lord, I protected the Colony, during the winter, from the menaces of our enemies.

I founded all my hopes on the powerful reinforcements which I had demanded of the Court; but in spite of the wise and just measures of M. de Moras, we received provisions only on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May. A portion of the troops of the Line had set out, previous to that time, to open their campaign at Fort Carillon. I was sensible of all its importance, the enemy being able, by the earliness of their navigation, to take the field fully a month before us.

At first, I had proposed to break up their plans, to operate a diversion of their forces, and to place their General in a state of indecision. With that view I announced as my preparations, the offensive on Lake St. Sacrament, whilst I was organizing a detachment of troops, Canadians and Indians under Chev: de Levis' orders, to proceed to the district of Corlac. The Five Nations, who for a long time had been inviting me to form this detachment, were to join it for the purpose of attacking the English.

Whilst matters were in this position, I had intelligence of the considerable forces of our enemies and of their encampment on the ruins of old Fort William Henry. But, although the prisoners we had recently taken, did not state positively that they designed coming to attack Carillon, I decided on changing Chev: de Levis' destination and joining his detachment to the Marquis de Montcalm's army.

The enemy took possession on the 6<sup>th</sup> of the post we had occupied at the head of the Portage and at the Falls.

The Marquis de Montcalm throws up in great haste an intrenchment on the height in front of Fort Carillon. Our army, which was then only 5,000 some hundred men, was in order of battle on the 8<sup>th</sup>; the enemy made their appearance in three columns. The fight began at half-past twelve; it was one of the sharpest and most obstinate on both sides; but at last Chev: de Levis, who was occupying the right of our army, charged so apropos, in flank, the enemy's columns which wanted to turn him, that the English, unable any longer to withstand the briskness of our fire, retired about six o'clock in the evening, and the firing, notwithstanding, continued until nightfall.

The enemy's army was, according to the report of prisoners, about 14,000 men, independent of a body of 13,000 which had remained with General Abercromby at the Falls.

The loss of the English, according to these same prisoners, amounts to about 5,000 killed or wounded; General Howe and several officers of mark are among the former.

On our side we have had about 350 killed or wounded, but a great many officers. M. de Bourlamaque has been dangerously wounded, but he is better.

My brother Rigaud set out on the 5<sup>th</sup> with about 600 Indians and a party of Canadians *d'élite*. Notwithstanding all the diligence he could employ, he was unable to reach Carillon before the 11<sup>th</sup>. He is greatly mortified at not having shared the Marquis de Montcalm's brilliant victory. I am individually much pained at it, because the English could hardly have escaped succumbing before the hot pursuit we should have given them.



I cannot, my Lord, too highly praise the troops generally. Following the example of their Generals and officers, they have performed prodigies of valor.

I desire, my Lord, that the King be satisfied with my services and zeal. I hope that you will be so good as to seize the opportunities to place them in the best light.

M. Bearn,<sup>1</sup> Adjutant of Quebec, who will have the honor to deliver you this despatch, is well qualified to enter with you, my Lord, into all the details you will judge proper to demand of him relative to this Colony, with which he is thoroughly conversant. He is the officer in whom I have most confidence. Nothing less than his resources, his readiness and his zeal were required to accelerate my movements. Permit me, I beg of you, my Lord, to have the honor to solicit your kindness in his favor. I am confident that you will find him worthy of it, when you will have been acquainted with him. I have particularly charged him to give me news of you, this fall, if it be at all in his power.

My brother Rigaud is at present at the Falls, where he commands the camp of the detached troops of the Marine and Canadians *d'élite*. He has the greatest desire to distinguish himself.

I am with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Massiac.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

My Lord,

A letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, copy whereof I transmit you, leads me to believe that he will endeavor, perhaps, to send you a piece of mischief which issued from the interior of the Colony by means of some domiciliated Indians of the Sault Saint Louis. I write to you on the subject, in order that you may not give yourself the least uneasiness nor feel any on account of the pain an ill-concocted intrigue may afford me. To the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter I annex my answer; the same spirit that regulates my conduct towards that Governor-General, has dictated my answer—the spirit of conciliation necessary to the good of the service, and from which I shall never depart, no matter what provocation I may receive. You can, my Lord, assure his Majesty of this. I exhort, unceasingly, the Marquis de Vaudreuil to stifle in silence and in the interior of his cabinet these discretions,<sup>2</sup> of which the public must not be aware, and M. Bigot, whose office obliges him to notice them, and whom I request to devise some mode of conciliation, gives me reason to hope that he will succeed.

I am with respect,

Your most humble, &c.

The same postscript that is to the letter for my Lord, the Marshal de Belleisle, is equally for the above.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Qu? Péan,

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Qu? discussions — Ed.

Copy of a letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil to M. de Montcalm, dated 1st August, 1758.

Sir,

All our domiciliated Indians came on the day before yesterday, to make remonstrances to me in full council against the ill treatment they pretend to have received from you, both on their arrival and during their sojourn at Carillon. They announced to me their unwillingness in future to return to that place whilst you are in command there. I have regretted not having foreseen that they were to speak publicly of this matter. I would have endeavored to stifle it in its inception. I omit nothing to induce them to surmount the prejudices they have formed, and flatter myself with having sufficient influence on them to induce them to forget the past. I beg you, Sir, to entertain for these Nations all the regard they deserve. Such is the King's intention. They have for a long time contributed to the honor of his arms, and the defence of the Colony. I have been much more affected, my Lord,<sup>1</sup> at the ill consequences which may flow from their dissatisfaction, than from any indiscreet conversations that have been held at Carillon against the government, and against me personally. They have been so public that I learn them from these Nations. As I am greatly above, and as I despise them, I make no enquiry into them, and I render you justice enough, Sir, to be persuaded that had they come to your ears, you would immediately punish proceedings so contrary to discipline, and which might tend to so pernicious a disunion in the Colonies.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Copy of the Marquis de Montcalm's answer to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter.  
6th August, 1758.

Sir,

In answer to the letter you have done me the honor to write to me, touching the complaints which the Indians have made to you against me, I protest to you that I have not been surprised at these complaints, although I have well received those people, as is my custom, except that I had refused them M. Rumas<sup>2</sup> to command the party confided to M. de Courtemanche, had scolded them for disorders they were committing in the camp, killing and pillaging the provisions of the hospital and of private persons, and that I had adhered to your injunctions in sometimes refusing them brandy. As a witness of this, I have your brother, and as proof, the long sojourn of a great number of them at Carillon; the second detachment, in which they almost all marched anew with M. de St. Luc, and the third, which a portion of them is still making, at this moment, with M. Marin. Facts ought to be believed in preference to words. Indians, you are aware, do only what they like; but evil spirits often suggest to them and make them say in councils, things they do not think of. Let one instance be shown me of a large body of Indians having been, this season, to war three times or even twice, one after the other, without returning home.

The respect I owe you, Sir, has prevented me writing to you that they have, in full council, complained of you having detained them whilst wishing to fly to our succor. They stated so both in public and in private. I made the public keep silent. I felt how I ought to treat that

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Qu? Dumas. — Ed.



imputation, whilst you write me as being persuaded that I have not behaved well towards them. I despise these miserable concerns. I shall show no symptom of this feeling either to the evil minded or to the Indians. Speeches can avail nothing against my conduct, and I shall continue to do by them whatever I shall consider useful to the good of the service.

You are right, Sir, to despise gossip; supposing that there had been any, no person would presume to make me his confidant in this matter. Although I heard that I was cruelly torn in pieces, in your presence, on account of my retreat from the Portage, yet I do not attach any credit to it. I wish always to keep aloof from whatever may create disunion. Do you so, likewise. Afford public proofs of your confidence in me. The country and circumstances require it, as well as the friendship of which I cannot divest myself, notwithstanding all that go-betweens may do and say to destroy it. With these sentiments, and those of respect, I have the honor to remain,

Sir,

Your most humble, &c.



*M. Bigot to M. de Massiac.*

Quebec, 13<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

I returned from Montreal some days ago; I went there on official business, and at the request of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, whom I found much piqued against the M<sup>l</sup> de Montcalm. He has been informed of a thousand things the army had said of him after the action of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, and pretends that the Marquis de Montcalm has been the author of them, having been the first to express them.

The Marquis de Montcalm, on his side, complains that M. de Vaudreuil has no confidence in him, and does not communicate his plans to him; he has even written to me recently from the army on this subject; I mentioned it to M. de Vaudreuil, who told me that he was always careful to communicate to him everything he proposed to do.

I am doing my best with the one and the other to induce them to conceal from the public the little reproaches they believe themselves justified in making against one another, and I excuse them reciprocally whenever I write to them; a report of a rupture would be as dangerous to the Colony as the entrance of an English army. Too much jealousy has already spread among the different corps.

The Marquis de Montcalm and the Marquis de Vaudreuil are both necessary parties for the preservation and defence of Canada. The former has made himself known as a good General and a man of vast detail, smart and active, zealous for the service. The latter does what he pleases with the Indian Nations and the Canadians, and he is thoroughly conversant with the nature of the fighting in this country; he also knows how to turn to advantage the terror which the English have of the Indians. As I am equally attached to both, I should live on the best terms with them, but I doubt if they will do the same; their hauteur is too much opposed the one to the other, and for a long time they have appeared to me to associate only politically.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil requests of you to procure the command of the French troops for Chevalier de Levis; he has the reputation of a good officer; he is beloved by the entire corps and by the Indian Nations, but in my opinion 'twould be necessary to send a third officer who would be superior to the commandants of battalions. The Marquis de Vaudreuil says, M. de Bourlamaque will be sufficient; that may do for war, he is the judge; but as regards police and the discipline of the troops, a third principal officer will maintain them better than the commandants of the battalions; they are too indulgent to the officers and soldiers of their corps.

The Marquis de Montcalm has just conferred a memorable service on Canada; he has defeated the enemy and prevented their penetrating into it; the grade of Lieutenant-General which that victory may acquire for him, will probably recall him to France. Should he return thither, I shall greatly regret it. I cannot too often repeat that he is an officer of great distinction, and that he possesses a detail and talents which are rare.

I have considered it my duty, my Lord, to submit to you what I know respecting the mutual discontents of these two generals. I should feel mortified were they to know that I have the honor to write to you on the subject, because they would perhaps believe me partial.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed) BIGOT.

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*M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1758.

My Lord,

The most glorious and most brilliant action since the commencement of the war has taken place on the 8<sup>th</sup> of this month in the vicinity of Fort Carillon between the King's troops, commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, and the English.

I propose having the honor to give you the details thereof. I have collected them from the letters of different officers, my friends, who were in that action.

The Governor-General having been informed, at the very commencement of May last, that the English had formed the design of attacking Fort Carillon, and afterwards Fort St. Frederic, thereupon took the best measures to give them a warm reception and to thwart their designs. He dispatched orders to all the settlements in his government to command the farmers whom he may need, enjoining on the Militia captains to order them to hold themselves in readiness for all events. These orders were executed in such a manner that, as early as the twentieth of May, all the farmers were ready, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who learned, by that time, from some scouts he had sent out, that a great body of English troops were assembled at Lydius and Fort George, and were seen passing from one to the other with a great number of wagons, dispatched then the battalion of La Reine, which was in garrison at Quebec, to St.



John, to encamp there until further orders ; 8 or 10 days after, the battalions which were ready, those of Languedoc and Berry, filed off and went to encamp at the Falls ; the other four battalions, which are La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Guienne and Bearn, proceeded, also, to St. John and the Portage. The eight battalions assembled at Carillon, received orders the 30<sup>th</sup> June to advance on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July. The battalions of La Reine, Guienne and Bearn, went to occupy the Portage ; those of La Sarre and Languedoc encamped on the left bank of the Falls ; that of Royal Rousillon, and the second of Berry, encamped on the right bank, and the third battalion was destined to guard the fort. The Marquis de Montcalm thought by this bold manœuvre to give a check to the enemy, it never having been his intention to hold that position on account of the small number of troops he had to defend those posts.

On the evening of the 4<sup>th</sup>, M. de Langy, a Colonial officer, set off, with 120 men in bateaux, to discover the enemy's movements and to try to take some prisoners at Fort George ; but he returned on the 5<sup>th</sup>, about ten o'clock in the morning, without having been able to get any, having been pursued by fifty barges full of soldiers, who were approaching with drums beating. Men were busy, the whole day, watching them, and M. de Bourlamaque detached 250 men, under the command of Captain Detrepezet of the Bearn regiment, to Bald Mountain, in order to be advised of the enemy's manœuvres. Our posts on the right bank were reinforced, and the camp passed the night in bivouac. Some shots were fired by the advanced posts during the night. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 6<sup>th</sup>, the enemy's army landed opposite the Burnt Camp, to the number of 1,000 @ 1,200 barges, having about 3,000 men on board. They ranged themselves in two lines to attempt a landing at four different places ; that is, on the left and on the right of each of their lines. As our numbers were very small, we did not offer them any opposition, and they landed at the Burnt Camp, where they formed, gradually, into columns. We waited a long time before retreating, out of consideration for M. de Trepezet's detachment which had not returned, and fell back on the Falls in very good order, but abandoning our baggage. The desire to extricate M. de Trepezet still retained us at that place until 6 o'clock in the evening, when the wreck of that detachment returned by wading, to the number of 12 or 15. Some prisoners whom we took, told us that the enemy was marching against us, and was constructing bridges on the river Berné which separated us. This determined us again to make our retreat under the cannon of Fort George<sup>1</sup>, where we bivouacked. On the 17<sup>th</sup><sup>2</sup> our little army were employed constructing an abatis at the entrance of the fort. The 8<sup>th</sup> ; continued the work until one o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy, as 'tis stated, to the number of 14,000 men, charged us, although since the 6<sup>th</sup>, when we lost about 350 men in killed and wounded, which occurred only through the accident of M. de Langy, we effected our retreat with considerable precipitation and boldness, and at the moment of the landing of 6 thousand of the enemy's troops, we reached M. de Montcalm's position on the evening of the same day. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pontleroy and Desandrouins, Engineers, conducted the work at the intrenchment, covering the heights, the left on the river and the right on a curtain. The second battalion of Berry having been entrusted with the guard of the Fort and with all the details of that quarter, under the command of M. Trecesson, who has rendered, on that occasion, important services to the army, according to the report of those who were there, our 7 battalions worked with incredible activity in forming an abatis of trees, which was finished that day.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Carillon.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* — Ed.

Chevalier de Levy's pickets arrived on the 7<sup>th</sup>, also, and he, himself, at 5 o'clock of the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup>. The small numbers of Canadians and troops [of the Marines] with Marquis de Montcalm, were stationed at an opening between the abatis and the river. The arrangements for the reception of the enemy were made on the 7<sup>th</sup>; our guard and grenadiers were outside the whole of the day to protect the work, and the companies of volunteers drawn from our troops commanded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Benard and Duprat, an officer of the regiment of La Reine, were always in advance watching the enemy's movements. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Langy and d'Aillebout, Colonial officers, went on a scout and the army bivouacked through the night.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> the abatis was perfected; our volunteers exchanged shots with the enemy's advanced guards. The arrival of Chevalier de Levy, who had previously been destined to proceed to Corlac, and whose destination was changed because the Marquis de Vaudreuil did not wish to divide his forces, through fear of being overwhelmed by the multitude of reports, [made no] other change in the Marquis de Montcalm's arrangements, than that of entrusting to him the defence of the right, and of changing M. de Bourlamaque to the left. Chevalier le Mercier, commander-in-chief of the Artillery of New France [and all the officers] under his orders, were employed in arranging the cannon at the places indicated by the Marquis de Montcalm.

At half-past twelve the columns of the English commenced to deploy against our guards, who immediately came in without confusion with the grenadier companies and workmen. A gun was fired as a signal and in a moment all the soldiers were at their posts.

At one o'clock the enemy attacked us with great impetuosity. They made six consecutive assaults, approached even the abatis. They were formed in three principal columns; the firing was extremely brisk on both sides until six o'clock in the evening and continued until nightfall.

Our army which consisted of only 2,900 combatants of French Regulars and 400 Canadians, has resisted all the different attacks, my Lord, with a courage worthy of heroes.

We ran many risks for 2 or 3 hours; fortunately our troops did not flinch; all our officers have performed prodigies of valor; the soldiers, following their example, have done things which posterity will scarcely credit. It is to be regretted that there was not a greater number of Colonial troops and Canadians. Chevalier de Levy, under whose eyes they have fought, speaks highly of them; as they were the most alert, he made them make two sorties, led by some indefatigable officers; M. d'Hert, Adjutant of La Reine, headed one, and M. de Noes, Captain in the same regiment, the other.

M. de Remond, Captain of the troops of the Colony, has commanded the Colonial troops in this action; he has afforded, on that occasion, proofs of his zeal and intelligence; the same is generally the case with the Colonial officers who were there.

We are indebted for this victory to the courage of the troops, to the sorties which Chevalier de Levy had executed on the right by some pickets and a company of grenadiers, at the same time that he sent some active Canadians into the opening (of the intrenchment); to M. de Bourlamaque's firmness and his excellent arrangements on the left; all the Commandants of corps and generally everyone, my Lord, behaved very well, and furnished proofs of their zeal and valor.

Fearing that the enemy would land some men in barges, which they attempted at the commencement of the attack, Bernard and Duprat's volunteers were guarding that part of



our abatis, and M. de Louvicourt, an Artillery officer, who was serving three pieces of cannon at the fort, sunk a pontoon and a barge. This, with the fire of the volunteers, caused the retreat of twenty barges which the English had sent forward.

Chevalier de Montreuil, the Adjutant-General, caused to be transmitted with the greatest activity, the orders necessary to animate and encourage the troops, and for the distribution of the ammunition, which the gentlemen of the second battalion of Berry and the officers of the artillery sent forward with the greatest diligence. That battalion had its grenadier company defending the abatis, and although the officers belonging to it have been much mortified at not being there, they have been most useful elsewhere, and have lost several soldiers in the different journeys through and fro.

M. Duplessie, a Colonial officer, who landed at the moment of the action, proceeded immediately against the enemy with 80 soldiers of his company that were with him.

Assurances are given that the enemy retired in the night, and that they have abandoned a portion of their wounded. Our troops passed the night in order of battle, to avoid all surprise and prevent the enemy, who had fresh troops, re-commencing the fight under cover of the night, which they might easily have done.

From the report of different prisoners, it is estimated that the enemy amounted to fourteen thousand men at the least, eight thousand of whom belonged to their best troops, and that they had the remainder behind abatis between the Falls and our field of battle, to secure their retreat. Their loss exceeds five thousand men, killed or wounded; two thousand dead bodies have been found along our abatis. Lord Dawh,<sup>1</sup> who commanded the attack, is reported killed. Our loss, the exact amount of which we have not yet ascertained, is five @ six hundred killed or wounded in the affairs of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>. Only thirty-eight Canadians are among this number. M. Lusignan has informed the Marquis de Montcalm, the day after the action, that the deserters sent to him report the enemy's army to have been composed of 18 @ 20 thousand men, which is verified, 'tis said, by a letter found in the pocket of an English officer who was killed, and that Lord Dawh,<sup>1</sup> the Major-General, and 3000 men have lost their lives on the occasion. We are assured that numbers besides have been wounded. You may infer from this, my Lord, that their loss must be very heavy.

It had been much to be desired that we had had some Indians to pursue them at the close of the action; these joined to a detachment that the Marquis de Montcalm could have confided to Chevalier de Levy, might have crushed and cut in pieces the rest of the English.

All those who have seen that general officer in the fire say, that they have never known a man more tranquil and more intrepid, and it can, with justice, be said, that he behaved like a General perfectly acquainted with the art of war.

Our enemies, my Lord, are greatly humbled; these braggarts had 500 Indians, whom they had requested to be spectators of their bravery and of the capture of our forts, but these Indians have been witnesses of their defeat.

I have just received a letter from Carillon, informing me that a great number of English have been discovered dead two leagues from Carillon. It is presumed that dissensions broke out among them.

I think, my Lord, that they have no longer any project to conceal.

We have at present several detachments of Canadians and Indians roving in the neighborhood of Lydius and Fort George.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Howe. — Ed,

One of our soldiers who deserted to the English assured them that Chevalier de Levy was going to Corlac with 2,000 men, which made them resolve on sending 7 @ 8,000 men thither; if they go there, they will be grossly deceived, as they will not find any one.

You must be already informed, my Lord, that the English presented themselves at the latter end of May before Louisbourg, in the design of besieging it, with 24 ships of war, 11 frigates, three fire-ships, one bomb-ketch and 130 transports, and that they had effected a landing on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June in the Bay of Gabarus, to the number of 12 @ 14,000 men, when we were driven back and repulsed to the very walls of the place, and their [force landed] at Point Blanche, situate west of the above bay.

I am not sufficiently well informed, my Lord, to furnish you an exact detail of what occurred at these landings, but the captain of a small craft, arrived here on the 9<sup>th</sup> of this month from Port Dauphin, has reported that the English had fought the *islot*, which is at the mouth of the port, during 26 days, without any success, whilst we lost only one man, and that they had abandoned that enterprise; that we have had sunk in the channel of Louisbourg three frigates and one ship from St. Malo, to obstruct their passage; that that manœuvre had created considerable misunderstanding between the Military and Naval commanders; that no trench had been opened and that they were not further advanced than the day they landed.

We learn this moment that the English have still 10,000 men in the intrenchments which they have thrown up at old Fort George and at Lydius, but we are assured that they will not make any new demonstrations against our forts this year.

The people of this Continent demand peace; they declare openly that they cannot stand against us. All their Militia are beginning to disband.

M. Albert Combey,<sup>1</sup> who was reported to have died of vexation, is wonderfully well.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DAINE.

17<sup>th</sup> August, 1758. A courier has just arrived this moment, my Lord, from Carillon with intelligence that a detachment of 400 men, consisting of Canadians, Colonials and Indians, commanded by M. de la Corne St. Luc, attacked on the Lydius road, the 30<sup>th</sup> July last, at one o'clock in the afternoon, a convoy of about 150 men who were conducting 54 wagons loaded with provisions, which they captured and destroyed, not being able to save them; they killed 230 oxen and took 80 scalps and 64 prisoners—men, women and children. We lost only one Iroquois; two others have been slightly wounded.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Abercrombie.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the preceding with the letter of M. de Montcalm, *supra*, p. 748. It is, for the most part, a copy of that document. — Ed.



*M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

Since the great day of the 8<sup>th</sup>, the M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm has always had some detachments in the field to harass and watch the enemy. These detachments had likewise for object to place themselves between the enemy's intrenched camp on the ruins of Fort William Henry and Fort Edward, to attack and destroy their convoys. They have had divers success. The first, which marched on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July under the orders of a Colonial Captain, returned the 21<sup>st</sup> with 10 prisoners and 24 scalps. The impatience of the Indians prevented this detachment destroying a party of 300 English which had taken refuge in a stockaded inclosure lately erected to serve as a dépôt on the Fort Edward road.

The second, likewise under the command of a Colonial Captain, which left the camp the latter part of July, fell in also on the Fort Edward road, at the enemy's camp, with a convoy of 40 carts, each of which had from 4 to 6 oxen yoked to it; these carts were loaded with provisions, effects, merchandise, &c. They destroyed them entirely. The oxen were killed; the carts burnt; the property pillaged by the Indians; 110 scalps were secured and 84 prisoners taken; of these, 12 are women or girls. The escort, which was defeated, consisted of 40 men, commanded by a Lieutenant, who has been taken; the remainder of the men, who were killed or taken prisoners, consisted of wagoners, suttlers, traders, women and children. The English, 'tis known, feel this loss very sensibly. Some baggage and effects belonging to General Albercrombie, as well as his music, were among the plunder.

On the news of this defeat, the English General sent a very considerable force in pursuit, under the command of the partisan Robert Rogers, but he was too late. He was on the point of returning, when, on the advice of a Colonial gunner, a deserter, he received orders to lay in ambush to surprise a third detachment which the Marquis de Montcalm had just dispatched under the orders of M. Marin, a Colonial officer of great reputation. This detachment was composed of 50 Regulars, 100 Canadians and 150 Indians. That of the enemy, of about 700 men. They met in the woods, about seven o'clock in the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, and in spite of superior numbers, M. Marin made his arrangements to fight the enemy. He forced them to waver by two volleys, which killed a great many; but having been supported by the Regulars, they rallied and the firing was brisk on both sides for nearly an hour. M. Marin, perceiving that they were receiving a reinforcement, and the Indians, who feared that they would not be able to carry off some wounded, demanding to retire, he was obliged to think of retreating, which he did in good order, and without being pursued, after having, for an hour longer, kept up a fire with such picked men as he had, who performed prodigies of valor. The Indians, in general, have also behaved well; but of 100 Canadians, more than 60 deserted M. Marin, no one knows wherefore, at the very moment when the English were wavering. This somewhat astonished the Indians, and prevented that brave officer deriving all the advantage he could from the circumstance.

Meanwhile, our loss is but trifling in comparison with that the enemy must have suffered, which is estimated at over 200 men. Scouts, sent on their trail, have seen a great many wounded, whom they were carrying on litters, and a great many dead on the field of action.



M. Marin took some prisoners, 2 of them officers, now here. On our side we have had 3 soldiers, 3 Canadians and 4 Indians killed ; two Cadets, one soldier, 5 Canadians and 4 Indians wounded—the majority of them very slightly.

This, my Lord, is what has occurred of interest since the great event of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July. Some other detachments have gone out, two of them under the orders of Chev : de Levis, but their object was only to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, who numbered 12,000 men, intrenched on the ruins of Fort William Henry since the latter part of July, retaining all their artillery, ammunition, &c., having sent back only the Militia, and receiving succors from Fort Edward and Orange. It appears they intend attacking the Marquis de Montcalm anew and rebuilding Fort William Henry. We are not able to oppose this. M. de Montcalm is nearly as weak since the . . . of this month as he was when attacked. The Canadians and Indians, to the number of about two thousand, who arrived at his quarters only on the thirteenth of July, have departed for the harvest. This is a very critical time for him, my Lord, until the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, should the enemy wish to profit by it. Miracles cannot be always expected.

Louisbourg was taken the 27<sup>th</sup> of July ; a pilot who had made his escape from that place, brought us this bad news three days ago, without any particulars. We only know that our men-of-war have been burnt, except *le Bienfaisant* ; that the officers, soldiers and crews are prisoners of war ; also that the garrison was reduced, according to the report of this pilot, to 1,500 men, after the most gallant resistance. Nothing, my Lord, prevents the General of the Louisbourg army detaching in the latter end of July a considerable corps to reinforce General Albercrombie, and the latter making a combined movement to fight the Marquis de Montcalm's little army, cut off all his communication, and again advance before the 15<sup>th</sup> of October into the interior of the Colony and even near Montreal, where assuredly there would be no means to stop him. The English are perhaps at this very moment masters of Fort Duquesne and the whole of the Beautiful river. At least they will be so in a short time, as a force of twelve thousand men with two pieces of cannon and two mortars must have arrived there. Six thousand have marched by General Bradok's road, and six thousand by another shorter and easier communication in the direction of the River aux bœufs ; another body of six thousand men, under Colonel Johnson's orders, is actually on Lake Ontario, to rebuild Chouaguen and seize Fort Frontenac, where we have a garrison of only 50 men. It is idle to flatter ourselves any longer, my Lord ; Canada is lost if peace be not made this winter. The English have at this moment over sixty thousand Regulars or Provincials in America ; we have not five thousand to oppose them, including land and Marine troops, near one thousand of whom are dispersed in different posts and garrisons. We have never seen more than two thousand Canadians together ; the remainder have been always employed either in the posts of the Upper country or in transportation, or in practices equally detrimental to the King's interests and the good of his service. The fall of Isle Royale increases the enemy's means, already too powerful, of closing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence and preventing the arrival of all succors from Europe, and, without coming by sea to Quebec, perhaps rendering himself next year, by the Upper route, master of the entire country. The capture of Fort Duquesne and the neighboring posts, that of Fort Frontenac, at the mouth of Lake Ontario, where the whole of our navy lies, of the lakes, Chouaguen and Fort William Henry, assure, from this moment, the conquest to him the more readily, as he can, when he pleases, increase still further his considerable forces. The English Colonies are able to furnish, independent of the troops, more than two hundred thousand men, and by calling out the *ban* and *arrière ban*



of Canada, ten thousand would not be mustered capable of bearing arms, which, joined to the Regular troops with us, would form a total of 14 @ 15,000 men. And, in order to be able to employ them in the field, we must abandon all sort of work, keeping posts for the peltry trade, the cultivation of the soil; consequently renounce the harvests, the sole resource against perishing of hunger.

Such, my Lord, is the true point of view in which Canada must be now considered. The Minister of the Marine has been always too much flattered, and perhaps people will dare flatter him still. Ten or twelve thousand troops may be called for; a considerable fleet of ships of war to convoy them and the necessary provisions and stores; all this might, indeed, enable us to hold out a little longer, and postpone our utter ruin, but the King would not be indemnified for the enormous expense this new reinforcement would occasion. War continuing, Canada would always finish by being taken sooner or later. We know, beyond a doubt, that the Court of England, impelled by the frenzy of the nation, is resolved to invade it, at whatever cost. That Court has the means and will use them to the last farthing; besides the continuation of the war in this hemisphere is ruinous to the King, more in consequence of bad administration and great cupidity than of indispensable expenses. 'Tis, therefore, absolutely necessary, my Lord, to think only of making peace, without being very particular about the boundaries. It had been desirable that their extension into Acadia, and the building of Fort Duquesne had never been thought of. Excuse, my Lord, all these reflections of an honest citizen; [attribute them] to my zeal for the King's service and my respectful attachment for yourself. They are written as much at the Marquis de Montcalm's suggestion as at my own, and were I my own master I would depart in order to have the honor of communicating them to you *vivâ voce*, and to inform you of a thousand most important things, too long and too hazardous to be communicated to you in writing. 'Twould be one of the most essential services I could ever render the state. M. de Moras' retirement which we have just learnt, and M. de Massiac's appointment to the Ministry may promote the peace policy. I have the honor to be known so well to the latter as to flatter myself with his confidence were I near him, but I shall take good care not to entertain him by letter; 'tis to you alone, my Lord, that I must address myself, and I do so in all confidence, relying fully on your goodness to be assured that I shall not be compromised.

I have had the honor to mention M. Péan to you in my letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> instant. Regard him as one of the principal causes of the bad administration and ruin of this unfortunate country. I have told you he was worth two millions, I have not dared to say four, although I might say so, according to public report. His wealth does not create, in my breast, any more envy than that of many others, but I groan at it through love for my master's interest and service.

Permit me, once again, my Lord, to beg of you to preserve my letters in the secrecy of your desk. The motive which induces me to communicate such sad truths to you, is too laudable for me to apprehend being its unjust victim; besides, have the goodness to bear in mind that I am obliged, as well by duty as by zeal, to make up for the Marquis de Montcalm's inability to write to you from the army, where he has not his cipher. Should he permit me to go to France this fall, it would be a great advantage; I could tell you more; nothing would suffer by my absence, owing to the arrangements I should make.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DOREIL.



P. S. 1<sup>st</sup> September. News from Montreal of the 29<sup>th</sup> informs us that the English force which proceeded to Lake Ontario with cannon, rendezvoused at the Bay of Bombeaouare<sup>1</sup> and sent a vanguard of 2,700 men against Frontenac, a miserable *bicoque*, having a garrison of only 50 men. It is our entrepôt of provisions and goods for all the Upper country posts, which constitute the entire resource of Canada; it is the key of Lake Ontario, the port which holds all our navy, consisting, in part, of the vessels taken at Chouaguen, by M. de Montcalm, two years ago. The enemy is, no doubt, master of it at present, whilst another force is proceeding, perhaps, against Niagara, a very important post which has been skilfully fortified by a Captain belonging to the battalion of La Reine,<sup>2</sup> but equally bare with the other. All the Upper country posts, of which Fort Duquesne forms a part, fall of themselves. We have more than two thousand men scattered among them, and that accelerates the total ruin of Canada. All the Canadians who were beginning their harvest, are put in motion to proceed to that quarter, but they will, certainly, arrive too late; the harvest will suffer, and the M<sup>l</sup> de Montcalm who, since the fall of Louisbourg, is menaced by the strong army in his front, will not be reinforced. What would it be, were he beaten and cut off? 'Tis impossible, reasonably, to conceal the fact, that everything is to be feared, and very little to be hoped. M. de Vaudreuil has remained in too great security in regard to the important post of Frontenac, and he is the dupe of the over confidence he has placed in the Indians, whose services he needs, but they must always be treated with caution and distrust. More foresight, activity and vigilance are, besides, necessary, when one has to do with a powerful enemy who is always superior in forces and means. I tremble with fear that we have not had the precaution nor time to burn the sloops and bateaux which we had at Frontenac, and that the enemy will profit by them to cut us off, absolutely, from all access to Lake Ontario, whereby all our people beyond it will be made prisoners. It is no less to be feared, that the Indians, who usually side with the strongest or most fortunate, will all abandon us to range themselves alongside the English.

DORVILLE.

3<sup>rd</sup> September. My fears are too well founded, my Lord; the enemy is master of the post of Frontenac or Cataracouy since the 27<sup>th</sup> of August. No precaution was taken with our navy. The English, more careful than we, have burnt it, with the exception of two 20 gun brigs, which they have preserved, the more effectually to exclude us from Lake Ontario. The provisions and merchandize destined for supplying all our posts in the Upper Countries, to which Frontenac, bad as it was, served as an entrepôt, are lost, and what is still more vexatious, is the loss of a considerable artillery. This principally consisted of the cannon taken from the enemy at Bradok's affair in 1755, and at that of Chouaguen in 1756; there were at least 80 pieces of cannon there. Everything is now to be feared for Fort Niagara which, indeed, is good, but as bare as Frontenac. And what must be a greater source of uneasiness, is the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, where M. de Montcalm is menaced by as considerable a force as the first, whilst he has so weak an army. It is easy to see, my Lord, from the different movements of the enemy, that if the General had not arrested and beaten them on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, almost the whole of Canada would be at present in the power of the English. I forgot another unfortunate circumstance, and what I have equally foreseen. The Indians have attacked us; they seized, on Lake Ontario, three canoes on the way down loaded with

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Nisoura.

<sup>2</sup> Sic. Bearn. — Ed.



peltries and have murdered the hands. A melancholy precursor of what we have to fear from them. Peace! Peace! My Lord, pardon me, I cannot too often repeat these words.

DOREIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1758.

My Lord,

By the letters I have had the honor to write you per the frigate *La Valeur*, you will have seen :

1<sup>st</sup> The motives which led me to dispatch, towards Corlac, at the opening of the campaign, a considerable detachment, under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, to profit by the favorable disposition of the Five Nations to make them take up the hatchet and excite against the English new enemies who might be able to prevent them penetrating in these parts.

2<sup>nd</sup> The absolute necessity I found myself in, by the delay of the provisions which obliged me to postpone the departure of that detachment, to recall them whilst on the march in order to send assistance to the Marquis de Montcalm's army.

3<sup>rd</sup> That since our success of the 8<sup>th</sup>, at Carillon, I had successively caused troops to be forwarded to that quarter, according as provisions permitted, both to enable the Marquis de Montcalm to oppose any new efforts of the English and to place his fort and intrenchments in a state of defence as well as to have the means of forming large detachments which could disquiet and destroy the convoys of the enemies, hoping, thereby, to be able to make them abandon Lake George and fall back on Fort Lydius.

4<sup>th</sup> M. de Longueuil's mission, whereof I have had the honor to render you an account in one of my letters of the 20<sup>th</sup> ultimo.

Since then, my Lord, the greatest event about Carillon is the detachment of about 250 men under the command of M<sup>r</sup> Marin, who encountered one of 800 English from which he extricated himself very handsomely, as you will have the means of seeing by the account I have the honor to transmit to you in one of my letters of the 18<sup>th</sup> of August. The Marquis de Montcalm has continued corresponding with General Abercromby on the subject of exchanges ; you will find annexed to my despatch of the first of this month, copy of the different letters which have been written on the one side and the other.

The season of harvest having arrived at last, the Marquis de Montcalm has sent me back a portion of the Canadians belonging to his army ; as I was afraid the English might profit by that moment to attack Carillon anew, I had vehicles prepared at St. John and renewed a general order to every farmer to be ready to march at a moment's warning. Such were the measures I had adopted for that quarter.

That of Lake Ontario was engaging my attention, but the assurances the 5 Iroquois Nations had given M<sup>r</sup> de Longueuil that they would come to me in 20 days ; that the English were thinking at the time only of reëstablishing Fort Bul ; the idea that they might indeed attempt to reconstruct ancient Choueguen and that they would not dare to enter the lake on which we had vessels, were, for me, motives of tranquillity on which, however, I should not have

relied had I had any force; but the enemy I considered most to be feared was the continuation of the scarcity to which the Colony is reduced for more than a year.

In view of being instructed as to the movements of the English, I sent, in spite of the prayers of the 5 Nations, some parties from the village of La Présentation and some Mississagués whom M. de Noyan dispatched from Frontenac agreeably to my orders. One of these parties, consisting of four Mississagués, espied a well armed barge in which the English were gone on a scout, but those Indians were too few to be able to pursue them; they found, on that occasion, two papers written in English, whereof I have the honor to transmit you the translation. They fell in, farther on, with two English, whom they killed, as those men were unwilling to march; the Indians then set out with the news for Frontenac.

Those papers, as well as a letter from M. de Noyan did not reach me until one o'clock in the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month.

I ordered *la generale* to be immediately beat, and without any regard to the harvest, levied 1,500 men, soldiers, farmers and Indians, in the government of Montreal, the command of whom I committed to M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis Fabert, Major of this town. They set out the next day, a part from La Chine to relieve Frontenac, but the English had marched thither a corps of 4,500 men under the command of Colonel Broadstreet, with so much despatch that M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan was obliged to capitulate on the 27<sup>th</sup>, after having had one of his bastions opened; he did not adopt that course until after he had assembled a council of war, at which all the opinions accorded. That fort, as I have had the honor to report to you on a preceding occasion, was incapable of making any resistance. Therefore I consider the loss we have suffered at that place to consist only of two of our largest sloops, whereof the English are in possession. I admit to you, my Lord, that I should never have foreseen the occurrence of the latter event, supposing, if the winds did not admit of their being sent to Niagara or La Présentation, that, at least, they would have been burnt. This is the sole reproach I have to make against M. de Noyan, and the only thing that now affords me any serious uneasiness for Niagara, which finds itself bare of men and ammunition, M. de Vassan having sent a portion of them to defend M. de Ligneris at the Beautiful river.

The enemy have found at Frontenac considerable provisions, goods and artillery, which were intended for the posts on the Beautiful river and for Niagara. One of the sloops was loaded with those articles; that fort being the entrepôt of our Lake Ontario navy, it could not happen otherwise; even though I should have had 5 or 600 men at that post, they could not defend it in consequence of its construction; and in order to avoid a check there, it would have been necessary for me to have an army on the spot able to fight that of the English; otherwise, once shut up in Frontenac, numbers would only hasten its surrender.

The English have sent back here all who were found in that place, although prisoners of war.

The Captains and crews of two large sloops who had been sent to shelter themselves from a battery, having been obliged by the fire of that battery to abandon them, escaped in their boat without being included in the capitulation. M<sup>r</sup> Despinassi, an officer of artillery, who came from Niagara to that fort in quest of materials, has performed his duty very well, according to the report rendered me by M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, who has spoken to me in equal terms of commendation of all the officers, soldiers, militiamen, and of the few Indians he had with him.

As soon, my Lord, as I was aware that the sloops were in the hands of the English, my uneasiness for Niagara increased in consequence of the difficulty of getting to that place. I



have at the moment dispatched 30 bark canoes to overtake M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis and have ordered him to deliver them to M<sup>r</sup> de Montigny whom I have intrusted to repair to Niagara with 5 @ 600 men, some additional gunners and 20 thousand weight of powder. I hope that if time be given to this detachment to arrive at Niagara, 'twill be out of danger, and that, as the bark canoes can be hid in the woods, they will escape the vigilance of the sloops. I could not confide this detachment to a more active officer than M<sup>r</sup> de Montigny.

I likewise, my Lord, ordered up 1500 men from Quebec and Three Rivers. A camp is about to be formed at La Présentation to protect the Colony at that side; annoy the English at Chouaguen; prevent them going to Niagara for fear of being attacked in the rear; guard the entrepôt I am about establishing there to provision all our posts this fall; have parties out from whom I shall obtain information respecting the movements of the English and their force.

As soon as harvest permits, my Lord, I shall send off all that will be fit to march, and endeavor to oppose, if possible, the reestablishment of Chouaguen, either at the end of the season or in winter.

I have written to the Marquis de Montcalm, requesting him to come and confer with me on the measures to be adopted in order that his troops may support patiently the great fatigues they will experience in the execution of my projects. I had in like manner a design to make an attempt on Beautiful river, should the English have become masters of it.

You can, my Lord, assure the King that I shall not neglect any thing to place, during the winter, his Colony in the same condition it was before the war, so that, should peace be concluded this winter, we would retain our own possessions and the English not be established at Chouaguen, but in spite of all my efforts I dare not flatter myself with success on account of the number of enemies I have on my hands from all sides; the newspapers announce 60 thousand in these parts, including Regulars and Provincials.

Peace appears to me an absolute necessity for this Colony, and should it not be concluded, 'tis important, my Lord, that you call attention to the vast consumptions we are about to make this winter for our armies; the exhaustion of our soldiers, the new enemies I shall have on my hands in the troops who have been occupied at the siege of Louisbourg, in those on the Beautiful river, should the English be successful, and maintained there by the Nations who defend it, whom we should infallibly lose.

If the English should make their appearance at Toronto, I have given orders to burn it at once, and to fall back on Niagara. I shall have sloops built this winter, either to fight those of the English or to serve as transports on our lakes.

After having examined our situation, my Lord, in the Upper countries, it remains for me to speak to you of the river [St Lawrence.] Public intelligence and the depositions of prisoners from all parts, announce to me that after the fall of Louisbourg, the victorious army will enter the river, either for the purpose of operating there or at least of engaging me to a diversion. You know the total of the forces of the Colony; subdivide them, my Lord; calculate besides combatants, those who are by their age and infirmities incapable of serving, those employed both in transportation and stores, religious houses, the families dispersed on all sides along the river, women and children, cattle, the necessary abandonment of the houses, barns and grain, the misery to which these people are reduced, and the impossibility I am in to oblige them to furnish their subsistence in such case, and you will easily form an idea of the situation I find myself in, having charge of the Colony.

As the ships of war at present at Quebec, will soon have only provisions sufficient for their return to France, I have determined, on the requisition of M. Duchaffaut, to permit him to return home, but I give him orders, in case he be informed in the river that the English fleet design to enter it, to return to Quebec and to leave two ships *embossés* at Ile aux Cudres, as ordered last year; the others would serve to furnish our batteries, oblige the ships of war to pass the Traverse and thereby expose them the more to the rafts and other stratagems which would be resorted to in the river and might enable us to reach the bad season which will assuredly rid us of them.

Such, my Lord, is a rough draft of my general plan, whence 'twill be easy for you to conclude that if the war continue next year, His Majesty will be obliged to send us powerful assistance in provisions, men and ships, so as to be able to cope with the enemy's forces.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Conditions on which M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, Knight of the Royal and Military order of Saint Louis, King's Lieutenant for the town of Three Rivers, Commandant for the King at Fort Frontenac, proposes to surrender it to his Britannic Majesty.

1.

Sieur de Noyan promises to surrender Fort Frontenac generally, with all its dependencies, to Colonel Broadstreet, Commandant of the troops of England.

2.

The officers and soldiers of the garrison and others actually at this post, shall remain prisoners of war, until an agreement be concluded for their exchange by the Marquis de Montcalm and the English General.

3.

The sick and wounded shall be attended at the expense of the King of Great Britain.

4.

He shall guarantee against all insults on the part of the English soldiers and Indians, the officers, soldiers and all other persons whatsoever now actually in the fort.

5.

The Colonel shall permit the ornaments and sacred vessels of the chapel to be removed in the baggage of the Chaplain, and Sieur de Noyan promises to give up faithfully all the munitions of war and provisions, and generally all the goods & implements that are actually in the magazines of said fort.



Sieur de Noyan demands that there be furnished him his soldiers and the rest of the persons with him in the fort, conveyances to transport their baggage and necessities for the voyage.

Frontenac, 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.

Colonel Broadstreet, in consideration of the infirmities of M<sup>r</sup> de Noyan, Commandant of this fort, permits him to return to Mont Real, and to take four men ; the same to M<sup>dm</sup>e Duvivier, Mdme. Barollon and the other women belonging to this fort who are without men.

(Signed), JN. BROADSTREET and DE NOYAN.

M. de Noyan engages to procure Colonel Schuyler in exchange for himself, or some other person, should it happen that M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler has been already exchanged.

After the capitulation was concluded, Colonel Broadstreet permitted all the French in Fort Frontenac to depart for Mont Real in Canada, under the promise M. de Noyan has given, to have a like number of persons and ranks surrendered as soon as the same can be done, and conveyed to Fort George.

Fort Frontenac, the 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1758

(Signed), DE NOYAN and JN. BROADSTREET.<sup>1</sup>

Copy. VAUDREUIL.

#### Translation of Letter No. 1.

##### *Colonel Bradstreet's Instructions to the Commander of a Scouting Party.*

Sir,

I have given orders to Captain Wells, who is in the Bateaux department, to join you to-night with eleven men in one barge, and you will take your company and the barges you have, so as to advance in the manner following, viz: You will to-morrow descend Wook creek, pass in the night Lake Oneida\* as far as the mouth of the Onondaga river, and the following night proceed as far as the Island, one mile and a half above and on this side of the Chouegen rapids, which Captain Wells will indicate to you ; and from that place you will scout continually as far as Chouegen, to see what can possibly be discovered, until I join you, observing not to allow yourself to be seen by friends or others, and your scouts will not follow the ordinary route as far as the Chouegen rapids, nor in going to Chouegen either.

13<sup>th</sup> August.

I am, &c.,

JN. BROADSTREET.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VIII, 379. — ED.

\* This lake is 6 leagues above Chouegen.

Translation of No. 2.— *General Orders.*Fort Craven,\* 11<sup>th</sup> August, 1758.Parole *York.*

A roll is to be furnished of the names of all the carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, sawyers and wheelrights in the different corps and companies which are at Oneida, in order to their being employed in the proposed works, according as occasions will require, the parapet to be repaired in the camp with all diligence. This is particularly recommended to Colonel Delancy.<sup>1</sup>

The drum will not beat the reveillée at daylight; neither for the troops at 9 o'clock, nor the retreat at night.

It is the orders of Brigadier-General Stanwick<sup>2</sup> that the different corps hereafter mentioned shall furnish good men and officers in proportion the one to the other; they must be accustomed to canoes.

## Namely:

Regulars, .....	155
Scouts, .....	60
New-Yorkers, .....	1,112
Williams' regiment, .....	413
Douty's " .....	248
Rhode Island " .....	318
Jersey " .....	418
	<hr/>
	2,737

The whole to be under the command of Colonel Broadstreet and to be ready to-morrow night completely equipped and with six days' provisions. Let all the troops receive two days' provisions to-morrow.

Parade to-morrow morning at day-break, one Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal and 25 soldiers.

The party will have cooked one day's provisions.

42 <sup>nd</sup> and 60 <sup>th</sup> regiments, .....	( Subaltern, .....	1
	( Sergeants, .....	2
	( Corporal, .....	1
	( Soldiers, .....	25

N. B. 'Tis not necessary that these men be picked, as they are to remain in the rear.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

\* Is a fort, I'm told, in one of the villages of the 5 Nations.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VIII, 788.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, VII, 280. — Ed.



*M. Doreil to M. de Massiac.*

Private.

Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> August, 1758.

My Lord,

The special favors with which you have honored me, the gratitude I preserve in return, and the respectful attachment I have vowed to you long ago, are for me most powerful motives to impel me with joy and ardor to commence a correspondence to which I shall devote myself still more by inclination than by duty. My position, the mission which the King has been pleased to entrust to me in America, oblige me to report to the Minister of the Marine. I have endeavored for more than four years to do so with exactitude with the Keeper of the Seals and with M. de Moras. The former, who has been pleased to express to me his satisfaction therewith, has had the goodness to honor me with his answers on the points appertaining to the service which required them, and to concur in procuring for me, in 1756, a favor from the King. This is a real consolation, and a great motive of emulation for a zealous subject. I have been deprived of it by M. de Moras, and I dare to say, without having deserved it. I hope, my Lord, I shall not experience a similar mortification at your hands. I have not solicited the mission to Canada. You will remember, my Lord, that I did not determine on it except forcibly, in obedience to the King's orders and in response to the choice Count D'Argenson was so good as to make of me. I have, through zeal, abandoned children in the cradle, my domestic affairs, which are more and more in danger and occasion me serious losses. I am in the fourth year of a severe service, and the more painful as I have attended to it alone during an exile as long as it is disagreeable, and which that Minister had assured me would not exceed two years. The least, indeed, that ought to be expected is some mark of approbation for one's service. This is what touches the nearest a right thinking man, who occupies himself only with serving honestly and affording proofs more and more of his zeal.

As I must suppose, my Lord, that you will call for the letters I have had the honor to write to M. de Moras on the 15<sup>th</sup> June and 28<sup>th</sup> July of this year, I have dispensed with any additional details in these, having no particular matter to report since my last. No more recruits have arrived, which, however, we greatly need to reinforce our feeble battalions. The flyboat *L'Outarde*, which is sometime in the river, has a few, but sickness prevails on board that vessel, and a portion of them have already died.

Things have been greatly changed, my Lord, since the signal victory gained by the Marquis de Montcalm and the French troops on the 8<sup>th</sup> of July—a day ever memorable, which has saved the Colony for the time. The capture of Louisbourg, the movements of the enemy on the Oyo and at Fort Duquesne, those which they are making on Lake Ontario, where our posts are absolutely bare, and General Abercrombie's powerful army, which continues opposed to the Marquis de Montcalm, place it in great danger this very year, and will bring down its total ruin if peace be not concluded this winter. 'Tis evident that the Indians of the Five Iroquois Nations and even some of our domiciliated tribes have deceived the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who has perhaps confided too much in them, and who, on the strength of their promises, had scarcely any person at Niagara or at Fort Frontenac. The latter is, no doubt, now in the hands of the enemy, and unfortunately 'tis the door of Lake Ontario, the key of the Upper countries and the entrepôt of the provisions and goods destined for those parts and of our navy. The English have actually more troops on foot in this Continent than Canada has people, old

men, women and children included. What means are there to enable us to resist this multitude? Besides the disaster in the Upper country, we have yet to fear a new attack at Carillon on the Marquis de Montcalm, and that the enemy will be more successful than it was at first. 'Tis probable that they are again reinforced by a part of the army employed at the siege of Louisbourg, which terminated on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July. Reliance can indeed be placed on the superior talents, activity and prudence of the Marquis de Montcalm, seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and de Bourlamaque, as well as on the valor of the troops, but people must not always expect miracles, such as those which have been wrought hitherto. 'Tis by these, my Lord, that the Canada machine, ever ready to fall, has kept itself up for three years, but there is no longer reason to flatter oneself; we are approaching its total ruin, and nothing but peace can guarantee the country against such a fate. I owe these reflections to my zeal for the King's service and to my attachment for you, my Lord. I should extend them farther, and would add many other very important ones thereto if I had the cypher of the Marine, as well as that which I have of the War. I should, perhaps, have already expressed too much, did I not confide this letter to the secrecy of your cabinet; wherefore, I take the liberty to address it to you private, under a double envelope. Should I obtain leave to proceed to France this fall, as I propose doing only through zeal, you will see, my Lord, that my presence will not be useless, and that it is, perhaps, the greatest service I can render. I have the honor to be sufficiently known to you to be very desirous of meriting your confidence. I am much so to Marshal de Belleisle and most particularly so to M. de Cremille.

I shall take the liberty, my Lord, to submit to you, immediately, a just representation in favor of M. la Rochette, formerly *commis à la majorité* of the Marine, at Toulon, who has accompanied me hither, with the promise of an allowance, by order of the Keeper of the Seals; he has been and is still essentially useful, and without his assistance I could not have got through the work with which I have found myself burthened; he remains, up to this time, without any recompense. As he has the good fortune to be known to you, my Lord, and to have positive promises from the Ministers, your predecessors, he expects all from your justice and protection. The Commissaries of the War Departments who left with me or were sent since, have been taken. M. Bernier, whom the Court has sent this year, fell ill on his arrival, of a deadly sickness from which he has not yet recovered, and I cannot expect any assistance from him for some time, the rather as he is very inexperienced in the commissariat, being only appointed last March. Time will be required to instruct him; 'tis a duty which I shall confide to Sieur la Rochette whenever my occupations, for I have a great many, will not permit me attending to it myself.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DORÉIL.

3<sup>rd</sup> September. My conjectures and fears are only too truly realised, my Lord; the enemy are masters of Frontenac since the 27<sup>th</sup> of August: and what is worse, of our barks which have not been burnt; and of the provisions and goods stored at that post for the Upper countries. There was, also, unfortunately, a numerous artillery of about 80 guns, of which those taken at Braddock's affair in 1755, and at the siege of Chouaguen in 1756, formed a part. The Indians



have begun attacking us. They have taken, on Lake Ontario, three canoes on the way from the Upper Countries, loaded with peltries, and have murdered the crews. I shall not enter into any further detail, my Lord: you will receive some from another source. Fears are entertained for Niagara and for the Marquis de Montcalm's army, likewise for the Beautiful river.

DOREIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 6<sup>th</sup> September, 1758.

My Lord,

I received, this moment, the letter General Abercromby writes me dated the 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month at midnight, copy whereof I have the honor to annex, from which you will perceive, my Lord, that he will not treat for the exchange of our respective prisoners. M. Wolfs, who has been the bearer of my letter to that General, has seen a thousand barges and the camp of the enemy in the same state, as regards the number of men, as I have already reported to you. They have constructed a sloop (*barque*) which M. Wolf has seen at anchor out in Lake St. Sacrament.

According to the New-York Gazette, which has reached me, the capture of Louisbourg, on the 26<sup>th</sup> July, is very certain, and the fleet which has been employed in besieging that place is about to enter the River St. Lawrence. I address this last Gazette to M. Bigot and request him to get translated all that it may contain relative to this Colony and to give you an account of it.

My Lord, from all this you can judge that the situation of this Colony becomes, every day, more sad and critical, and that I have not exaggerated, in my letter, which I have had the honor to write you on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of this month. I must, in fact, expect to be attacked, simultaneously, on all sides. Be fully persuaded, I beg of you, my Lord, that there is nothing I will not do to preserve this Colony for his Majesty.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

Copy of General Abercromby's letter to M. de Vaudreuil.

Camp at Lake George, 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1758, midnight.

Sir,

I am this moment honored with a letter from your Excellency of the 27<sup>th</sup> instant, by Mr. Wolf. However it happened, we have both ill understood the letters. Your Excellency must perceive that the power which authorizes me to annul the capitulation, orders me, also, not to do anything in conflict with such power. Wherefore I cannot, in any manner, agree to an exchange of prisoners which would exclude either those of the King, my master, or those of

yours, taken before the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, 1757; consequently, as your Excellency does not choose to accept the exchange I have proposed, we must refer the whole matter to the decision of our respective Courts.

Your Excellency will now regard the power I have given Colonel Schuyler as null; permit me to recommend to you the enclosed letter for him.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Sir,

Your Excellency's obedient and

Most humble servant,

JAMES ABERCROMBY.

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*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 9<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup>, 1758.

My Lord,

The enemy, who we knew had dispatched a body of six thousand men toward Chouaguen, after the affair of the eighth of July, took possession, on the twenty-seventh of August, of Fort Frontenac, which in truth was good for nothing; but what is most unfortunate is, that they have taken considerable provisions, quantity of merchandize, eighty pieces of iron cannon, large and small, many of which they left after breaking the trunions, and destroyed the navy, for which we were indebted to my capture of Chouaguen; burning five of our sloops and carrying two of them away; we had only twelve men on each of these sloops. M. de Noyan, an officer of the Colonials, was in command at that post, with a feeble garrison of about seventy men, all of the same troops. That navy assured to us the superiority on lake Ontario, which we now lose. 'Twill be still worse should the enemy reduce Niagara, which is a strong post for this country; it is due to M. Pouchot, captain in the Bearn regiment, who had built it, and was in command there with some pickets of our troops and was relieved last fall by an officer and too small a garrison of Colonial troops. You will find it difficult to understand, my Lord, why only twenty iron guns remained at Frontenac, why our sloops were not kept armed and cruising. I can give no answer to your astonishment, except that I am, myself, as much surprised and astonished, who am on the spot, who have the honor to command the King's troops in this country under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and I am as much affected by it as if the misfortune could be imputed to me or to the troops of the line, who have no share therein, and as if I had neglected to give my opinion and to communicate my predictions.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has sent me a courier, who arrived on the evening of the 6<sup>th</sup> at the Camp of Carillon, with orders to deliver the command of the army to Chevalier de Levis and to come and confer with him, and I have just arrived. I hasten to write to you, as a courier is leaving and my letter may reach you by the vessels of war which are on the eve of sailing. I shall give such advice as will appear to me best, and will execute to the best of my ability whatever duty is confided to me.



I had demanded my recall after the glorious day of the eighth of July, but since the affairs of the Colony are getting bad, it is my duty to endeavor to repair them or to retard their ruin to the greatest extent of my power. I wish my intentions may be seconded; I dare not be responsible for that.

I shall not write by this conveyance to the Minister of the Marine. It is sufficient for me to write to you, my Lord, to whom I must report all events and my conduct.

I am, with respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*Marshal de Belle Isle to M. de Vaudreuil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Paris, 23<sup>rd</sup> September, 1758.

Sir,

I have received the letters you have done me the honor to write me on the 17<sup>th</sup> June, 30<sup>th</sup> July, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of August; the last brought me by M. Péan, Town Major of Quebec. Although I have not yet consulted with the King on the detail of our Canada despatches, I hasten to reply to you, in order not to lose the opportunity of a vessel which M. de Massiac informs me is to sail immediately for that quarter. I begin by thanking you for the compliment you pay me on my advent to the Ministry. I shall promptly coöperate in whatever will be required of me to contribute to the preservation of our Colonies. The battle of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July is an event the more interesting, as, in addition to the glory resulting to the King's troops from it in consequence of the vast disproportion of the forces we had to oppose the English, who were repulsed on that occasion, it compensates, in some sort, for the loss we have experienced at Louisbourg, or will, at least, put it out of the power of that Nation to gain any other advantages from us during the rest of the campaign. The King is well persuaded that in continuing to act in concert with M. de Montcalm, the same success is to be expected eventually from your wise arrangements and from the firmness a general officer exhibits in the command of the troops under his orders.

I have the honor to be most perfectly, &c.

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*Marshal de Belle Isle to M. de Montcalm.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Paris, 23<sup>7<sup>bre</sup></sup>, 1758.

Sir,

M. de Massiac sends to inform me that he is sending a courier to-night with his despatches to Brest, whence a vessel is to sail forthwith for Canada. Although I have not yet had any

consultation with the King on the details of your last despatches, yet I do not wish to forego an opportunity of expressing to you all the satisfaction his Majesty feels with your services. We have learned here, almost at the same time by way of England, the loss of Louisbourg and M. Albercrombie's defeat, the news of which came to cast a gloom over the rejoicings people were making at London. Such a gallant defence, executed with forces so disproportionate, can be attributed only to the wisdom of the measures you have adopted for the protection of the Colony and to the courage with which you inspired the troops by your firmness. You must not doubt the King's paying every possible attention to what you propose in favor of the officers who have distinguished themselves under your orders, and yourself being personally included in the favors his Majesty will distribute on so important an occasion. I reserve to myself to report to him what M. Doreil has written to me from you, and to advise you of the measures his Majesty will have thought proper to adopt to enable you to display your zeal with more freedom, and not to experience contradiction in what you will judge most useful for the good of his service. Meanwhile, I exhort you to continue to conduct yourself with all the circumspection you are capable of, and to employ in preference all the means of conciliation which can contribute to the greatest success of the affairs that are entrusted to you, and you have too well managed up to the present time, to permit his Majesty thinking of taking them out of your hands.

I have the honor to be most perfectly, &c.

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*Chevalier de Drucour to M. de Massiac.*

Andover, 23 September, 1758.

My Lord,

Since the landing of the English on the 8<sup>th</sup> of June, I have had the honor to write you by the *Comet*, the *Glocester*, the *Arethusa*, and after the capture of Louisbourg, by two frigates which Admiral Boscawen sent to Europe before we embarked on board the *Terrible*. I gave M. Prevost, who sailed directly for France, copy of my journal to hand you; I am now impatient to learn whether you have approved my conduct, particularly in what relates to the King's ships. I shall not enter into a detail here of the reasons that determined me to that course, having sufficiently explained them to you in my letter by the *Arethusa* which I know has arrived; I referred you there to the King's letter, to your own and M. Desgouttes' instructions. My principal object has been to prolong the defence long enough to prevent Mess<sup>rs</sup> Boscawen and Amherst having time to carry on any operations against Canada. I was the more impelled to it by the certain intelligence I had received from Quebec, that M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm was marching against Fort Lydius, and that he was to meet the enemy at latest from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> July; as I had not surrendered until the 26<sup>th</sup> it will be out of the power of the Generals, no matter what diligence they make, to undertake anything by the St. Lawrence and to forward troops to Lydius.

As for the situation of the place and the defence it was susceptible of, plenty of officers have come there the last 3 years, to know and admit that 23 ships of war, 18 frigates and



a land force of 16,000 men were more than sufficient to master it, and the condition the place was in when they took possession of it, must afford the proof of the good will and bravery of the garrison. In all besieged towns, the soldier is one day in three beyond the enemy's fire; there was no such place at Louisbourg, and after the two barracks had been burnt, the troops slept at the foot of the rampart; the fortifications of the places attacked had totally crumbled down and were so accessible in many places, that even the women did not enter by the city gate, but at different points, the Dauphin's, King's and Queen's bastions. This, my Lord, is what is knowing to all the troops; and General Wolf himself, placed sentries at all these places to prevent disorder, and to save the town from being inundated by all the besiegers.

You will have observed by my journal that we made only one sortie, and the reasons which caused the failure of our other two.

I shall await with the greatest impatience, the moment of reporting myself to you, and beg you to tell me if you approve of my applying to the Admiralty for my return to France on my parole, which I shall not do without your orders.

I am with the most profound respect,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Ch<sup>er</sup> DE DRUCOUR.

*Abstract of M. de Vaudreuil's Despatch of the 2nd September, 1758.*

CANADA.

[ Omitted, as the Despatch is printed in full, *supra*, p. 822. ]

*M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 17<sup>th</sup> October, 1758.

My Lord,

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of last month we received news from Fort Duquesne. M. de Lignery, who commands there, informs the Marquis de Vaudreuil of his situation and observes to him that he is able to resist the enemy's efforts, should he be attacked, although he has learned from deserters, that the English were encamped at Fort Cumberland in pretty considerable numbers; but he is afraid of being in want of provisions. In consequence of this news, our Intendant is taking measures to have some conveyed thither.

We have been cramped in the direction of Lake Ontario by the unfortunate affair of Frontenac, whereof I have had the honor to inform you, my Lord; the English have since abandoned that post, having set it on fire and reduced to ashes the provisions, merchandise and ammunition for supplying the posts and Fort Niagara.

Nearly about the same time we learned that Lieutenant de Montigny, of the Colonials, who had set out to relieve Niagara, which was threatened, had fortunately arrived with his detachment and that he had not seen any English.

Four Xebecs of six four-pounders with two twelves, are to be immediately built on Lake Champlain, near Fort St. John, and two schooners of 10 guns, also, of 12, at La Présentation. We are assured that the English have actually, on that Lake, four well armed half-galleys for the expedition against Carillon.

You will doubtless have been already informed, my Lord, that they have seized on Gaspé where they are forming a post; they were there on the 20<sup>th</sup> of last month with 9 ships of war, 6 frigates and 15 transports. Only four men escaped, one of whom arrived here the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month.

M. de Vaudreuil has just received a letter from M. Prévost, formerly Commissary at Louisbourg, whereby he informs the Governor that the English have taken possession of the Island of St. John, and that they give out that they will come next spring with a formidable naval force to conquer Canada, and that they will attack us at the same time with such a superior army, at the upper part of the Colony, as easily to succeed in their enterprise. Despite of all their rhodomontades, I do not think, my Lord, that they will dare attempt any attack by the lower part of the river on account of the dangers to be incurred there. An idea may be formed of them by the three ships we have lost there this year, although having very good pilots; they will confine their operations, in my opinion, to the upper section and to blockading the lower passages so as to intercept, effectually, our succors.

The English of this continent, even the principal officers, admit that Holland has declared for us, and commenced hostilities against England; if this news, which we do not know, is true, we flatter ourselves we shall have peace next year.

The New England newspapers state that the King of Spain continues quiet, and that nothing can make him throw off his lethargy, and that the Kings of Sardinia and the two Sicilies appear very indifferent to what is passing in Europe. These same papers announce that the English troops sent to the Beautiful river were to be, on the 15<sup>th</sup> ult., within 35 miles of Fort Du Quesne by a different route from that taken by General Braddock.

They contain half an English gazette; the other half has doubtless been suppressed, to deprive us of a knowledge of what people were unwilling we should learn.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DAINE.

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*Journal of Occurrences in Canada, 1757, 1758.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Journal of Occurrences in the Garrisons or Camps occupied by the Regiment of Béarn, from the 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1757, to the 20<sup>th</sup> of October, 1758. [By Adjutant Malartic.]

[1757. October] 20<sup>th</sup> M de Bourlamaque has sent off the troops of the Marine and the Militia belonging to the three districts; he embarked at noon with the grenadier company of



the Royal Rousillon, three pickets of 60 militia for the Two Rocks,<sup>1</sup> the two battalions of the Royal Rousillon and Béarn have worked at the fort, cut wood and palisades.

21<sup>st</sup> Worked at the interior of the buildings of the wooden fort; finished the palisades; M. de Bourlamaque returned at 9 o'clock at night with a small detachment, very glad at having reconnoitered the Bay and Wood creek, on the banks of which he found no traces of the enemy.

22<sup>nd</sup> The Béarn regiment embarked at ten o'clock in 17 bateaux.

24<sup>th</sup> I arrived at St. John where I found the regiments of La Sarre and Languedoc encamped. La Reine had left there that morning to go and garrison Quebec.

25<sup>th</sup> I sent my bateau to Chambly to descend the river of that name, and took, with a small detachment, the La Prairie road, which I found almost impassable on account of the quantity of water in the swamps. Arrived at three o'clock at Laprairie, and at 5 at Montreal, where Chev. de Levis commands<sup>2</sup> in the absence of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

28<sup>th</sup> The regiment landed at Point St. Charles; the 6 companies have gone to Lachine, Pointe Claire, St. Anne, and St. Geneviève; the remainder have come into town and been quartered there and in the suburbs.

29<sup>th</sup> The regiment has had rations at the rate of one pound of bread, half a pound of pork and  $\frac{1}{4}$  pound of pease,

1<sup>st</sup> November. The soldier's ration has been reduced to half pound of bread, one pound of meat and a quarter of a pound of pease a day. Chev: de Levis has learned that the English fleet, which had returned to cruise before Louisbourg since it had abandoned the siege of that place, had been overtaken on the 22<sup>nd</sup> September by a tempest which has driven several of the vessels on shore.

5<sup>th</sup> I have been to pay a visit to our cantonments, which I found passable and very extensive, reaching to the end of the island and across its entire breadth. The soldier is much better off there than in town; the farmers are obliged to feed him, like themselves, at 10 *sous* per day, which the contractor pays.

7<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Vaudreuil has arrived from Quebec.

11<sup>th</sup> He has sent M. de Blurry to Carillon with six bateaux in quest of flour.

15<sup>th</sup> News from the Upper Countries. The Commandant of Fort Duquesne writes that a deserter had given notice of a party which he had sent to Fort Cumberland; 150 men marched out of the fort to cut off that detachment, which perceiving that manœuvre retired with the loss of one man and two wounded. He of Fort [Machault] writes that a party of Indians he had sent out with his son to fight had returned with 3 prisoners and some scalps, and that his son<sup>3</sup> had gone astray in the woods.

18<sup>th</sup> M. de Belletre, who had gone, at the end of September, with 300 soldiers, Canadians and Indians to attempt something in the direction of Corlac, arrived with 150 prisoners; he reports having carried 3 stockaded forts; burnt a Palatine village in which his detachment had gained considerable booty and killed nigh 40 men.

22<sup>nd</sup> M. de Bleury, who arrives from Carillon says, the English shewed themselves there to the number of 300, intending to burn the outer posts; that they have not been able to force a guard of one sergeant and 15 men who were in a little intrenchment; that they only opened

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 320, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> et a 5 a montrer ou commande M. Chev. de Levis. *Text.*

<sup>3</sup> Michel la Chauvignerie, Junior. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 294, 305, 329. — Ed.

the vent of the charcoal pit, after which they retired, and that one soldier of the Béarn regiment had been killed.

25<sup>th</sup> Reduced the soldier's ration to half pound of beef and half pound of horse flesh, in lieu of a pound of beef.

20<sup>th</sup> December. Sent a detachment of one hundred Canadians and Indians to Carillon.

1758. 2<sup>nd</sup> January. A courier from Carillon reports, that the English shewed themselves there on Christmas eve to the number of 150, with the design of setting fire to the houses under the curtain of the fort; that the cannon prevented them doing so; that they killed some fifteen beeves, to the horns of one of which the commander had affixed a letter couched in these words: "I am obliged to you, Sir, for the repose you have allowed me to take; I thank you for the fresh meat you have sent me; I shall take care of my prisoners; I request you to present my compliments to the Marquis de Montcalm. (Signed), ROGER, Commandant of the Independent Companies."

18<sup>th</sup> A clerk of the contractor set out with a detachment of 22 Regulars and some Canadians to inspect the stores at St. Frederic and Carillon. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has sent a Captain of the Colonials and the Lieutenant-General of police to take an account of the grain in the district of Montreal.

28<sup>th</sup> A Cadet, arrived from Fort Duquesne, reports everything pretty quiet in that quarter, except that the Indians, to whom large presents cannot be made, as the stores are empty, begin to dislike going out to fight.

9<sup>th</sup> February. The Governor-General has received news from France by way of Isle Royale, the Governor of which island informs him that he expects the English early.

14<sup>th</sup> The Commissary who went to Carillon has returned; reports having found the stores of both forts in good order; the English did not show themselves in that quarter for a long while, the great quantity of snow preventing any expedition.

22<sup>nd</sup> M. de Montcalm arrived from Quebec with M. de Pontleroy.

24<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Vaudreuil has dispatched the courier entrusted with the answers for him of Isle Royale.

30<sup>th</sup> A courier from Carillon has arrived, who reports that M. de Langy, with the Iroquois, has attacked nearly 200 men who were at work near Fort Lydius, whom he put to flight, taking 25 men who were guarding them, 22 of whom the Indians have killed.

March. In the forepart of this month a detachment of 200 Canadians or Indians set out for Carillon, to try from thence to cut off some of the convoys which pass from Fort Frontenac<sup>1</sup> to that of Ledius.

16<sup>th</sup> M. de Vaudreuil has had news from Carillon informing him that M. Wolff, sent with letters for Fort Lydius, has returned; he speaks in high terms of the civilities he has received; Captain Roger, whom he saw, quizzed him on the fresh meat they let him eat at Carillon; M. Wolff answered him to be careful of himself when he come again, and that he must have heard from him; that M. de Langy had been with the Indians on the Sarasteau road; that the Iroquois, having taken an onion pedlar, wanted to return home; that four Outaouis had attacked a convoy which they dispersed, killed four men, took one prisoner and plundered several sleighs.

19<sup>th</sup> A Cadet, detached from Carillon, came to inform the General that M. la Durantaye's party had arrived the 12<sup>th</sup>, on which day an old sorcerer had assured them that they would see

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — Ed.



the English before long; on the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup>, 5 or 6 Indian scouts came to say that they had discovered fresh tracks of 200 men, whereupon the chiefs raised the muster-whoop and set out immediately with their warriors, some soldiers and Canadians, who traveled nearly 3 leagues without meeting any one; suspecting that the English had taken the Falls road, they took the same course; M. la Durantaye, who had joined them at the Bald Mountain, was with the vanguard; he received the enemy's first fire, which made him fall back a little, and gave them time to scalp two Indians whom they had killed; meanwhile, M. de Langy, having turned them with a strong party of Indians, and having fallen on them when they felt sure of victory, had entirely defeated them; the Indians having discovered a chief's scalp in the breast of an officer's jacket, refused all quarter, and took 114 scalps; the opinion is, that only 12 or 15 men escaped, and that this detachment was composed of 170 @ 180, commanded by Captain Roger, who is supposed to be among the killed.

23<sup>rd</sup> Some Abenakis left for Carillon.

27<sup>th</sup> Some Indians arrived from Carillon.

28<sup>th</sup> All the Indians arrived at Sault St. Louis; M. la Durantaye came to report to the General the action of the 13<sup>th</sup>.

29<sup>th</sup> The Governor-General sent some surgeons to Sault St. Louis for the wounded Indians who had arrived there.

30<sup>th</sup> Some Indians came to see Ononchio.

31<sup>st</sup> The grand chief of the Sault with several warriors, have asked a talk with his father, to set before him the loss his village has suffered. Ononchio has opened his ears, cleansed his throat, wiped away his tears and covered the loss of his dead with some large presents.

News from Acadia stating that the Acadians have taken 20 oxen, 1 bateau, in which were 5 Englishmen, and missed a boat-load of provisions.

April 2<sup>nd</sup> The officer of artillery, appointed to put the train at St. John to rights, came to give an account of his work.

3<sup>rd</sup> Two couriers from Carillon have carried to the General letters from the Commandant of that fort, informing him that M. Wolff, who had accompanied the Abenakis to the Boston government, having been discovered, could not take a prisoner; that he had killed 40 beeves, a great many other cattle and desolated a part of that country; that a Captain and Lieutenant of the grenadiers of Bleknis regiment had surrendered themselves prisoners on the 19<sup>th</sup>, half dead of hunger and cold, having roved through the woods since the 13<sup>th</sup> without finding the road by which they had come with Captain Roger; they say, in their deposition, that they think Lord Loudon has returned to England. M. de Langy will start in a few days with some Iroquois towards Orange to take a prisoner, and he will be followed shortly afterwards by M. Wolff and the Abenakis.

4<sup>th</sup> Two Englishmen have been flogged and one Spaniard hanged; rare examples, although robberies are more frequent in this country than in any other, and many of the farmers think it no sin to rob the King.

7<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec who returned on the 8<sup>th</sup> with orders from the General to dispatch the first division of M. de Boisherbert's detachment which is to embark immediately for Acadia and proceed thence by land to Ile Royale.

10<sup>th</sup> News from Niagara and Fort Frontenac. It appears that the English are sparing no pains and are making great efforts to detach the Five Nations and Delawares from our alliance. The Governor of Philadelphia has held a great council with them at which he has distributed

a great quantity of belts, calumets of peace and more than 40 silver gorgets. A chief of the Five Nations has carried to the Commandant of Niagara one of those gorgets on which was engraved a Sun, with an Indian and a Squaw feeding a fire, and an Indian smoking a great calumet with an Englishman under the shade of the Tree of Peace. The same chief has raised a party to attack and carry off a drove of oxen the English are sending to the Loups of Theoga.

14<sup>th</sup> The ice has broken up and the navigation is clear on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

17<sup>th</sup> The soldiers have received 15 pounds of beef for fifteen days and salt to salt it, horse flesh being no longer fit to eat. News from Quebec, where great distress prevails.

18<sup>th</sup> News from Frontenac and La Présentation stating that Colonel Johnson has held a council with the Five Nations, at which he has assured them that the English cared little for the destruction of the village of the Palatines, who were bad people and had richly deserved it; that they had found means to reduce Canada by preventing the arrival of succors and provisions; that people there are dying of hunger; that the English had last year taken a great many ships loaded with succors which, however, do not console them for the loss experienced before Louisbourg; that after the council, the Colonel wanted to go through all the villages, to carry them presents, from which purpose two Onnontagues had dissuaded him by telling him that Ononthio was coming with some warriors and that his scouts were at hand. The Mohawks send answers to the belts which the Iroquois of the Sault have given them, whereby they promise to observe an exact neutrality and invite them to come to a grand council they are about to hold in the Great Wigwam.

22<sup>nd</sup> Dispatched a courier to send off a schooner to France. Some Iroquois, Nepissings and Algonkins set out for Carillon with the design of going to avenge the death of their brethren killed in the affair of the 13<sup>th</sup>, or to make prisoners on the road from Orange to Lydius.

24<sup>th</sup> M. Chabert has started with some officers for Niagara, thence to proceed on an embassy to the Five Nations; a commissary of supplies has accompanied him to inspect the stores of all the forts and to see in what condition the provisions are.

26<sup>th</sup> Sent workmen to Carillon.

2<sup>nd</sup> May. News from Frontenac and Carillon; the former report that an Onontagué who was going to Orange had been arrested by an English detachment, which would have killed him, had he not found some one who spoke Iroquois and saved him; that he complained of the matter to the commandant at Orange, who answered him that the English had determined on avenging all the treacheries the Five Nations daily perpetrate against them. Those from Carillon say that M. de Langry saw a train of 200 wagons file off on the Lydius road without being able to take a prisoner; that he has set out again from Carillon to endeavor to take one.

3<sup>rd</sup> A courier from Quebec assures that when he left, no ship had been heard of. An officer of the *Corps Royal* has gone with 25 bateaux full of provisions and goods, to work at a revetement of Fort Niagara.

5<sup>th</sup> A courier left with orders to send the regiment of La Reine from Quebec to Carillon, and to form pickets of the soldiers of Languedoc and Berry whom the farmers cannot feed, to be there also.

6<sup>th</sup> A Colonial officer arrived from Carillon with the two English officers, who have told the General that they believe Lord Loudon and M. Webb are recalled.



7<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec with money for the Treasury, who says that the greatest distress prevails in that city, and that the ships are expected with great impatience. M. de Vaudreuil has held a council with some Nepissings who are going to make an attack near Orange.

9<sup>th</sup> Dispatched a courier to send off another vessel to France.

10<sup>th</sup> News from La Présentation, to the effect that 84 Indians of that village have returned with 46 scalps and 3 prisoners whom they took in the government of Corlar; that one Iroquois had been killed and an Onnontagué wounded; that the prisoners pretend that the English are constructing a new fort near the Palatine village.

12<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec, where exceeding great distress continues, as well as the impatience to witness the arrival of some ships; there is some talk of sending a third one to France, if news be not soon received.

15<sup>th</sup> The Indians of La Présentation have arrived with prisoners; also a courier from St. Frederic, sent by M. de Lusignoun who writes that the Mohawks have taken four men belonging to his garrison; killed or taken 17 of Carillon who had gone to the left side of the lake in quest of wood.

16<sup>th</sup> A cadet detached from Carillon with two prisoners whom M. de Langy captured on the Boston road; we learn that M. d'hebecourt having need of timber to cover the storehouses, had caused the banks of the river to be reconnoitred where the timber was to be cut; that he next day sent a detachment thither of 45 men in 3 bateaux, one of which, containing 17 men, was fired at on approaching land, by 40 hostile Indians, who took or killed the entire; that the other two bateaux prepared to fire and to return to the fort pursuant to the signal which had been made to them; that a gunner and a soldier of the Colony who had gone to hunt, notwithstanding the prohibition of the officers, had been taken; that M. de Langy had gone on a scout to the banks of the River of Orange where 70 loaded bateaux have been seen on their way down by the Indians.

News from all the Upper posts; everything is quiet at Fort Duquesne where considerable provisions are expected from the Illinois; nothing new from the forts at Presq'isle and River au Bœuf.

The Commandant of Detroit is dying; the Five Nations go rarely to Niagara; there is a little fermentation and discontent against us among the Indians of St. Joseph, the Miamis and Outias. The Folles Avoins have killed eleven Canadians at The Bay; missed the Commandant and pillaged a storehouse. A great many Indians have died at Michillimakinac. The Commandant of Louisiana writes that they have had no ships from France for two years, and that he is greatly embarrassed, having nothing to give the Nations.

18<sup>th</sup> A trader set out with four canoes for Detroit; and a courier with orders for all the posts. M. de Vaudreuil has sent an order to the regiment of La Reine to remain at St. Johns until further orders, and to detached pickets to proceed to Carillon.

19<sup>th</sup> Some Nepissings and Algonkins who were to go to Carillon came to chaunt the war song at their father's.

20<sup>th</sup> The Five Nation Indians and those of La Présentation have held a council with the General, to communicate to him the dispositions of their brethren, some of whom are favorable to us, and others to the English, and have assured him that it will be easy to bring them back, if provisions and goods arrive soon. An order has been sent to the officer commanding the detachment of artillery at St. John, to send back a part to Quebec and to proceed with the remainder to Carillon. It is reported that four English barges have entered

Lake Champlain. The Nepissings and Algonkins are gone thither scouting, and a Colonial officer has embarked for Detroit whither he will carry the General's orders and transact some business.

21<sup>st</sup> A courier from Quebec who says that great impatience and uneasiness prevail there for the ships.

22<sup>nd</sup> News from France. We learn that a frigate and eight merchantmen have anchored before Quebec; that they sailed in March from Bourdeaux to the number of 12; that they were separated on the Great Bank; that they have not seen any English vessels, and that they took an English prize which informed them that it had fallen in with M. de Boissier and 5 ships within one day's sail of Louisbourg.

23<sup>rd</sup> Dispatched a courier with orders to send the regiments of Languedoc and Berry from the district of Quebec to Carillon, and to send back to the latter place, the gunners and workmen who had halted at St. John, M. Péan and the Commander of the Artillery have started for Quebec, to transact their business on the arrival of the ships.

24<sup>th</sup> We learn that the regiment of La Reine has arrived at Chambly where it will find orders to repair to Carillon.

25<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec, who announces the arrival of two vessels from Louisbourg with provisions; letters from that place state that a battalion of foreign volunteers has arrived there and that the battalion of Cambis is expected; that appearances there are rather offensive than defensive, in consequence of the confidence which prevails, and the quantity of provisions and ammunition daily landing there; that Count Desgouttes entered the harbor with five ships of war, and the day following his arrival, eight English vessels hove in sight of the Island.

26<sup>th</sup> News from Quebec announcing the arrival of two ships, one of the first division, the other of the second, which report having been attacked with the vessels of the same division by 5 English privateers off the coast of France; that the frigate gave the signal of *Sauve qui peut* and engaged the largest ones; that it had seen three of them in tow and does not know what became of the others.

27<sup>th</sup> M. d'Hebecourt sends from Carillon the answers General Alberkombis had addressed to him for the Marquis de Vaudreuil; reports that he had received them by 1 officer and 15 soldiers, who have stated that the English army is assembled at Halifax; that there is at Fort Lydius only the usual garrison and a Scotch regiment; that Captain Roger is not dead; that 'twas he who took the 4 men belonging to the garrison of St. Frederic; that those of the garrison of Carillon have been taken by some Iroquois who have killed 7 of them and carried 10 to Fort Lydius. The English General writes that he has not sent back Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuller and Martin, who had given their parole to return the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, and proposes to the General to send him 6 Cadets or Canadians in exchange.

29<sup>th</sup> News from Fort Duquesne. M. de Ligneris writes that the English Indians have taken two men and killed one of his garrison; that his Indians have revenged him by bringing him in 140 prisoners or scalps, and that he has still more than 100 Indians in the field in different parties; the information of the prisoners is, that the English desire to come and besiege Fort Duquesne with a force of 4,000 men; there is every disposition to receive them well.



30<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec who informs us that a ship, freighted with provisions, has been wrecked at Isle aux Basques, and that some small craft have been sent to try and save the cargo.

1<sup>st</sup> June. M. de Langy, who arrives from Carillon, says he had not been able to take any prisoners in his last foray; that the English have a small camp at Fort Lydius as well as at the other forts on the River of Orange, for the safety of their convoys. The General has held a Council with some Iroquois who are desirous to go out to fight.

2<sup>nd</sup> We learn that 30 Algonkins or Nepissings, with M. Outétat, had fallen on the trail of an English detachment which was returning on the right shore of Lake Champlain; surprised it; killed two Englishmen and two Indians, and took 9 prisoners, 7 of whom were Indians. A courier from Quebec, dispatched by the Intendant to report that *Le Zelindoe*, a ship belonging to the 2<sup>nd</sup> division, had arrived at Saut Cochon<sup>1</sup> after having touched and lost her rudder, and that he had sent down assistance.

3<sup>rd</sup> M. Péan, who arrives from Quebec, assures that *La Judith* anchored there when he left; that she had captured two English vessels on the Great bank, whose Captains report that a large French craft was lost on Newfoundland.

4<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Vaudreuil has held a Council with the Algonkins and Nepissings; has engaged them to go and strike a blow at Fort Lydius and to return in 25 days, telling them that he shall then require them for another expedition. The Nepissings have arrived with their prisoners, whom the Iroquois wished to kill on landing, had they not been prevented. The General received them very cordially and made them some presents.

7<sup>th</sup> The seven companies of the regiment of Béarn, who were in garrison in town, have marched to encamp four companies at St. Gabriel with a picket of troops of the Marine and the three others near the Lachine mill, to repair the roads of that place. M. de Bourlamaque has arrived from Quebec.

12<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec without news. M. de Bourlamaque is gone to command at the Lake St. Sacrament frontier.

13<sup>th</sup> Many Indians, of different Nations, have come to the Council. The General has prevailed on them to go in quest of prisoners at Fort Lydius and to bring them promptly to him.

14<sup>th</sup> Some voyageurs have given notice that a fresh trail of 30 men had been discovered near the Cedars, in search, probably, of an opportunity to strike a blow in that quarter.

15<sup>th</sup> Some officers are sent to the Sault St. Louis for Indians to go in pursuit of the detachment whose trail has been discovered.

16<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec, who announces the arrival of the flyboat *Le Rhinoceros* from Rochefort, which reports having left a three-masted ship at Kamarasca. The promotion in the Colony has been received; it is satisfactory and unsatisfactory.

17<sup>th</sup> News from Carillon stating that whilst two deserters were pursued, an English detachment was discovered, which, M. de Lusignan reports, came and fired some shots near Fort St. Frederic; that he did not allow any one to go out against them through fear of some ambuscade.

The regiment of Guyenne marched from its quarters on the 14<sup>th</sup>; that of La Sarre on the 16<sup>th</sup>, and that of the Royal Rousillon on the 18<sup>th</sup> for Carillon; that of Bearn mustered the same day at Montreal; one part has quartered there, the other encamped under the city walls.

<sup>1</sup> Hogs Falls, in the county of Montmorency, on the North shore of the St. Lawrence, a little below Cape Torment. — Ed.

19<sup>th</sup> The regiment of Bearn has received bateaux and the necessary rigging for its embarcation. News from Carillon announce that a detachment of 35 Englishmen had approached the Falls; that M. Wolff, with 30 soldiers or Indians, had gone to meet them and killed one-half and took some prisoners. Worked busily at the preparations and arrangements relative to Chevalier de Levis' detachment, which is designed to go to the Five Nations and thence on some other expedition. A courier from Fort Duquesne informs us that the Katabas had surprised some Canadians that were cutting timber, one of whom they had mortally wounded, who, however, broke the thigh of an Indian that wanted to scalp him; that the other Canadians, who had taken to their heels, returned on hearing the cry, scalped the Indian and brought the wounded man back to the fort; that a train had arrived from the Illinois escorted by 600 men. The depositions of the prisoners, taken at Fort Carillon, are, that the English had sailed for Louisbourg with 22 ships of the line, 17 frigates, a considerable number of transports; that they have 5,000 men at Fort Lydius and are expecting 3,000 more; that they will go and camp at Lake St. Sacrament; 7 pickets of 67 men each of Regulars, the battalion of La Reine not furnishing any, have arrived to form part of the detachment of M. de Levis.

20<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec who announces the arrival of the frigate *Le Valeur*, of the third division, which sailed from Bourdeaux, and reports having had a knowledge of 5 other sail. The regiment of Béarn embarked in 26 bateaux for Carillon, and went to camp on the right bank of the river, eight leagues.

21<sup>st</sup> Bad weather, which has retarded the departure of the regiment; it did not embark until eight o'clock; experienced various storms before entering the Chambly river, and encamped one league above Sorel at eight o'clock.<sup>1</sup>

22<sup>d</sup> The regiment broke up camp at 5 o'clock; halted at St. Ours, and encamped at St. Antoine, 5 leagues.

23<sup>rd</sup> Passed St. Charles, and encamped at the entrance of the Chambly basin.

24<sup>th</sup> Arrived at 6 o'clock at Chambly, notwithstanding the rain; made the Portage of the baggage and rigging; embarked in other bateaux at St. Therèse, and encamped at St. John, 5 leagues.

26<sup>th</sup> Broke up camp at day-break; halted near Fourcalte's mill; made the Point au fer traverse, and encamped at Black rock cove,<sup>2</sup> 12 leagues; some bateaux have passed, the conductors of which report that the English are coming in force to Fort George.

27<sup>th</sup> Embarked at daylight, and, by favor of a light breeze from the Northeast, reached Capon island,<sup>3</sup> where we halted, and encamped at Gravelly bay, opposite the Islands of the Four Winds,<sup>4</sup> 11 leagues.

28<sup>th</sup> Wind Southwest; beat down until noon; steered to make the traverse of Split rock, behind which we could not camp, because the bateaux would not be sheltered from the wind there, and at 6 o'clock entered Bottle bay, 6 leagues, on the right shore of the lake, after having reconnoitered it.

29<sup>th</sup> Some bateaux which had camped a little higher up, overtook us at 6 o'clock at Sloop island; halted at the first settlement of St. Frederic; landed at noon opposite that fort, and,

<sup>1</sup> lieues, for heures.

<sup>2</sup> In the town of Chazy, Clinton county, New-York, and Southwest of Isle la Mothe.

<sup>3</sup> Now, Schuyler Island, Essex county, New-York.

<sup>4</sup> Now, The Four Brothers. The French name was seemingly derived from the circumstance of the islands indicating the four cardinal points of the compass. — Ed.



in spite of the wind, reached the peninsula on the right bank of the Carillon river, 6 leagues and a half.

30<sup>th</sup> Started at daylight and arrived at 8 o'clock at Carillon, and encamped on the bank of the river of the Falls. The Marquis de Montcalm arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon with the officers of the Royal corps, and has been saluted with 12 guns.

1<sup>st</sup> July. The whole army moved at 5 o'clock; the regiments of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn to occupy the head of the Portage, under M. de Bourlamaque's orders; La Sarre and Languedoc the left bank of the Falls; Royal Rousillon and a battalion of Berry the right bank, where they encamped; the Marquis de Montcalm and the third battalion of Berry the old camp of La Reine, between the fort and the redoubt of Carillon; the troops have been occupied all day in arranging the camp and bringing over their baggage. Some Indians who come in from scouting say, that the English are making a road communicating with that of the Mohawks, back of the mountains. M. de Langy, who has been farther, assures the contrary. At 7 o'clock in the evening put 30 men on board 2 barges, to go scouting on the lake.

2<sup>nd</sup> At 5 o'clock in the morning heard the report of two muskets, followed by Indian whoops, which caused the regiments to stand to their arms; they were ready to march forward, when the Captain of the guard belonging to La Reine sent word that his Lieutenant, at an outpost with 6 men, whilst looking for his hunting knife, had found a feather, and promptly ran behind a tree to avoid a shot fired at him by an Indian who was nearly ready to pounce on him, hatchet in hand, had he not anticipated the fellow by taking aim at him; that the Indian evaded the shot by throwing himself on his belly on the ground, and did not retreat until the officer had cried out *A moi, Volontaires!* M. de Bourlamaque went to reconnoitre the mountains flanking the left of the camp; transported some ammunition and artillery stores. The Marquis de Montcalm ordered two companies of volunteers, 24 men each, to be organized under the command of Captain Bernard, of the regiment of Bearn, and at the Falls by Captain Duprat, of the regiment of La Sarre.

3<sup>rd</sup> The scouting barge saw no one during the night; reduced the guard between the lake and the mountain to 70 men; went in quest of provisions to Carillon; collected timber to build a bakery and repaired the ovens; M. de Raymond arrived with a detachment of 118 men, Canadians or soldiers; some Indians came to camp in front of La Reine. M. Mercier informs us that Chev. de Levis' expedition has not taken place, and that he is on the way to join us with his detachment; that there are several men-of-war and merchant-men in the river; a drunken Indian killed one of his comrades and has decamped.

4<sup>th</sup> Usual transportation. M. Bernard went scouting on the right bank of the lake, fifteen leagues from camp, and returned without making any discovery; worked at an intrenchment at the head of the bridge over the rapid. The Marquis de Montcalm visited our camp and left it at 10 o'clock. M. de Raymond joined us with his detachment and encamped near the bridge. M. de Langy embarked at 7 o'clock in the evening with 128 volunteers, soldiers, Canadians or Indians, to observe the enemy's movements at the head of the lake.

5<sup>th</sup> At 2 o'clock in the afternoon, heard a shot fired on the mountain, bordering on the left of the Bearn camp, and saw a white flag hoisted and lowered, which is the signal given by the Lieutenant detached there to announce that he discovers barges or bateaux on the lake. An hour afterwards, M. Langy came with news that on the morning he left Ganouské bay,<sup>1</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> Northwest bay, Lake George. — Ed.



had been perceived from Fort George, whence were dispatched nearly 60 barges in pursuit of him, which followed pretty steadily for a time and afterwards slackened; that M de Langy had remained with his bateaux to observe them. M. de Bourlamaque immediately sent off Captain M. de Trepezee, of the regiment of Bearn, with three pickets of volunteers of the Marines and Militia to Bald Mountain, to watch the movements of the enemy and to prevent their landing lower down. M. de Langy, who has arrived, accompanies him. Captain de Germain, of the regiment of La Reine, has been sent at 5 o'clock with three pickets, between the mountains and the lake, to sustain our advanced guards and prevent the enemy taking up a position thereabouts; all the troops are ordered to be very much on the alert. A Lieutenant embarked with 15 men in a barge to go and pass the night on the lake.

6<sup>th</sup> At one o'clock after midnight, heard twelve musket shots fired at the outposts, which caused the brigade to run to arms; a quarter of an hour afterwards 'twas ordered to dismiss. We have learned that the English have fired on the sentries and the corporal going to the relief, whom they attempted to take prisoners and were repulsed at the point of the bayonet, although they had already collared the corporal and one sentinel. At daylight saw the flag move up and down repeatedly; a great many barges were descried traversing from one side to the other, apparently in search of a proper place for landing. The scouting barge returned to confirm the news. At 7 o'clock M. Germain's detachment returned. M. de Bourlamaque has ordered the baggage to be removed, not having heard any news of M. Trepezee, who is expected; sent the grenadiers to relieve the outposts, and had fire set to the baggage that could not be removed. The brigade moved at 8 o'clock, the grenadiers and volunteers forming the rear guard, after having fired some shots at the barges which had approached. Arrived at the Falls at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9; defiled in front of two brigades which were in order of battle and took up a position *en potence* at the base of the mountain, to the right of La Sarre. The Marquis de Montcalm has withdrawn the Royal Rousillon brigade from the right bank, orders the bridges to be broken up, and has directed bateries<sup>1</sup> to be sent for to Carillon, to convey the troops and allow them to rest. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de St. Ours and de Raymond have arrived with a detachment of Colonials and Militia to cover our flanks when we shall retire. About four o'clock heard several shots, and soon after a considerable firing, which we judged was directed against M. de Trepezee. Remained undecided about marching to his relief; prudently resolved not to attempt it; a quarter of an hour afterwards saw some soldiers of that detachment wading towards us, and M. de Trepezee arrive next mortally wounded, who states that M. de Langy, who was guiding them, as he was acquainted with the way through the woods, had gone astray, and did not find out his mistake until three o'clock, when they undertook to cross the River of the Falls, opposite a little island, whence he was returning to the same side, on finding that there was too much water to admit of reaching the other bank; they were attacked, on landing, by considerable corps, and after defending themselves for some time, about 50 men escaped; that the remainder have been killed, taken or drowned. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 9.<sup>2</sup> set out for Carillon; at 7 o'clock arrived at the entrance of the clearing, where we formed ourselves in order of battle and bivouacked through the night.

7<sup>th</sup> Beat the *generale* at day-light; some regiments took provisions; the three brigades proceeded at 6 o'clock to the edge of the wood, where they commenced an abatis, at which they worked industriously throughout the day, animated by the presence of our Generals and all the officers. This abatis includes the entire ground between the River of the Falls

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, bateaux.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic*, 5, *supra*, p. 723, Fr.



and that which terminates at the reserved wood lining Lake Champlain or the Carillon river. At 5 o'clock, the line of abatis was equally divided between the seven battalions, and each had 127 paces of it to guard; they have had permission to make a fire in the rear of some tents and cook the soup there; orders were issued to bivouac along the abatis; the guard lining it to, make frequent patrols without, and to keep the fires which were lighted there. At 7 o'clock the pickets we had left for Chev: de Levis' expedition arrived, and, with the two volunteer companies, encamped in the rear of the three brigades.

8<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat long before day; Chev: de Levis arrived; at five o'clock each battalion set to work to strengthen the abatis, 150 paces in front of which the guards were posted to cover the workmen. At 9 o'clock a body of troops was discovered on the summit and at the foot of the mountain, on the right of the River of the Falls, whence they were examining our position, and fired a few shots at us. Bernard's volunteers gave them a few shots in answer. Chev: d'Arenes, Lieutenant of that company, had his arm broken on that occasion. Our Generals made a tour of inspection of the abatis, which they found in a pretty good condition, and made arrangements for the defence. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 12 the regiments of La Reine and Bearn were going to construct some epaulements to protect themselves from the heights, when a heavy firing was heard on the left; a moment after, at the centre, and next at the right. The discharge of a cannon from the fort, announcing the arrival of the enemy, brought every man to his post. The companies of grenadiers and guards came in again without the loss of a single man. The battalions lined the abati, three deep, having their grenadier companies and pickets in line of battle in their rear, ready to march wherever needed. La Sarre's brigade, commanded by M. de Bourlamaque, responded by some effectual firing, to a column that had shewed itself; the Royal Rousillon and Guyenne regiments, to two that attacked the centre where the M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm was posted; and the regiments of La Reine and Bearn, to a fourth that had an anxiety to attempt the right. Several barges defiled from the River of the Falls. to come and land some people and to turn our left. The company of the Royal Rousillon grenadiers and the Volunteers, went down to the bank of the river to fire at them. A few cannon shot were fired from the fort which, after sinking two, forced the others to retreat up the river whence they made no further appearance. The fire was pretty hot on each side, though a little more active on ours. The attack and defence were sustained with incredible valor. The enemy's columns, though strengthened by the reinforcements they were continually receiving, and though often combining to make united efforts, one time on the right, the centre and left, were not making any progress and experienced every where an obstinate resistance sustained by the attention of the Generals to send the grenadiers and pickets to the exposed points, and the bravery of the troops who minded only to aim sure and fire at the proper moment they saw a head. Chev: de Levis posted himself very apropos with the regiment of La Reine behind that of Guyenne, where the enemy were appearing in force, desirous of making an impression; he checked them and sent out the soldiers of the Colony and the Canadians who lay in reserve in the wood, to fire on the enemy's left flank. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 o'clock the enemy's fire began to slacken; some soldiers were allowed to go out who took some prisoners; at 6 o'clock the enemy made a new attempt with no better success than the first. At 7 o'clock they bethought them of a retreat, leaving their best marksmen to cover it. Fatigue and our small numbers prevented our offering any opposition. Firing was forbidden, because 'twas perceived that the shots we were receiving proceeded only from a few men in ambush behind the trees. The loss of the enemy is estimated at 5 or 6000 men, in killed and



wounded; and ours at 500 killed or wounded, including 41 officers and whatever is missing of M. de Trepezee's detachment. This memorable victory is due to the goodness of the Almighty, who has manifested Himself so often and so visibly the defender of the country; to the wisdom of the General's arrangements and their activity and attention in watching the enemy's movements; to the bravery and willingness of the officers and soldiers. M. de Bourlamaque has been dangerously wounded. The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis have passed in front of all the battalions and expressed to them how pleased they were with their conduct. The General ordered wine and beer to be brought on the field of battle to refresh the soldier, who greatly needs it.

9<sup>th</sup> The *generale* was beat an hour before day; the troops lined the abati anxiously hoping for the arrival of the enemy. Some detachments were sent out, which dispatched some of the wounded that wished to offer resistance, and brought in some prisoners. A very thick smoke was perceived at the Falls, which led to the supposition that the enemy were abandoning that place, and were occupying themselves only with their retreat. M. de Bernard who went scouting with his company, sent word to the Marquis de Montcalm that, on the road to the Falls, was an intrenchment which he could set on fire. That General immediately sent him the orders to do so, which he executed at once. Some Indians who had gone ahead to plunder, came to give notice that the enemy were thinking only of reëmbarking. Buried all our dead. At 8 o'clock M. Wollff arrived with his detachment; reported to the Marquis de Montcalm that he found no one at old Fort George on his landing, but two leagues from that fort he fell in, without being discovered, with a considerable party encamped in a hollow square, commanded by Lord [How], Major-General (who has been killed in M. de Trepezee's affair), with all the barges, bateaux, artillery and ammunition in the centre; that the General had demanded his orders, had shown him a great deal of civility, and had him forwarded next morning to Fort Lydius, where General Abberkombick had received him politely and detained him, telling him that the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters required an answer which he could not give him for some days. That he was well aware he was detained to prevent his coming to inform us of their manœuvres; that they had conducted him back to Fort George, on the assembling of their army there, which, he believed, consisted of 25,000 men; that he saw there nearly 2,000 barges, 1,500 of which have been employed in transporting troops, and the remaining 500, in coming and going; that the entire army had been embarked in an instant, and had taken the Portage road, marching thither as to a certain conquest; that he had followed along, and when their troops had arrived at the Falls, he was taken to Bald Mountain, where he had been nearly three days, very dissatisfied with the little attention paid to him and his detachment; that Colonel Johnson arrived the 7<sup>th</sup> with 400 Indians belonging to the Five Nations or Mohegans; that a courier was sent off that same day who proclaimed everywhere that Cape Breton was taken; that on the eighth at night, he had seen a great number of barges file off, loaded apparently with wounded; that the officer who was guarding him, hailed many of them, and discontinued, evincing great regret; that on the 9<sup>th</sup> the whole army had, without making much noise, resumed the march to Fort George, whither he was conducted, and having complained of it to the Major-General, the officer in whose hands he was placed, received orders to lead him back to his canoe, in which he repaired to the Portage and thence here, himself and his detachment exhausted by hunger and fatigue. The prisoners were sent off to Montreal, and the Marquis de Montcalm dispatched M. de la Roche, one of his Aids-de-Camp, to convey to the Marquis de Vaudreuil the news of the enemy's retreat.



10<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis went to the Portage with the grenadier companies and pickets; found some intrenchments on both sides of the Falls, at the head of the Portage and at the Burnt Camp; had 200 barrels of flour removed; saw a great many which had been thrown into the water; also considerable other stores; the soldiers and Canadians returned, loaded with plunder and an immense quantity of shoes and buckles; had the English buried who were beginning to infect the outside of the abati; a courier set out for Montreal, and a despatch arrived from there by M. de Rigaud.<sup>1</sup>

11<sup>th</sup> The scouts saw nothing; the six battalions came to camp in front of the fort at the end of the wood, and the two of Berry at their old camp; the Marquis de Montcalm has sent some Canadians to St. John that have not been equipped; M. de Langy arrived with some Canadians in a canoe; 23 Abenakis have gone to strike a blow.

12<sup>th</sup> Began to work at the abatis and to give it the form of an intrenchment; M. de Rigaud arrived with 300 Canadians and as many Indians, Iroquois and Abenakis.

13<sup>th</sup> The schooner has set sail for the 1<sup>st</sup> of June; M. de Lavaltee and Chev: de la Corne have arrived with 1,200 Colonials and as many Canadians; two workmen discovered an English sergeant, said to be a deserter, whom they conducted to the Marquis de Montcalm, who had him examined; whereupon he answered that the English have lost 5 or 6,000 men in the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>; that they retired much frightened; that Lord Haw, Major-General Spitead,<sup>2</sup> Colonels Lancé, Brastree<sup>3</sup> and Bebert have been killed; that Colonel Johnson had set out the day after their arrival at Fort George, with all the Indians and 7 or 8,000 Militia for Corlar, to oppose the expedition they know we wish to make to that quarter; that they have 11 or 12,000 men intrenched at Fort George; that they transported the heavy artillery and some barges over land; that they have 5 of our officers and 144 soldiers or Canadians prisoners, belonging to M. de Trepezee's detachment.

14<sup>th</sup> Scouting and ordinary work; the Marquis de Montcalm has been occupied forming two battalions of Colonials and Canadians, and quieting the Indians.

15<sup>th</sup> Sent a courier to M. de St. Luc not to come to-morrow until late with the Indians he is bringing; a courier has arrived from Montreal.

16<sup>th</sup> M. de Courtemanche has gone with 300 Indians and 200 Canadians to lie in ambush between Fort George and Lydius to annoy and intercept the English trains; M. de St. Luc and Chev: de la Roche arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon from Montreal with 200 Iroquois, Algonkins and Nepissings of the Sault and Lake, and some Canadians.

17<sup>th</sup> M. de Rigaud went to encamp at the Falls with the first Colonial battalion, composed of 1,200 soldiers or Canadians; two musket-shots were fired from Cape Diamond; sent off a bateau which has brought back two Abenakis, who give up, having sore feet.

18<sup>th</sup> Chev: de la Corne is gone to camp at the head of the Portage with the second battalion, composed like the first; M. de St. Luc has sent off a Cadet and 6 Indians to find out what is going on at Fort George.

19<sup>th</sup> Three English deserters, forwarded from the Portage, confirm the depositions of the sergeant and add, that 6,000 men were missing the day after the affair, and that it was forbidden, on pain of punishment, [to give out] that they had lost more than 1,900 men; that the soldiers are very badly treated in their camp.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the foregoing with Document, *supra*, p. 721. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 741.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 741.

20<sup>th</sup> M. de St. Luc is gone to the Portage with the Indians; a detachment of the Montreal Militia has arrived, under the orders of their Lieutenant-Colonel; the Marquis de Montcalm makes them camp in the rear of the battalions; the Cadet sent to scout has returned; says he was at Ganaouské bay, where he descried a great many fires that prevented him going any farther; the large sloop has anchored before the storehouse.

21<sup>st</sup> Chev: de Levis is gone to inspect the camp at the Portage and to reconnoitre its vicinity with a company of grenadiers; a great many bateaux have arrived, loaded with provisions; two returned Abenakis say, that their party went to the banks of the River Orange, where they saw a drove of 600 oxen and several barges going up; have not been able to take any prisoners; killed three men; at 6 o'clock descried the bateaux of M. de Courtemanche's detachment, which landed at 7 o'clock; he reported to the General that the Indians, having discovered a patrol of 7 or 8 men, rushed to the attack; that 300 men came out from an intrenchment, behind which they had placed themselves on seeing the Indians and Canadians disposed to pounce on them; that they were unwilling to advance any farther, and that 35 scalps or prisoners had been secured by the Indians, one of whom has been killed, two wounded mortally and three slightly; the depositions of the prisoners accord with the foregoing; the deserters have taken their departure for Montreal; the Indians made an Oneida dance and sing, whom they captured in battle.

22<sup>nd</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm has held several Councils with the Indians to induce them to remain; has closed the road to Montreal on them by a Belt; has assured them that he has nothing on his mind against them as they suppose; that he will be very glad to keep them, and if a number of them join the Nepissings and other Indians who will accompany M. de St. Luc to-morrow to strike a blow.

23<sup>rd</sup> New Councils, at which the Iroquois told their Father that they thought he was angry with them because he had uttered reproaches against them; but as he liked them enough to undeceive them, they would leave a portion of their warriors with him and send some others to Montreal. At 6 o'clock, the Marquis de Montcalm learned that an English detachment had arrived at *L'isle au mouton*, where it hoisted the French flag. The officer in command has sent to inform him that he has orders to bring him Mess<sup>rs</sup> Schuler and Martin, prisoners whom the Governor-General had permitted to spend six months at home; and that General Abbercombrik has given a like permission to one of our Militia Captains, who is a prisoner with them. The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis embarked at 8 o'clock for the Falls, where they had the officer and English prisoners brought to protect them from the ill-usage to which the Indians wished to subject them. The Militia Captain reports that, on his arrival at Orange, he had been assured that Carillon, was taken, and that three days after a general consternation prevailed on the first news they had received of the total rout of their army.

24<sup>th</sup> Some Indians left for Montreal. The officer in command of the English detachment has inquired for several officers whom he supposed to be prisoners, and it appears, from his questions, that their loss has been considerable. Chevalier de Levis is gone with a detachment to reconnoitre the swamp on the left bank. M. de St. Luc went with 500 Indians or Canadians to try to carry off some convoys on the Lydius road. The Marquis de Montcalm has sent his answers to the English officer, who thereupon proceeded on his return to Fort George. The prisoners have been forwarded to Montreal.

25<sup>th</sup> Ordinary work and service; some Indians have taken the route to Montreal. Abbé Piquet, with the other Missionaries, has returned from the Two Rocks, where he took leave



of M. de St. Luc; an officer has arrived from St. John with some bateaux; an Interpreter, who has returned from scouting with 12 Indians, reports having seen more than 400 dead bodies two leagues from Bald Mountain.

26<sup>th</sup> M. Mercier has set out for Montreal; a Colonial officer embarked, with 8 Indians and as many Canadians, for Ganaouské bay to proceed thence by land on a scout in the neighborhood of Fort George. Three shots were fired at the Falls at 10 o'clock at night.

27<sup>th</sup> Sent some wounded off to Montreal. M. Jacob has exercised the gunners at the piece he has mounted on board a bateau; the Marquis de Montcalm sends an officer to Quebec for the recruits.

28<sup>th</sup> A grenadier company is gone to the right bank to protect some wood cutters; the little sloop is anchored in front of the store.

29<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis are gone to visit the camp at the Falls; at 9 o'clock in the evening, heard some Indian whoopings, and a bateau arrived with M. Marin, who reports that M. de St. Luc has done a great deal and will arrive early to-morrow.

30<sup>th</sup> M. de St. Martin, who had gone with 200 men towards Fort George, returned at one o'clock in the morning; reports having fallen in with 15 barges, which wanted to attract him, and that he did not dare embarrass himself, knowing that there are a great many troops on the Island. M. de St. Luc arrived in good order at 8 o'clock with his detachment, and reported to the Marquis de Montcalm that he had attacked on the 28<sup>th</sup> a train of 44 carts, drawn by 240 oxen, loaded with flour, pork, wine, rum and considerable refreshments, conducted by 150 drivers, suttlers and traders, and escorted by 50 men; that his detachment took 111 scalps, and 80 prisoners; that he knocked in the heads of all the liquor barrels, killed the oxen, gave the remainder up to plunder and retired without being pursued, having had one Iroquois killed and three wounded. A bateau brought Midshipman de Bleury and a contractor's clerk with money to pay the provision savings.

31<sup>st</sup> Several bateaux arrived with provisions; the Indians got drunk and made considerable noise in camp. Word was sent from the Portage that some barges had been seen. A deserter came in.

1<sup>st</sup> August. The deserter who has been examined, has answered, that there are 1500 men at Fort George; 700 at the half-way depôt, and 100 at Fort Lydius; that General Alberkombrick wanted to reëmbark his army eight days after his return; that the Militia had refused to march and that he had concluded to wait for 7000 regulars from Old England, or from the army which is besieging Louisbourg; that they occupy two islands in the Lake, in each of which are 400 men; that they have a guard of 200 men on a mountain on the right bank; that Captain Roger is out every day scouting; sometimes North, at other times, South; that they have intrenched themselves with trees; that there isn't any cannon in their intrenchment, but in the little fort, so that they have had some cannon and mortars conveyed to Fort Lydius with 200 barges, having placed the others in the swamp between the fort and the intrenchment. Chev: de Levis is gone to the Portage with several divers, to search for cannon which, deserters report, had been thrown into the water. 42 Nepissings have arrived.

2<sup>nd</sup> Ordinary works. The Marquis de Montcalm inspected them, after having held a council with the Indians. He sent off a courier to Quebec and another to Montreal.

3<sup>rd</sup> M. de Pouchot has traced a redoubt to secure the right of the intrenchment. The Indians set out for Fort George and came back, preferring the route by the head of the Bay. A detachment of gunners arrived.

4<sup>th</sup> M. Marin set out with 400 Indians or Canadians to intercept some trains; fancied we heard the report of the cannon of Fort George.

5<sup>th</sup> Some Indians went to join M. Marin. M. le Borgne set out by water from the Portage with 36 men for the Sugar Loaf, and proceeds thence as far as Fort George.

6<sup>th</sup> Sent some Indians to scout; an officer arrived from Montreal.

7<sup>th</sup> M. de Bougainville embarked for Montreal; a bateau set off for Quebec; fire broke out in the intrenchment, and was eventually extinguished. A deserter arrived who says there are 10,000 men at Fort George; that a ditch has been added to the intrenchments; that Captain Roger has marched with 800 men to intercept M. de St. Luc.

8<sup>th</sup> Two Indians came who report having seen the marks of a small camp near the Two Rocks.

9<sup>th</sup> Two Colonial soldiers who were deserting have been arrested. Two Indians belonging to M. Marin's party have returned with two prisoners; say that M. Marin has attacked a considerable English detachment, and that they, having taken two prisoners in the fore part of the action, had set out ahead with the news.

10<sup>th</sup> M. Marin has come back with his detachment, and reported that on his way towards Fort Ann, where he expected to strike a blow on a road very much frequented by the English, he heard the report of three shots; that the scouts came in to inform him that they had seen 100 English who were coming towards him; whereupon he immediately ambushed his party, who fired two volleys at the English; the latter scattered themselves in the woods and behind trees, where they kept up a very brisk fire, and had been joined by Captain Roger with 500 men, and a Major of Militia with 200; that he had taken 5 prisoners; that seeing the English were too numerous to be forced, he ordered his wounded to be removed and retreated in very good order, leaving thirteen men on the field; that some Indians had returned thither in the course of the night to try and take some scalps, and found the English-drinking and singing. The Marquis de Montcalm has sent 200 Militia to St. Frederic to cut fuel for the garrison.

11<sup>th</sup> M. Wolff set out to carry despatches from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm to General Alberkombik.

12<sup>th</sup> 200 Militia embarked to relieve those at St. Frederic, who are ordered to St. John.

13<sup>th</sup> M. de Bougainville has arrived from Montreal, and acquaints us of some merchantmen having entered the river under the Spanish flag. M. Wolff returned at 10 o'clock at night from Fort George, and brought back a surgeon who was taken prisoner at Chouegen.

14<sup>th</sup> 400 Militia went to St. Frederic. M. de Bougainville embarked at daybreak for Fort George. I left at 10 o'clock; met a clerk of the contractor and some bateaux; at 2 o'clock passed Fort St. Frederic, where I learn that the English have recently carried off a man who was going to the left shore to make his harvest; at 7 o'clock, stopped at Split Rock to prepare supper for my men, and set out at midnight; at daybreak landed at Capon Island; dined at Point au fer, where I met two officers who are on their way to Carillon; arrived at 6 o'clock at Fourch's mill where I fell in with some Indians who were in want of provisions; supplied them with some and left at eight o'clock, and on the

16<sup>th</sup> Arrived at daybreak at St. John; proceeded without delay to St. Therèse, where I had some of the men and some baggage put ashore in order to run the Chambly rapids more easily, and arrived in half an hour at the Fort, though the distance is two leagues, so rapid is the stream. At eleven o'clock I was placed on a litter and arrived at 5 o'clock at Laprairie, though five leagues travel and the roads very bad; but the Canadians, anxious to get home, ran. Met some Indians who are going to Carillon.



17<sup>th</sup> Embarked at 8 o'clock and at 9 landed at Montreal, where a courier from Quebec announces the arrival of a ship at Bic.

18<sup>th</sup> A party of the city militia arrived from Carillon.

19<sup>th</sup> A courier from Carillon, entrusted with the English General's answers to M. de Bougainville, who has bet a considerable wager with several officers that Louisbourg was not taken on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

21<sup>st</sup> M. de Montigny, who arrives from Quebec, informs us that a Marseilles ship is in the river, which reports having witnessed the capture of one from the same port.

23<sup>rd</sup> News from the Mississippi and all the posts except Fort Du Quesne, where we are assured that the enemy is on the march; 'tis hoped he will meet a warm reception, as there are a number of Indians there; it seems that business was good at all the posts. The aid of certificates is a gold mine for those who have no other resources, and 'tis said everybody is at work.

24<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec with news of the arrival of two ships from Rochelle, which sailed, with ten others, from the same port, at the end of June, under the convoy of a man of war. The news from Louisbourg is, that the town is briskly cannonaded; that many buildings are in ashes; that M. de Boishebert's detachment has not done anything, the Indians having left him and the Acadians having fallen sick; that M. Marin made a sortie in the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of July, in which he has penetrated as far as the third parallel; lost 70 men and the enemy 500.

26<sup>th</sup> At one o'clock in the morning a courier arrived from Fort Frontenac with word that the Indians who were going to fight in the direction of Fort Chouagen returned there to tell M. de Noyan that they had discovered in and above the Bay of Niaouré a great many barges; that there is a considerable party there with views probably against that Fort or La Présentation. The General called out all the Militia of the town and a portion of that of the district. News by a courier from Carillon, where all is quiet.

27<sup>th</sup> Major Duplessis, of Montreal, went to Lachine with all the Colonial and Militia officers, a great many Militia and Indians.

28<sup>th</sup> Had word that M. Duplessis was not yet gone; the getting on board is slow work as they are delayed by the want of many things which are represented as having been sent to Lachine; forwarded thither some more Militia and Indians.

29<sup>th</sup> Remainder of Militia set out for Lachine under M. de Contreven's orders. A courier arrived from Frontenac with assurances that when he left, the English were crossing over towards the fort; he thinks, from the number of barges, that there are 1,500 or 2,000 men; that M. de Noyan dispatched him with the intelligence, after having made the best defensive arrangements; that the sloops are in the bay in the rear of the fort; that on the night of his departure, he had heard the report of cannon; this stupid courier had caused the return of 150 Indians or Canadians who were going to the relief of the fort.

30<sup>th</sup> Heard that Fort Frontenac surrendered on the night of the 27<sup>th</sup>; that M. de Noyan has capitulated after 48 hours' attack; that he is prisoner of war, and sent back on parol with his garrison; that the English carried off two armed sloops, which they had caulked; that they burnt the other five; that they were busy loading the provisions and ammunition found there in great abundance; M. de Noyan speaks in high terms of the handsome treatment he has received.

31<sup>st</sup> All the Frontenac garrison arrived; a courier from Quebec confirms the capture of Louisbourg; it was reported, when he left, that some ships were in the river; the Marquis de

Vaudreuil has issued an ordinance to prepare 30 bark canoes to be sent to La Présentation, whence they are to convey 500 men to Niagara.

September 1<sup>st</sup> Sent off the bark canoes with ammunition, which is wanted at La Présentation; some Indians of the Five Nations came to see the General, and told him that the English were intending to amuse us only by seizing the islands in Lake St. Sacrament; that they were only contemplating seriously restoring Chouagen and the forts on that river; that, on learning there was only a feeble garrison at Frontenac, they sent a considerable force to seize it; that, in their opinion, they are still there, as the report of cannon was heard when passing in front of the islands that are opposite; advised to send some young men to Niagara to prevent its being lost; stated that the Cayugas were complaining of not having received a share of the presents brought by M. de Longueuil; that they had, nevertheless, left some of them at La Présentation, who have assured the Commandant that, hearing he was going to be attacked, they were come to assist him to defend himself and to die with him and their father, the Black gown, and their brethren of that village; the General thanked them, made them presents and engaged them to leave to-morrow for La Présentation; canoes which arrive from Michillemakinack report that they are followed by several others which will be here in a few days, and that the Indians of that quarter continue to give a good deal of occupation to M. de Beaujeu; news from Carillon, announcing that the English are strongly intrenched at Fort George, and have built a sloop of 18 guns.

2<sup>nd</sup> Sent a courier to request the Marquis de Montcalm to come and spend a few days here; the remainder of the bark canoes have been sent to La Chine, whence they, as well as the Indians, are to set out. •

3<sup>rd</sup> A courier from Quebec, without news.

4<sup>th</sup> The Indians assure that the English have retired from Cataramouy; that M. Duplessi must be arrived at La Présentation, and that the remainder of his detachment will have reached there to-morrow. News from Carillon, where people are busy making the intrenchments proof against cannon. The Abenakis have brought thither three prisoners taken near Fort Couarient.<sup>1</sup>

5<sup>th</sup> M. de Lacquépé writes from St. John, that there is an English detachment within 5 leagues of that fort. The General immediately sent him a party of Militia from Three Rivers and the Abenakis.

6<sup>th</sup> Heard that a bateau loaded with provisions has returned to St. John; that the conductors say that on perceiving some tents near the Fourcault Mill, and nearly 160 Indians or English, they did not dare to approach it. An officer who comes from Carillon, assures that he saw nothing on the Lake, and that M. Sabrevois, who has been scouting near Fort George [has returned and reports] that the camp of the English does not appear to him any larger than half of ours. General Alberkombrik's Aid-de-Camp writes to M. de Bougainville to acquaint him of the capture of Louisbourg.

7<sup>th</sup> The Canadians and Indians who return from St. John report that they have arrested 10 men who left Carillon without permission, and who were the cause of the alarm in that quarter. A great quantity of provisions has been forwarded to Lachine.

9<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm has arrived with Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bougainville and Pontleroy; a courier has been sent to Quebec to dispatch the six men-of-war lying there; the General

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 97, note 1. — Ed.



has had a great many Indians; he has engaged some to go to La Présentation and others to Carillon.

10<sup>th</sup> A detachment of Militia has arrived from Quebec; also some gunners; news from La Présentation announce that M. de Montigny, who commands the detachment for Niagara, had not left there yesterday.

11<sup>th</sup> They write from Quebec that two other vessels have arrived from Rochelle and St. Barnabé and that two others have been seen under sail which were not yet recognized. A courier from La Présentation reports that all the bark canoes had arrived there, and that M. de Montigny was to have left that place yesterday.

12<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec confirms yesterday's news; some recruits and Militia belonging to that government have arrived, also a Colonial officer from Detroit with 6 canoes; says he left Niagara the 1<sup>st</sup> of the month; that the commandant of that fort was much surprised at not seeing anything of the sloops; that he was ignorant of the capture of Frontenac, and that he had not heard anything of it except from some Nepissings at the Couy islands. M. de Boishebert writes that he has returned to Miramichi with almost the whole of his detachment.

13<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm has returned to Carillon with M. de Bougainville; a detachment of Militia has arrived from Quebec; also several canoes from Michillimakinak and other posts. Considerable provisions, ammunition and merchandise are conveyed to la Chine, whence bateaux loaded therewith are daily dispatched for La Présentation and the Upper forts.

14<sup>th</sup> Arrival of a detachment of Militia from [the city] and government of Quebec. That of yesterday has been sent off for Lachine.

15<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec informs us that the *St. Dominique* which is anchored before Quebec, reports having no knowledge of any other ship; arrival of a detachment of Militia from the government of Quebec.

16<sup>th</sup> A courier from Carillon reports that eight barges had come to Isle au mouton and created considerable alarm at the Camp at the Falls, and that a detachment was sent by land to take those in the barges should they land. The Abenakis have brought in a prisoner whom they took near Corlar, who says, that the English have nearly 10,000 men at Fort George; that 6,000 from Cape Breton have landed at York; that they have 5,000 in the Chouaguen district who are working at the Carrying place, and that he does not think they will rebuild Fort Oswego this fall.

17<sup>th</sup> M. de Bleury, arrived from La Présentation, and says that he had accompanied M. de Contre[ven] to Cataracouy; that they found the fort easy of repair, some parts of it being scarcely at all injured; that the *force*<sup>1</sup> is entire as well as some of the buildings; that they have discovered six 12 pounders in good condition which the English, no doubt, overlooked; that the others either have their trunions broken or have been spiked. A detachment has left for La Présentation.

18<sup>th</sup> M. de Langy arrived in the course of the night to report to the General that he has been as far as Chouaguen with his Indians and Canadians; that he found it evacuated; that he has seen the wreck of our burned sloops; that he thinks the other is lost, as well as a great many barges, by the quantity of masts and rigging that he perceived on the water. The General has ordered the officers who were making arrangements to go to La Présentation, to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Carillon.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Qu? *four*, oven. — Ed.

19<sup>th</sup> M. de Pontleroy has gone to reconnoitre the Lake Ontharie frontier and a good position to build a fort there; Abbé Picquet who returns triumphant to his mission, embarks with him; a detachment of Militia has taken the road to Carillon; considerable transportation and carting to Lachine.

21<sup>st</sup> News from Carillon, where everything is quiet. M. de Repentigny has been embarked during four days, without getting an opportunity to strike a blow.

23<sup>rd</sup> A great many loaded bateaux have been sent off to La Présentation and 30 bark canoes to the Beautiful river.

24<sup>th</sup> News from the Beautiful river assure us that great tranquillity prevails in that part; that the English have sent a great many Belts to the Delawares and Indians, to induce them to remain neutral, and that the Indians have carried them to M. de Lignery, commanding at Fort Duquesne. The Courier who belonged to M. de Montigny's detachment says, that although he had been becalmed two days, yet he arrived at Niagara the seventh after his departure; that M. de Vassan knew of the fall of Frontenac only eight hours, that he was preparing, with 40 men he had, to burn whatever was outside the fort, and to make the best defence he could. A courier from Quebec without news.

26<sup>th</sup> M. de St. Luc who comes from Carillon, informs us that there is nothing new; two parties are out, one towards Fort Lydius, the other towards Fort George.

27<sup>th</sup> The Marquis de Vaudreuil has sent an officer to Carillon.

29<sup>th</sup> The officer who had gone, has returned from St. John with letters from the Marquis de Montcalm, and to conduct an English deserter who reports he has left 6000 at Fort George, 800 in the entrepôt fort, and 1500 in that of Lydius; that there is a considerable train of artillery in the intrenchments; that all the barges and bateaux to the number of 1500 are repairing; that five regiments are expected which are on their way from Louisbourg and one from York, and he thinks that as soon as that reinforcement will have joined, they will return to attack Carillon; that he believes two battalions winter in the intrenchments. An Indian who arrives from the neighborhood of Fort Bull, says there are 8000 men in those parts and that many of the Indians of the Five Nations and Delawares (*Loups*) have united with ours who are going to strike there. News from the Beautiful river, where everything is quiet.

30<sup>th</sup> A courier from Quebec, entrusted with the care of an Acadian who reports that a ship captain has told him that he had seen nearly twenty English sail in the vicinity of Gaspé.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Cremille.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp at Carillon, 21<sup>st</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1768.

Sir,

Since the affair of the eighth of July, of which I have had the honor to transmit you a Narrative, General Abercromby has constantly occupied the head of Lake St. Sacrament, as we, the camp on the heights of Carillon. He has spent the campaign in fortifying himself and threatening us with a second visit. On our side, we have thought only of protecting this



frontier during the remainder of this campaign. The war has been a mere partizan one and we have had some advantages in it. The obstinacy of the enemy in remaining in force in his camp, will oblige us to wait for the ice before entering into cantonments.

You will judge of our works by the detail I annex to this letter.

Whilst the enemy was always showing us an army prepared to attack us, a second time, he has endeavored to make us take our change in a diversion on Lake Ontario. He has taken the post of Frontenac, in which were seventy Colonials, and has immediately abandoned it, in order to rebuild that of Fort Bull, destroyed in 1756. I have been as much affected at this occurrence [ which is owing to the desire to seize ] our navy on Lake Ontario that we have lost, as if I had to reproach myself with it, and had not foreseen and not given warning of it. Niagara must experience the same fate; the same blunder was committed there of leaving, as it were, nobody at that post, but the enemy has not been informed of it, and M. de Vaudreuil has had time to send three hundred men thither.

We are expecting news from the Beautiful river where a corps of 8000 men was to operate under the orders of General Forbes.<sup>1</sup>

Since the capture of Louisbourg, an English fleet has continually occupied the lower part of the river St. Lawrence; they have made a descent on Gaspé where it appears they have established themselves. According to what the Intendant writes me, the King's ship *l'Aigle* has been wrecked on the rocks of Quequampoix, eight leagues from Mercatina.<sup>2</sup> The crew escaped, and 'tis hoped the ship will be got off; 'tis a real loss; she was armed *en flute* and was bringing flour, pork, ammunition, muskets, brass guns and mortars.

The Five Nations are sending embassies to us, to negotiate; they are receiving presents, at the same time from the English, and whatever the Marquis de Vaudreuil may say about it, I believe them more disposed in favor of the latter whom they fear, and who give them considerable; let us never expect anything from them beyond neutrality, that would be a great deal.

Such, Sir, is the state of things at this moment. This will be the last letter I shall have the honor of writing you this year; I am one hundred and twenty leagues from Quebec, whither I send an express with it, and to profit by the last ships which sail between the fourth and tenth. Your reflections will suggest to you more on our situation than I could write to you respecting it.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has wished, under existing circumstances, to send an officer of intelligence and capable of instructing with truth the Minister of the Marine on every point. I have been sufficiently fortunate to induce him to send M. de Bougainville and to prevail on him to consent to the passage of M. Doreil, *commissaire ordonnateur*, on his own business. It is to be wished that the one and the other will arrive, and I request you to attach confidence to what they will tell you. M. de Bougainville proposes to return to us, for his zeal for the service knows no difficulty.

I have no need of recommending to you M. Doreil, with whom I have been very well satisfied; a disinterested commissary, capable of and loving work, and qualified to be entrusted with all sorts of details, his is a case entitled to procure for him some distinguished favor; I should be particularly obliged thereby. He will not leave you in ignorance of anything respecting our situation and will depict to you the impossibility of living, to which our officers

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VII, 344.

<sup>2</sup> The Island of Mecatina is in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, towards the west end of the Straits of Bellisle. — Ed.

are reduced. I know not what the Intendant will take upon him to do in their behalf, upon the letter I have written to him, the duplicate whereof I annex hereunto. You, Sir, who have always occupied yourself with the good of our troops, will favor those which serve the King in America, and who maintain their ground there these four years against an enemy who possesses great means and very superior forces. Our battalions would require recruits, and of a good description. Their companies, far from ever having been as high as fifty, according to the ordinance which had been sent us in 1757, have never been able to be completed to 40. We should require at least 600 recruits this spring. Although I have made an exact review of them in the fore part of the month, I leave to M. Doreil the care of sending you a circumstantial detail of our situation. We have not received this year any despatches from the War Office respecting either favors or appointments; this afflicts our officers. I cannot say too much good to you of Chevalier de Levis and of M. de Bourlamaque; the latter is actually at Quebec, much incommoded by his wound. I doubt if he can make the campaign next year. 'Tis a pity. There are neither superior officers enough, nor sufficient Engineers, nor enough of troops nor of gunners. The English have had, independent of the Louisbourg army, thirty-six thousand men in the field, opposing our forces, and I have always had at least fifteen or sixteen thousand men opposed to me.

My health is wearing away, my purse is becoming exhausted; I owe ten thousand crowns in a Colony where all those who are in office do not commonly devour their substance, nevertheless, M. Houart,<sup>1</sup> the Intendant, has left in it debts as unskilfully as I; my zeal and courage will never fail. I repose in your hands all that can regard me personally. You have honored me in France with your kindness; you have assured me of the same since I am in America. I have served under Marshal de Belleisle; 'tis for the one and the other to procure for me what they think can be granted to my age, thirty-seven years of service, to the commission I am honored with and to the success of three campaigns. I dare hope no one in Europe will envy me the favors you will be pleased to bestow on me. Be assured of my gratitude and of my attachment as constant as it is inviolable, and of the respect with which I am, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*Abstract of Despatches received at the War Office complaining of M. de Vaudreuil.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

The Marquis de Montcalm, in reporting the action of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, in which, with 3,858 men, whereof 3,370 were Regulars, 472 Canadians, or troops of the Marine, and 16 Indians, he repulsed 20 @ 25 thousand English, who lost 5 @ 6,000 men on that occasion,

Demands that it may be pleasing to the King to permit him to return to France. He adduces as a reason, the exhausted state of his health and purse, and especially the annoyances and contradictions he experiences at M. de Vaudreuil's hands.

<sup>1</sup> Sic, Qu! Hocquart. — Ed.



He complains in his letters that, although M. de Bourlamaque had a long time before notified M. de Vaudreuil that the enemy were collecting considerable forces in the vicinity of Lake St. Sacrament, M. de Vaudreuil, instead of concentrating those of the Colony so as to be able to resist the enemy, had divided them for the purpose of sending Chev: de Levis, with 1,600 picked men and a number of Indians, on a special expedition which could not be carried out.<sup>1</sup>

That, on writing to M. de Vaudreuil on arriving at Carillon the 30<sup>th</sup> of June, to inform him of the enemy's arrangements and to demand some reinforcements, he could obtain only 400 Canadians or Marine troops and the recall in advance of the soldiers and battalions that had been detached with M. de Levy, who arrived on the eve of the action, and that he did not send him a single Indian, although there are 800 domiciliated in the Colony.

That M. de Vaudreuil excused his refusing those reinforcements by the necessity of economising the provisions, and that since the affair of the 8<sup>th</sup>, he had unnecessarily sent him 2,000 Canadians and 600 Indians, whom he had neither desired nor demanded, and who were going to consume unprofitably all his provisions.<sup>2</sup>

By the copies of the letters he had received from M. de Vaudreuil and of his answers, 'tis to be seen that the latter urges him to send out large detachments to force the English to retire, by cutting off their communication with Fort Lydius, and that M. de Montcalm represents that, with the few troops he has, it is not possible for him to dislodge an enemy, who, notwithstanding the check they have experienced, are still infinitely his superior.<sup>3</sup>

M. de Vaudreuil reproaches him in one of these letters with having rebuffed, by ill treatment, the domiciliated Indians who had been sent to him, to which M. de Montcalm answers, that he indeed scolded them for the disorder they were committing in the camp, killing and pillaging provisions belonging to the hospital and private persons, and that he had sometimes refused them brandy, as they are intractable when drunk.<sup>4</sup>

M. de Montcalm writes that the contradictions he experiences will not prevent him acting in every respect for the greatest advantage of the King's service, until recalled, and that he has sent M. de Bougainville to Montreal to cement their reunion, whereunto M. Bigot had already labored at his request.<sup>5</sup>

M. Doreil, commissaire ordonnateur, states, in letters written in cipher,<sup>6</sup> that M. de Montcalm had instructed him to say,

1<sup>st</sup> That M. de Vaudreuil cannot excuse the refusal to send M. de Montcalm some troops, on the ground of want of provisions, inasmuch as the first convoy from Bourdeaux of ten thousand barrels of flour had arrived on the 19<sup>th</sup> of May, and that there was a quantity of it at Fort Chambly and St. John prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> of June.

2<sup>nd</sup> That M. de Levis having arrived at the camp before the action of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, with 400 men detached from the battalions, the other troops of his detachment could come there also, had they not received orders to the contrary.

3<sup>rd</sup> That the Indians themselves and some of the Colony had complained of having been left at Montreal and of having been obliged to spend their time uselessly at Laprairie de la Magdeleine, St. Johns, and elsewhere.

4<sup>th</sup> That M. de Vaudreuil was sending to Carillon, since the 13<sup>th</sup>, Canadians who could no longer be employed; and that with a view to be able to write, that M. de Montcalm did not know how to profit by his victory, as if 14 thousand men could be attacked with six thousand.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, pp. 732, 733, 737.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 737.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 757.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 811.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, p. 810.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra*, p. 768.—Ed.

5<sup>th</sup> That M. de Vaudreuil has, last year, accused M. de Montcalm with not having laid siege to Fort Lydius after that of Fort Orange,<sup>1</sup> at a time when he was obliged to dismiss the Canadians to make their harvest and was in want of horses and carriages for a portage of six leagues that had to be made.

6<sup>th</sup> That Fort Carillon has cost the King immense sums, yet is very bad and that the person who had it built, who is a relative of M. de Vaudreuil, has made a fortune by that contract.

7<sup>th</sup> That if the Colony be not lost this year, which is not yet certain, as the enemy are able to return to the charge, and adopt better measures, it may be expected to fall inevitably next year, if peace be not concluded this winter.

8<sup>th</sup> That a great gain would accrue from such a peace, no matter at what sacrifice as regards boundary it would be made; but peace once made, 'twill be necessary to change the whole of the administration; and if it is to be postponed, the Governor-General must be recalled at once.

M. Doreil adds, from himself, that nothing better can be done, whether for the safety or reëstablishment of Canada, than to confide the general government of it to M. de Montcalm, who is as good a statesman as a soldier, a great worker, just, disinterested, clear-sighted, active, having only what is good in view, in a word, a virtuous and universal man; but that M. de Montcalm would perhaps be displeased with him had he known that he hazarded that proposition, which he submits only out of pure zeal for the advantage of the King's service.

That the qualification for Governor-General of being a Canadian, so far from being necessary, is on the contrary, a defect which is of greater consequence than can be supposed; that M. de Montcalm is, at present, thoroughly acquainted with the country, beloved and respected by the Indians, and is perfectly conversant with the manner of treating with them and of profiting thereby.

M. de Montcalm and M. Doreil make very feeling remonstrances respecting the allowance of the troops.

They complain, first, that the provisions which had been allowed them as well as those of the Colony, have been greatly diminished during the campaigns of 1755 and 1756.

That they have ceased, since the first of October, 1757, being paid in specie, according to the promise made them at their departure.

That the prices of necessaries of life are excessive; the officers being absolutely unable to live on their pay, and obliged to contract debts, which he will be unable to pay; M. de Montcalm owes already more than ten thousand *écus*.

They ask an increase of pay for the regular troops in Canada, the same as those in Europe have been allowed, and observe, that the pay of those troops is not to be compared with that of the Colonial troops, as the latter have resources from their families, from trade, from contracts, the intrigue of the country and trading posts.

In another Memoir will be mentioned the special favors M. de Montcalm requests, exclusive of those whereof he had sent a list on the 12<sup>th</sup> November of last year, and which he supposes has been suppressed in the bureaux of the Marine. He cannot send a duplicate until he returns to Montreal, where the minute is lying in his desk.

October 26<sup>th</sup>, 1758.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* William Henry. *Supra*, p. 769. — Ed.



*M. de Montcalm to M. de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Carillon, 27<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1758.

My Lord,

My last letter, written from Montreal on the ninth of September, was to inform you of the taking of Fort Frontenac and of my fears of the consequences that might result from that event to Fort Niagara. Fortunately, the English have not marched thither; having been satisfied with burning our sloops, they left Lake Ontario, where they can return at any moment by the River Chouaguen. The Marquis de Vaudreuil profited by the circumstance to send thither a pretty strong garrison of Colonial troops. At a review with the Governor-General, it was, so to speak, agreed upon to send thither some pickets of our battalions with Captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Bearn, who has superintended the works at Niagara and commanded there, and who assuredly is better qualified to defend that place than any Colonial Captain; but that has changed since I left.

M. de Vaudreuil has sent Sieur Pont le Roy, the Engineer, to place the ruins of Fort Frontenac in order for the reception of a garrison this winter. I do not know what is to be done there; I have given my opinion.

At last, people are at work building xhaves<sup>1</sup> at St. John. I have been proposing it since 1756, in order, if circumstances should cause us to lose the advantage of the forts we possess at the head of Lake Champlain, we may preserve, by means of a navy, possession of that lake, which, at all events, may, in case of misfortune, give us one campaign more on that frontier.

The enemy has manifested a desire to return here; the Marquis de Vaudreuil has treated me even better on this occasion than in the beginning of the campaign, for he had two thousand effective men dispatched with celerity to me, with whom I would have endeavored to do good business. The season and the news by prisoners who have been brought in by a detachment, induce me to believe that the enemy is thinking of retiring. Meanwhile I am uncertain whether they will winter a corps of troops in their intrenchment at Fort George or abandon it altogether, occupying only Fort Lydius as their head quarters. I have actually four parties in the field. I am very attentive to their manœuvres which will decide the breaking up of this army, that cannot, however, remain in the field, in this climate, after the 15<sup>th</sup> of November; even that is a great deal. I have not the Marquis de Vaudreuil's last orders respecting winter quarters, but if he do not make any change in what we have agreed on, two battalions [will be] in the district of Quebec; the remainder in that of Montreal where the harvest has been good; the soldier distributed in the country among the farmers, to economise the King's stores.

The garrison of the fort will be composed of pickets of our battalions. I have made choice of Captain d'Hebecourt of the regiment of La Reine, who has already commanded there; he is an officer of merit, exact, agreeable to all, even to the Indians. I shall leave him his fort in a little better condition, with extensive blindages, and have given him to understand that his good conduct may procure him some favors from the King.

The English, 'tis reported, have made their appearance at the lower end of the River St. Lawrence, [with] ten men of war and thirty transports, and have established themselves at

<sup>1</sup> *Stc.* — *Ed.*

Gaspé, one hundred and twenty leagues from Quebec. I cannot guarantee this intelligence. That establishment would cause the fall of those we have at Miramichy and the River St. John, and increase the difficulties of receiving vessels from France.

We are, my Lord, expecting news from the Beautiful river; Brigadier-General Forbes was, according to intelligence communicated to us by the English, within thirty-five miles of it, on the 15<sup>th</sup> September. M. de Ligneris, who commands there, and M. de Vaudreuil are of opinion, that he will have a great many Indians; the Five Nations [who] are always assuring us of their attachment, are receiving presents from the English. Their hearts are with the latter, and their fears with us; a truth to which the Marquis de Vaudreuil finds it difficult to subscribe. The King has given and expends a great deal for the Upper Indians; were everything distributed they would all be on our side; but how many things are to be stated on this point!

The King's ship *l'Aigle*, which was bringing us guns, ammunition and clothing has been lost on the rocks of Quequampoix; [the crew] escaped on shore; a vessel has been sent from Quebec to take them on board.

Such, my Lord, is the state of affairs at this moment. This letter will be the last I shall have the honor of writing you this year. I am 120 leagues from Quebec, whither I am sending an express with this to profit by the last ships which sail between the fourth and tenth. I have received only two letters this year from you, my Lord; one conveying to me a commission for M. de Bougainville, of assistant Quarter-master General (*ayde Mareschal de Logis*). I tender to you in return all my thanks; the object is worthy of your protection. The other of the 13<sup>th</sup> April, to inform me that M. de Cremille is employed to assist you in the details of the Ministry of War. I shall address myself to him, agreeably to what you have done me the honor to write me, on many of the details. But I flatter myself that you will always approve of my keeping up with you, my Lord, a direct correspondence.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil has been pleased, under existing circumstances, to send an officer of intelligence, who is able to inform the Minister of the Marine, with truth, on all points. I have been fortunate enough to get him to send M. de Bougainville and to induce him to consent to the departure of M. Doreil, commissaire ordonnateur, on his private business. It is to be hoped that both the one and the other will arrive, and I request you to attach credit to what they will state to you. M. de Bougainville proposes to return to us, for his zeal for the service knows no difficulties. M. Doreil is an able, disinterested Commissary, capable of labor, a man of detail. I beg you, my Lord, to use him well. He leaves a new Commissary, Sieur Bernier, who has arrived this year; thus, the service will not suffer by his departure, and 'tis to be hoped that both, or at least one, will arrive in France, as they proceed thither in different vessels.

It only remains for me, my Lord, to mention the troops and their principal officers to you. The tone of the soldier is good, notwithstanding some little want of discipline, which is inevitable in this climate, considering the example and separation in winter quarters. The officers, especially the Lieutenants, are at their wit's end how to live, seeing no favors arrive, and no regard paid to my representations. Come, my Lord, to our relief. I encourage them by my example, tone, words and money, which finishes by being exhausted. Chevalier de Levis is an excellent second, in whose commendation I cannot write too much. M. de Bourlamaque, much inconvenienced by his wound, runs the risk of being *hors du combat* for the next campaign. He is an officer who possesses detail, a desire to do well, much theory;



experience will render him very effective, and I have great reason to be satisfied with these two officers. Major-General<sup>1</sup> Chevalier de Montreuil, who is very estimable on account of his courage, coolness, sentiments, manner of living, honest and honorable, would do well at the head of a corps; brilliant in an engagement, but he would need more activity and detail for his situation; nevertheless, I employ him usefully, and request you, my Lord, to grant these officers some favors which may prove to them the exactness and truth of the reports I have the honor to make to you of them and of the distinguished manner they serve the King.

M. de Pontle Roy and M. Desandroins are two Engineers of great diligence; their disinterested conduct is commendable, but has the appearance of being epigrammatic in this Colony.

The officers of artillery sent from France have been very badly treated in return for expatriating themselves. I have had the honor to write to you in detail on the subject, and now to solicit you anew in their favor. I again renew to you my entreaties to deal favorably by a little body of troops, which, I dare say, has acquitted itself well and with glory, and which, for three years, resists very superior forces.

I make you, my Lord, no prognostic on our situation and the next campaign. I refer to what I have already had the honor to write you in my preceding letters (copies of which I have addressed you in quadruplicate), and to what Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bougainville and Doreil will be able to tell you.

Be assured, my Lord, I shall never neglect anything for the success of the commission with which the King has honored me; my health, with difficulty, resists fatigue; I shall be fortunate if I can contribute to the preservation of a Colony which costs the State so much. I devote myself entirely thereto. I beg you to assure his Majesty thereof, and to guarantee an unbounded zeal for his service.

Continue to me, my Lord, your ancient goodness, and believe me, with boundless attachment and most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1758.

My Lord,

You will be pleased to allow me the honor of renewing to you the letters I have written to M<sup>r</sup> de Moras, rendering him an account of the zeal and services Chevalier de Levy has constantly exhibited since his arrival in the Colony; he is generally loved by the troops of the line and of the Colony, the Militia and Indian Nations; they have all the same confidence in him and a sincere desire to fight under his orders.

I would have greatly desired, my Lord, to be in a position to confide some very important mission to him, wherein he could exercise the zeal and experience I know he possesses, and of

<sup>1</sup> Brigade-Major. — Ed.

which he has given proofs on occasions of the greatest delicacy. You will be able to learn besides, from himself, my Lord, what he deserves, which gives me reason to hope that you will have the goodness to prevail on his Majesty to grant him a commission of Major General (*Maréchal de Camp*). The troops and the Colony in general, were flattering themselves with his promotion to that new grade at the commencement of this year.

I shall be infinitely flattered, my Lord, should the justice I render him induce you to procure it for him.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 1 November, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit to you the requisition furnished me by Chevalier Lemer cier, of the ammunition to be sent this year from France. I have examined it, my Lord, with attention; have called for a report of what we have in the Colony, and have seen that it was impossible to make any retrenchment. I shall require that supply indispensably, to enable me to defend the Colony the King has confided to me, if attacked, as there is every appearance it will be. What is wanting in people can be made up by multiplying the fire of artillery and musketry, and taking up good positions; but 'tis impossible to avoid the consumption of powder in war; this is a truth I beg you to place in a proper light before his Majesty.

You will likewise be able, my Lord, to observe to the King that there is no country where so much of it is consumed, both for hunting and distribution among the Indians; burning of powder is equally a passion among the Canadians, but I think we gain thereby in the day of battle, by the correctness of their aim in firing. Were it not for the ammunition furnished me successively by the Beautiful river, Chouagouin and Fort George, I should not have had enough either for attack or defence. The Company of the Indies, which used to import annually and consume forty thousand weight, had no more powder. The consumption may, even in time of peace, be estimated at sixty-thousand weight.

It is essential for me to represent to you, my Lord, not only the necessity of this shipment, but even that it be made in sufficient season to anticipate the English, in case they should desire to re-enter the river; otherwise, it would be out of my power to be able to make a defence proportionate to that I propose, and which must be expected from a numerous artillery. I should despair were that the case, and were I obliged by such a circumstance to surrender the Colony to the English, being resolved to defend it to the last extremity.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.



Statement of what it is indispensable to send from France, by the first ships, for the service of the Artillery of this Colony, vizt.:

Round shot,....	18s,.....	3,500	}.....	31,200
	12s,.....	15,000		
	8s,.....	1,000		
	6s,.....	3,700		
	3s,.....	2,000		
	1s,.....	6,000		
Carriages, or iron crapaud, for 18-inch mortars,.....				4
Same, for mortars of 9-inch 6 lines,.....				6
Shells, .....	Comminges,.....	3,000	}.....	14,500
	of 11-inch 8 lines,.....	3,500		
	" 8-inch 9 ".....	3,000		
	" 7-inch, for howitzers,.....	2,000		
	" 5-inch 10 lines,.....	3,000		
Priming horns for cannon, taking care that they be large,.....				400
Same, for Militia, containing 1 lb. of powder,.....				8,000
Cuirasses, or complete armour,.....				100
Grenadier muskets, <i>à domino</i> , iron ring, furnished with their bayonet,.....				6,000
Fowling pieces ( <i>thulles de chasses</i> ), with their bayonets,.....				6,000
Fowling pieces without bayonets, to arm the Indians,.....				2,000
Fosses grenades,.....				1,000
Same, 4 inches in diameter,.....				4 000
Hand grenades,.....				10,000
Matches, .....				10,000
Brass comminge mortars,.....				4
9-inch brass mortars, with cylindrical chambers,.....				4
Brass mortar, with its globe to test the powder,.....				1
Clear and transparent flints for grenadier muskets,.....				30,000
Flints for fowling pieces,.....				600,000
Bullets of 20 @ 22 to the lb.,.....				250,000
Same, 28 @ 30 to the lb.,.....				250,000
New campaign powder, .....				500,000
Sheets of copper for cannon ladles,.....				50
Skins of parchement, for cartridges,.....				20,000
Reams of cartouch paper,.....				500
Reams of cartridge paper, .....				200
Tin canisters, large size,.....				30
Assorted iron wire,.....				600
Saltpeter,.....				2,000
Sulphur, .....				2,000
Petroleum, in graduated cases, well stopped, and packed in wooden cases in straw; marked on the top ( <i>Huile de Petrolle</i> ),.....				150

Turpentine, in similar vessels, and packed in straw with like precaution,.....	150
<i>Canfre</i> , <sup>1</sup> in flax-seed, .....	25
Barrels of nut oil, bound with four iron hoops, .....	20
Barrels of linseed oil, with the same precaution, .....	20
Coarse red, rubbed in oil, .....	1,000
German steel, .....	8,000
Spring steel, .....	200
Iron twelve-pounders, to replace those on board the sloops on Lake Ontario and on the xebecs on Lake Champlain, .....	24

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Montreal, 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1758.*Prices of Necessaries in Canada; 1st November, 1758.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Wine, 700<sup>u</sup> the barrel.  
 Brandy, 70<sup>u</sup> the velt of 4 quarts.  
 Spruce beer, 30<sup>u</sup> the barrel.  
 Bread, 8<sup>s</sup> the pound, notwithstanding the abundance of the last harvest.  
 Beef, 20<sup>s</sup> the pound.  
 Veal, 25<sup>s</sup>.  
 Mutton, 25<sup>s</sup>.  
 Fowls, 8 @ 10<sup>u</sup> the pair.  
 Turkeys, 18<sup>u</sup>.  
 Pork, 40<sup>u</sup> the pound,<sup>2</sup> and it did not contain a third of what it ought.  
 Fire-wood, 30<sup>u</sup> the cord at Quebec; 40<sup>u</sup> at Montreal.  
 Vegetables, no price; a cabbage, 20<sup>s</sup>; a hundred of onions, 10 @ 12<sup>u</sup>, &c.  
 Beans, peas and kidney beans have totally failed; the small quantity there brought 40<sup>u</sup> the *minot*, which weighs 38 lbs.  
 Eggs, 50<sup>s</sup> a dozen.  
 Milk, 30<sup>s</sup> the quart.  
 Butter, 40<sup>s</sup> the lb.  
 Loaf sugar, 8<sup>u</sup> the lb.  
 Common brown sugar, 5<sup>u</sup>.  
 Coffee, 8 @ 9<sup>u</sup> the cup.  
 Dipped candles, 8 @ 10<sup>u</sup> the lb.  
 Candles, 40 @ 50<sup>s</sup>.  
 Men's shoes, 20<sup>u</sup> the pair.  
 Rappee snuff, 15 @ 18<sup>u</sup> the bottle of about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a pound.



Barber, 15<sup>l</sup> per month, without furnishing anything.

Tailor, for making a coat, without furnishing anything, 40<sup>l</sup>.

Every sort of clothing and linen goods, 300 and 350 per cent above the invoice price, which is almost always inflated. To give an idea: garters worth 8<sup>s</sup> in France, cost 3<sup>l</sup>.

A horse, worth 150<sup>l</sup> in 1755, 500 and 600<sup>l</sup>.

Hay, 70 @ 80<sup>l</sup> the 100 bundles of 10 @ 12 lb. weight.

Oats, 8 and 10<sup>l</sup> the minot of 38 lb. weight.

Carriage of a barrel of water from the river, 25 @ 30<sup>s</sup>. NOTE.—None other is drank.

Board, of the most indifferent sort, without wine or servant, 250<sup>l</sup> per month; with a servant and wine, 350 and 400<sup>l</sup>.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 1<sup>st</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

Divers Memoirs of M. de Montcalm, and M. de Vaudreuil's answers on the plans of defence throughout all the parts of the Colony.

You will have seen, by the letter I wrote to M. de Moras, that I was making arrangements to afford the Marquis de Montcalm the satisfaction of consulting him on the position in which the Colony found itself by the reduction of Frontenac. He came, in consequence, to this town, and to enable you to judge of the result of the different conferences I have had with him, I have the honor to address you herewith copy of:

1<sup>st</sup> The Memoir I transmitted to him, on his arrival, containing my plan respecting Lake Ontario, wherein my object was to put a stop to the consequences of the successes of the English at Frontenac, and to prevent them absolutely restoring old Chouaguin.

2<sup>nd</sup> The Memoir communicated to me by the Marquis de Montcalm on Lake Ontario, wherein he is of opinion that all offensive plans must be abandoned, unless the enemy be in a small number at Chouaguin; that it would be more essential to establish a post above our rapids; that even should the English take Niagara, his opinion would be not to change any part of his Observations.

3<sup>rd</sup> The Memoir which I transmitted to the Marquis de Montcalm in answer to that he had given me, wherein I observed to him that I shall never consent to the abandonment of the lakes; that if circumstances should reduce me to make a stand at the head of the rapids, such would never be except on the last extremity; that I was decided to reëstablish our navy on Lake Ontario, and resume the superiority there; that on the preservation of Lake Ontario depended that of Niagara and all our frontier posts; I was so settled in my opinion, my Lord, that the consequence of the bold proceeding I had recourse to, in dispatching forces successively to Lake Ontario, has been, that the English have not only not dared to remain at Chouaguin, but even to keep the vessels they had there, which they have burnt. I have profited by these forces to dispatch provisions to Niagara, and have ordered the reëstablishment of our Marine at La Présentation. The necessary preparations will be made during winter to permit the rebuilding of the stores at Frontenac, the repairing the walls (*enceinte*) to protect them against a *coup de main*, so that next spring Lake Ontario will, I hope, be at least in as good a condition

as it was before, and the Colony will have suffered no other loss than the money it will cost the King and the fatigue of the Colonists who have coöperated therein with the best grace, knowing the necessity of preserving that lake for the security of the Colony.

4<sup>th</sup> A Memoir which the Marquis de Montcalm gave me at the same time respecting the course to be pursued at the moment on the subject of the Lake St. Sacrament frontier, wherein he appeared disposed to foresee the blowing up of Forts Carillon and Saint Frederic, in case the enemy should force his army to abandon the position it occupies at Carillon, and afterwards that of Saint Frederic and fall back successively on St. John. This project is a consequence of the former, and the resolution was well nigh adopted to abandon Carillon and St. Frederic previous to the action of the 8<sup>th</sup>, had it not been for the strong remonstrances made on that occasion by some officers of the Colony who were acquainted with my sentiments; the consequence would have been, that the English once masters of our waters, would have built a navy whereby we should be excluded from Lake Champlain; they would have shut us up at St. John, whence they would have been able to penetrate into our settlements, and, as a necessary consequence, the Indians would have decided in their favor, and that would be soon followed by the loss of the Colony, whilst now the English have, of themselves, abandoned the head of the lake, which leads me to hope that they will make no attempt, this winter, on Carillon, and will not be able to overawe me next spring. Had M. de Montcalm consented to send out the detachments I had projected between Lydius and the camp at Lake George, I believe that, in the course of the summer, that army would have been considerably diminished and perhaps would have been forced rather to retire; but no matter what I could adduce, I could not succeed therein. Meanwhile, I had sent 2,000 Canadians and some Indians, at the close of the campaign, on intelligence that the English were to renew their attack; in case such intelligence was not founded I directed that a large detachment be formed and the command of it confided to M. de Levy or to my brother, notwithstanding which, it was not done. Yet it is certain, it could have been on the passage at the beginning when the army was decamping from Fort George. I am obliged to conceal my regret at such an event, through policy towards M. de Montcalm. I can attribute his refusal only to the fear that the Colony would distinguish itself, as he did not wish the event of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July to be attributed to any but the troops of the Line; nevertheless, the reputation of the Canadians has been long since established, a reputation which they have just recently maintained at Fort Duquesne.

5<sup>th</sup> The Memoir I have transmitted to the Marquis de Montcalm in answer to his, concerning the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament, whereby I observed to him that on our abandoning those two posts, the enemy would immediately construct a navy there that would soon be superior to ours, and even be enabled to throw all his strength into that quarter, whence it would follow that the fate of this Colony would depend only on one battle won or lost; that I was positive in this opinion and resolved on the preservation of our forts.

6<sup>th</sup> The Memoir the Marquis de Montcalm communicated to me also at the same time, containing his general reflections on the measures to be adopted for the defence of this Colony. You will perceive, sufficiently, my Lord, the fallacy of this Memoir; the passion with which it is drawn up, the desire of carping at the government, the hankering after innovation, more particularly, that of domineering over the Colonists. I have pretended not to notice any of these designs, and you will be able to form an idea of the moderation of my answer.

7<sup>th</sup> My answer to the Marquis de Montcalm on the general Observations.



You will perceive, my Lord, by all those pieces, that if I had followed the Marquis de Montcalm's opinions, the bounds of the Colony would be soon restricted, since on the one hand we should abandon Lake Ontario, and consequently all our Upper Country posts, in order to confine ourselves to contesting the passage of our rapids; and on the other, the English, masters of Carillon and St. Frederic, would penetrate as far as they liked into Lake Champlain. The opposition we could offer their projects by keeping an army at Fort St. John, would be a very feeble resource, since, should we lose a battle there, the enemy would employ most powerful efforts to penetrate to Montreal, or at least, even should we keep them there in check, they would send detachments daily which would penetrate into and lay waste our settlements.

Consequently, my Lord, 'tis for the true and most solid interest of the Colony, that I essentially adhere to contesting the ground on our frontiers inch by inch with the enemy, whilst M. de Montcalm has made it appear that the troops of the line wish only to preserve their reputation and return to France without having experienced a single check; they think more seriously of their private interests than of the safety of Canada.

I beg you to be persuaded that it will only be at the last extremity that I shall cede to the English the smallest trifle, and then I shall have no other resource whenever I surrender any post to them, notwithstanding the excessive superiority of their forces. Though I have every thing to expect from the valor of the troops both of the Colony and of France, and from the Canadians' love of country, yet it would be rashness not to be apprehensive for events, but I beg you to assure his Majesty I shall make use of every effort to elude them.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

M. de Vaudreuil's Plan respecting Lake Ontario, to be communicated to the Marquis de Montcalm, 1758.

On receiving intelligence that the English had seized Fort Frontenac on the 27<sup>th</sup> August last, I immediately detached M<sup>r</sup> Duplessis with a party of 1,500 Canadian soldiers or Indians to La Présentation to oppose the enemy, protect the Indian settlement and the rapids of the Catarakoui river; I have since ordered out 1,500 soldiers or Canadians from the government of Quebec and Three Rivers, who are actually in motion and on the point of arriving at Montreal.

When I learned that the sloops were in possession of the English, I called for 30 bark canoes for the immediate conveyance to Niagara of 500 men, gunners, soldiers and Canadians, with the Indians who would volunteer to join them, all under the orders of M<sup>r</sup> de Montigny, hoping that, as those canoes could be concealed in the woods, they would easily escape interference on the part of the sloops, if they can reach Niagara. I dare make myself easy on that head.

I have also sent to Quebec for 9 iron 12-pounders and 6 six-pounders; I have at La Chine six small brass field pieces from Carillon; I get one brass 9-inch mortar from Quebec, 2 of 8 and 2 of six, and M<sup>r</sup> Lemercier has required from Quebec or Carillon what is indispensable for that artillery in case I employ it to make an attack or to defend myself.

The first convoy that has gone off has carried with it only 40 days' provisions, on account of the dispatch with which it was to proceed; all that will leave in future will carry with 6

men 5,000 weight, in order that the men, provisions and ammunition may arrive at the same time.

The wheat harvest being finished, and nothing remaining but the small grains, I would be able still to send up 1,000 @ 1,500 men, which would give me 4,500, by adding thereto merely a picket of 50 men from the different battalions, which would give 400, and by giving a rendezvous at Niagara, I might still draw thence at least 500 men, inasmuch as everything will have been decided by that time at the Beautiful river; I should then have an army of 5 thousand 3 or 400 men which might operate as follows:

1<sup>st</sup>

If the English be not more numerous at Chouaguen than ours, I calculate on their being harassed, and consequently that their works will not be greatly advanced if they have wished to profit by the old fort; the Marquis de Montcalm knows the ground, and the difficulty of effectually intrenching it to protect it against being commanded; if, on the contrary, they have taken up a position on the Fort Ontario side, will it not be possible at least to destroy their sloops and reduce them to possess at this moment only some bateaux on the lake, the same as we? Would it not be proper, in such case, to attempt every possible means to drive the English thence, and prevent them rebuilding old Choueguen?

2<sup>nd</sup>

If the English have a superior army in numbers, and their post was considered impregnable, would it not be preferable to have at the Bay of Niaouray a camp of light troops and Indians, for the forming continually of detachments both against their workmen and their convoys, in order to retard them and oblige them to have strong escorts?

3<sup>rd</sup>

To convey the remainder of the army to Frontenac, where men would be employed on an intrenched camp for the protection of our troops, provisions and ammunition against a *coup de main*, in the construction of sloops during the winter, and resuming there the naval superiority we possessed on that lake.

4<sup>th</sup>

Convoys of 200 bateaux would be formed each voyage, which would pass and repass along the north shore to provision Niagara and the Upper countries, and, in order that these convoys may arrive safe, 6 or 8 guns would be added to them, ready to be landed at a moment's notice, which would oblige the sloops to move off again, supposing they would want to bar the passage.

5<sup>th</sup>

In case the enemy had marched to Niagara and reduced it before M. de Montigny's arrival, would it not be proper to proceed immediately to Choueguen, form an intrenchment there and send thither as large a force as possible to cut off all communication on the English and prevent them victualing Niagara; the course is an extreme one, but it appears to me to be the only one under such circumstances.

Such, in general, are my views, and I think of using every means to oppose the reëstablishment of old Choueguen; I request the Marquis de Montcalm to communicate his reflections to me; 'tis idle for me to impress upon him the necessity I shall be under of making



many of the troops spend the winter in that quarter, and he will arrange, as he will think proper, the manner in which the troops of the Line will proceed thither, desiring, as much as possible, that the officers and soldiers who will go, be willing and active, in order thus to admit of the Colonial officers, making all the detachments that circumstances will require.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Memoir respecting the Lake Ontario district. By M. de Montcalm.

According to the Marquis de Vaudreuil's Memoir, there are at present, fifteen hundred men in the Lake Ontario district; 1,500 are going up there from Quebec, and the Marquis de Vaudreuil mentions 1,000 others he could, in case of necessity, draw from the different governments. In regard to those on the Beautiful river, they ought not enter into any actual project respecting Lake Ontario.

Here, then, are 4,000 or at least 3,000 men who are going to be employed to finish the campaign in that quarter; from these, however, must be deducted the 500 men who have gone to Niagara with M<sup>r</sup> de Montigny. Their business is to remain in that fort until the arrival of the troops destined to garrison it, and to be occupied there, in the meanwhile, either in coming or going for victualing that post, or at the different civil and military buildings which M<sup>r</sup> de Pouchot, whom I shall send thither immediately to command them, would judge necessary for a long and vigorous defence; therefore, no more than 2,500 or 3,500 men must be calculated; I proceed to their employment.

Either it will be possible to attack the enemy at Chouenguen, this fall, or it will not.

In the former case, I shall collect all the above people in a post at the head of the river, which I shall have selected, and determined by M<sup>r</sup> de Pontleroy, whom I shall immediately send thither. That post would become the head of that frontier, and the entrepôt for every military expedition in that quarter, whilst Frontenac or the Bay of Niahouré can never be regarded as such; the English can enter the River St. Lawrence, without those posts being aware of the fact, and besides, they cannot be sufficiently important to prevent their being left, without any danger, in the rear; in regard to the objection that is raised, that the sloops would not have sufficient water at such a post, it is null; I shall build on the lakes better vessels for war than the sloops and drawing less water; if one large sloop is required for transportation, that does not prevent the chebeks, and I can guarantee that they go as far as La Présentation.

The post once determined, a post of war and not a fort, I shall employ in that quarter all the people now in the field and who are still to go up there before the 15<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, the time for the expedition against Choueguen, in constructing a good intrenched camp capable of being defended by an army; in building in the inside, stores, sheds and huts for lodging the troops who would winter there; from the 15<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup> there is time to effectually commence such a work, supposing at the head of the men those who know how to make the most both of the men and the time; with that view also, I shall this day dispatch to La Présentation a large quantity of tools of every description; I will add, that if the attack on the enemy at Choueguen be possible, it will be necessary to bring from Carillon a corps of Regulars to serve as a base to that army.

Let us pass to the case wherein it would not be possible this year to attack the enemy on Lake Ontario, and my advice would be not to think of it.

1<sup>st</sup> The enemy will remain in force at Choueguen until winter; in eight days they will have constructed there, as at the head of Lake St. Sacrament an intrenchment impregnable to an assault of 5,000 men, of whatever description.

2<sup>nd</sup> It will be impossible, between this and the 15<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup>, to have completed the necessary preparations for attacking the enemy there in form, and so to speak, by siege.

3<sup>rd</sup> The advantage of having even destroyed their two sloops; of having retarded their works by harassing them, is utterly null, compared with the time lost by the men employed in those operations; the immense consumption of all sorts which such a movement would occasion, and finally with what we could effect between this and winter, either for the defence of that frontier or to place us in a condition to attack early in the spring.

I shall, therefore, give up, absolutely, every offensive project at present, unless the scouts I shall have out continually towards Choueguen, scouts made with one canoe only by reliable and cool men, and which follow each other without any interruption, should apprise me that the enemy have remained at Choueguen only few in number; a blunder which assuredly they will not be guilty of.

I shall always collect the three, even the 4,000 men above the Rapids, and the use I shall put them to is this:

1<sup>st</sup> I shall employ them in building at the head of the river, a post which would have a double object, both to protect that frontier and to serve as an entrepôt for offensive operations; no fort whatever will effect these objects; for a man cannot be conversant with the science of war, who pretends that the best fort of this country is capable of protecting a frontier, or who proposes to sustain such a fort by an army; it belongs to M<sup>r</sup> de Pontleroy and to the people of that department to furnish the details relative to the establishment of such a post.

2<sup>nd</sup> I shall send express to Quebec for Sieurs Levasseur and Pellegrin, who understand building and navigating on both seas, for I shall ever maintain, that in every department, men of science must be consulted. According to their opinion I shall immediately determine on the quality and quantity of the navy to be kept on the lakes, and whatever concerns the manner either of defending ourselves there, or attacking the enemy's vessels.

3<sup>rd</sup> I shall have brought up from Quebec also, immediately, (for there is not a moment to be lost, and officers must make up for short means and fewness of numbers, by an activity which multiplies them in some sort) a portion of the carpenters, masons, laborers, lock-smiths, in a word all the workmen who are employed in the towns only on matters of luxury, private enterprises, or on public works which appertain to peace, or will not serve for war except at a future time, and I shall employ all those men on the three frontiers of Quebec, La Présentation, St. John, in works of urgency and of actual necessity.

4<sup>th</sup> I shall retain here and render an account thereof to the Court, several merchantmen, the crews and rigging of which would serve from this day on the lakes, and furnish me hands for the proposed works.

5<sup>th</sup> At the post determined on above the Rapids, and in the meanwhile at La Présentation, I shall make the collection of warlike stores and provisions, bateaux, bark canoes, tools, either for an obstinate defence in that quarter, if attacked first, or for an attack on the enemy early in the spring; I wish the train of artillery to be such as to precipitate an attack by bombardment and red hot shot.



6<sup>th</sup> I shall employ a portion of the 4,000 men in victualing Niagara for a garrison of 500 men; in supplying all those who pass, a great many Indians, either those who will go by there, or those who will remain, with munitions of war, to defend themselves there a long time and to the last extremity, supposing even that that fort be reduced to have its communication with any other cut off; and with goods in proportion to the presents to be made to the Nations.

7<sup>th</sup> I shall observe that large convoys are prejudicial: 1<sup>st</sup>, because they move slowly; 2<sup>nd</sup>, because the defeat of such a convoy is absolutely ruinous to us; I shall form small convoys, but such as will follow each other without delay, until the last of the supply.

8<sup>th</sup> I shall place in command at the head of the river an active, intelligent, disinterested man, capable of prosecuting and accelerating works of urgency, and of reporting to me the movements of the enemy.

9<sup>th</sup> Supposing even that the enemy take Niagara this fall, I shall alter none of the preceding observations, except to suppress what concerns the victualing of that post.

Such are my ideas respecting Lake Ontario, according to the Memoir the Marquis de Vaudreuil has communicated to me. I annex to these ideas the present reflections on the other parts of this Colony.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

M. de Vaudreuil's Observations on M. de Montcalm's Memoir on Lake Ontario.

I thank the Marquis de Montcalm for the reflections he has done me the honor to communicate to me; I shall make use of them according to circumstances, when I shall be exactly informed of the enemy's position and movements. The Marquis de Montcalm is not ignorant that superiority of numbers being on their side, I dare not promise myself any success except in surprising them by an attack in the inclement season.

As for the abandonment of the lakes, I shall never adopt that step, and should circumstances reduce me to guard the head of the rapids and defend its passage, which will never be the case except in the last extremity, I shall require for that only a very small force, the major part of which will be only Canadians and Indians.

I am, Sir, entirely decided to reëstablish the navy on Lake Ontario, and to reacquire, if possible, the superiority we possessed there. It would be too dangerous to confine ourselves to La Présentation; Frontenac, or some other place convenient to it, ought to be our entrepôt; supposing that the English were fixed at Choueguen, this is the only means to preserve the communication of the lakes by the north; there only can we observe them; in consequence of these resolutions, I am about to prepare an instruction to M. de Pontleroy which will have reference thereto.

The Marquis de Montcalm is too much of a military man not to admit that, no matter however well we may victual Niagara, were it reduced to the defence of its garrison alone, and should we abandon our lakes, neither it nor any of the other little posts could fail of being taken, if the English lay siege to them.

I have, as well as you, Sir, considered the necessity of confiding the command of the forces I shall have on Lake Ontario to an officer who combines all the talents necessary for war, and with that view, I ask of you Chevalier de Levy with only 400 troops of the line. I consent

equally to confer the command of Niagara on Mr Pouchot, as he is qualified to complete and even to defend the works, if attacked.

I shall continue with great activity to victual that quarter, and shall decide this fall on the operations necessary to be executed this winter, according to the report Chevalier de Levy will make me. It will afford me sincere pleasure to give the Marquis de Montcalm communication thereof afterwards. I was well convinced of the manner he personally, and all the troops under his orders, will concur in the execution of my plans.

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup>, 1758.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Memoir on the course to be pursued at this moment in regard to the Frontier of  
Lake Saint Sacrament. By M. de Montcalm.

It is of the greatest importance that the Marquis de Vaudreuil should determine the course to be adopted between this and winter, and this day give orders relative to the Lake Saint Sacrament frontier.

The enemy can attack us yet at Carillon ; no matter what intrenchment we have constructed there, they can force us to abandon it.

1<sup>st</sup> Then, must Fort Carillon be abandoned to its own strength and must the army fall back on St. Frederic and successively on St. John?

2<sup>nd</sup> Ought the garrison to be left there, be either strong or weak?

3<sup>rd</sup> Must we not from this day, prepare Forts Carillon and St. Frederic to be blown up in succession, in case the enemy should force the army to abandon its position before Carillon, and afterwards that before St. Frederic, and thereby deprive the English of posts already built, in which they could winter, and of considerable Artillery?

4<sup>th</sup> Supposing the enemy will not attack us there, or attack us unsuccessfully, what garrison, what force must winter at Carillon and St. Frederic? Must these two forts always be prepared for the contingency, when it would be necessary to have them blown up during the next campaign?

Precise orders from the Marquis de Vaudreuil on these points are necessary.

He alone is to decide thereupon.

Copy.

( Signed ), VAUDREUIL.

M. de Vaudreuil's Answer to M. de Montcalm's Memoir on Carillon.

The Marquis de Montcalm having asked me for a precise decision on the subject of Lake Champlain, in order to know whether Carillon and St Frederic will be abandoned, so as to restrict our defence to the river near St. John, and whether it would not be proper to have those posts mined in order to their being blown up, I have the honor to answer him, that having reason to flatter myself with being always able to keep 6 @ 7 thousand men there, I do not presume that the English will dare attack it, but even though such should be the case, that



post always appears to me the most advantageous, since by building chebecks, even should we be beaten there, these would favor the retreat of our army.

2<sup>nd</sup> That were these two posts abandoned, the enemy, by taking possession of them, would immediately build a navy which would soon be superior to ours and enable him to throw all his forces into that quarter, whence 'twould follow that the fate of this Colony would depend only on one battle gained or lost; that indubitably, the Indian Nations, believing our defeat inevitable, would pounce from all points on the heart of the Colony and total ruin would be the result in a short time. That as to what regards the establishments the English will find already prepared, they may be considered of trifling moment; for, having had superiority sufficiently great to oblige us to abandon them, they ought not to be afraid of our being able to go and attack them, as the least intrenched camp, with stores, would be of equal advantage to them; they would construct such a post in so short a time that this labor may be counted as nought.

For these reasons, Sir, I am resolved on the preservation of our forts, and I refer, besides, to the M<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm to fix the strength of those garrisons as well as to arrange with the officer who is to command the artillery there, what quantity of cannon and ammunition, of every description, shall remain there, after which, the M<sup>rs</sup> de Montcalm will order the surplus to be sent back to St. John, where the whole will be deposited for repair during the winter.

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1758.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

General Reflections on the measures to be adopted for the Defence of this Colony. By M. de Montcalm,

Three principles are, above all, to be established :

1<sup>st</sup> It is no longer the time when a few scalps, or the burning a few houses is any advantage or even an object. Petty means, petty ideas, petty Councils about details are now dangerous, and waste material and time; circumstances exact determined and decisive measures. The war is entirely changed in this part of the world according to the manner the English are attacking us; nothing less is at stake than the utter and impending loss of the Colony or its salvation, that is to say, the postponement of its fall. It is with this view we must act; 'tis this truth which must be unceasingly before our eyes.

2<sup>nd</sup> All private interests, every object of trade, ought to cease here; 'tis the trunk of the tree that's attacked; whatever concerns the branches is of the greatest indifference.

3<sup>rd</sup> Activity, scrupulous and well defined employment of men and time, can alone supply want of means and fewness in numbers; not a single instant must be lost. They are multiplied by being properly employed. Such are the principles; let us pass to the measures to be adopted, and to be adopted this very day.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil must calculate with precision the forces actually existing in this country, without reckoning on any reinforcement from France; should any come, well and good; that laid down, this is the detail; eight battalions of troops of the Line, computed in the actual return at 3,200 men.

The troops of the Marine, to judge of them by the number who have made this campaign, can be estimated at only 12 or 15,000 men.

Regarding the Militia, it is indispensable, 1<sup>st</sup> To order a census of them to be made at the end of the fall, by reliable, disinterested and impartial officers, on the following plan: 3 classes—good, middling, bad and men absolutely necessary for planting and harvesting, on the supposition that, in case of urgency, the women of the country and the idle in the town will be employed at those works.

2<sup>nd</sup> To order that all not strictly necessary at these works, make the entire campaign, to the number of 4,000 at least, picked from the best men.

3<sup>rd</sup> To distribute these 4,000 men in the following manner: To put fifteen of them in each company of the troops of the Line, who will imbibe the military spirit and perform the same service as our soldiers; and into each company of the Marine a number of Militiamen equal to that of the soldiers, it being well understood that the troops of the Marine will be continued to be formed into battalions. The advantage of this incorporation is, that each company of the Line and Marine will have with it and in it some excellent marksmen, some excellent canoemen and some excellent workmen; that, in emulation, the one of the other, the soldier and the Canadian will operate on each other as a spur to act well, and will mutually teach one another things they know; remedy the inconvenience of not having enough of officers in the Colony to lead the Militia, watch them and derive advantage from them. 'Tis not to be feared that these Militiamen will experience any bad treatment among the troops; 1<sup>st</sup> They live very well with our soldiers, whom they love; 2<sup>nd</sup> On the least complaint they would make either as to remarks or corvées, the Marquis de Montcalm would know effectually how to apply a remedy and prevent their recurrence. Besides, if the Marquis de Vaudreuil adopt this idea and make a regulation respecting it, which would be published and prevent every species of abuse, the incorporation would carry off about 3,000 Militia; the 1,000 remaining would serve to be detached under the orders of Militia officers *d'élite*, encouraged by the hope of honorable distinction. The Marquis de Vaudreuil should make an ordinance which would subject the Militia to the same subordination to their Militia officers as is established among the Regular troops.

4<sup>th</sup> To adopt measures to prevent all the Militiamen making the campaign entirely naked, but to provide for their having, like our soldiers, clothes to protect them from suffering through the campaign from cold and disease; to furnish them even with awnings, in which case the companies would be responsible for those incorporated, and the Militia officers for those not drafted.

5<sup>th</sup> To pay those Militiamen who would make the entire campaign; 'tis for M<sup>re</sup> de Vaudreuil to determine what it should be, and whether the King or the Parishes should defray the expense.

6<sup>th</sup> To attach to each company thus mixed, a certain number of tools for which the officers would be responsible.

7<sup>th</sup> To regulate the number of men to be allowed to the contractor for his transports; to prevent his taking the best of the entire Militia; to order that the same Canadians be employed throughout the campaign in that service and regularly receive one pay and one ration fixed by the Governor-General and the Intendant.

8<sup>th</sup> The census once made will show what number of men, exclusive of the 4,000 abovementioned, can be brought to march in case of extremity.

This, I believe, is nearly all that regards the Militia, and the detail of the forces of this Colony. I shall add, to prevent the departure of too great a number of Canadians to the Upper posts, private interest alone can oppose itself to all those views which are necessary for the preservation of the Colony.



The Marquis de Vaudreuil whilst making arrangements for the construction of a navy on Lake Ontario, ought also establish one, this very day, at St. John, on Lake Champlain; otherwise, I repeat, 'twill be impossible to maintain ourselves there. He ought, at the same time, have the greatest number possible of bateaux and bark canoes built and have them collected at all the entrepôts of the different frontiers.

That of Quebec deserves the greatest attention; it is the capital, the heart of the Colony. Louisbourg taken, our navy feeble, almost crushed, the reasonable and decisive plan of attacking Quebec may be attributed to the English. 'Tis to be hoped they will not make it this year; the season is getting late and permits us besides only to sketch out measures to-day which will not be applicable except to the next campaign. All the arrangements, then, ought to be made this very fall for putting into execution, immediately after the breaking up of the ice, the plan of defence submitted last year to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. 'Tis necessary that the redoubts, lines and batteries be traced and laid out in masonry before the frost begins; that stockades, palisades and planks be made and drawn to the ground so that the different works may be completed early next spring and allow liberty to attend to the other frontiers. M<sup>r</sup> de Pontleroy can, after having settled and laid out the works to be executed at the head of the river, immediately come down to Quebec to prepare for his defence. Besides, it will be necessary this winter, to give all the orders of detail which relate thereto, so that what every man, from the Commandant out of Quebec to the Militiaman can and must do, may be fixed and assigned.

It also appears essential that the Marquis de Vaudreuil do forbid, in season, any Canadian going fishing either at the lower part of the river or in the gulf; under existing circumstances, it is impossible for the interest of a few private persons to risk the safety even of these very persons, for, should the Colony be lost, all is lost. The crews of all those fishing vessels will do useful service on the lakes and in the defence of Quebec, and the strong arms which belong to the country are no longer to be employed to the gain of a few; all seamen, whether Canadian or settlers at Quebec, must also be regarded for the interior of the Colony, without any of them being permitted to swerve therefrom. I again repeat here, that I shall retain a certain number of merchantmen, and shall employ for the actual and urgent necessities of the Colony, not only the crews, but the rigging, and even hulls of those vessels; the Court cannot fail to approve this resolution, whose object is to postpone the loss of a Colony which has cost so much to France. Besides, the indemnities to be paid to the owners of those vessels are of nought compared with the advantages to be derived from them.

The article respecting the course to be pursued towards the Indians of the Upper country, is of the same importance as the preceding. I shall be of opinion that it would be proper to send them word immediately to come down early next year to Montreal, to get what they require, which will be given, instead of sold, to them; to enjoin on the officers of the posts to come at the opening of the navigation and to bring with them all the hired men at those posts, who are excellent in war, and the greatest number of Indians they can prevail on.

I do not mention the Beautiful river; nothing can be done now for it. Fort Duquesne no longer exists; whether it has been attacked or taken, whether we are yet masters of it, the determination respecting that frontier must be adopted this winter, when the plan of special operations for the campaign of 1759, will be agreed on.

Such are the reflections I have considered it my duty to present to the M<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil; 'tis for him, who has been a long time acquainted with this county which is confided

to his care, to judge of their solidity, and to put in execution what he will believe possible and advantageous. I can be answerable to him for the zeal with which the troops of the Line, their officers and General will apply themselves to the defence of this Colony and execute his intentions.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil's Remarks on the General Memoir.*

I have read with attention the Memoir which the Marquis de Montcalm has communicated to me on the general views of the entire defence of the Colony. It assuredly abounds with principles all excellent, but the constitution of the Colony, the political views of the State do not permit me to decide on the major part of the propositions. I must, previously, weigh all their advantages and consequences; it is the same with some which are to be considered in company with the Intendant. Therefore, I postpone making use of them to another time. I am not the less grateful for the motives from which the Marquis de Montcalm acts.

Montreal, 12 September, 1758.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 3<sup>rd</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

I have the honor to send you, hereunto annexed, copy of,

1<sup>st</sup> The letter General Abercromby has written me on the 1<sup>st</sup> of last month.

2<sup>nd</sup> That which he wrote the same day to Colonel Schuyler.

3<sup>rd</sup> The letter I have written that General on the 19<sup>th</sup> of last month.

4<sup>th</sup> The parole of Captain Woodward of the English Militia.

5<sup>th</sup> The exchange I have concluded with Colonel Schuyler, who was authorised by General Abercromby, of a number of English prisoners equal to that which composed the garrison of Frontenac.

6<sup>th</sup> The letter I have written to General Abercromby on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month, announcing to him the departure of M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler and the prisoners.

You will perceive, my Lord, by both my letters to that General, that I do not conceal from him that the conduct he himself observes in regard to the capitulation of Fort George, would have exacted nothing less than the non-execution on my part, of that of Frontenac. I did not in fact decide, my Lord, on observing this capitulation, except with the view of placing the English doubly in the wrong on the subject of that of Fort George, and to preserve to you the privilege to make good our just subjects of complaint in this regard, which are so much the better founded, as the English themselves cannot but congratulate themselves on the manner I have constantly acted towards those whom the fortune of war has placed in my hands.



I have moreover, determined on observing that capitulation in order to deprive the English of every pretext of refusing those terms we shall possibly be under the necessity of mutually granting each other; I am intent on obviating everything, so that the war may be waged between them and me in that good faith which ought to be inseparable from it.

It is likewise with that view, I permit Captain Woodward of the English Militia to return to New England, on parole, until General Abercromby reclaims *Sieur Corriveau*.

The sending back those prisoners cannot lead to any consequence for this Colony. I have paid particular attention to retaining those who appeared to me the most suspicious; as for the rest, the information those who depart will be able to afford General Abercromby, will serve only to convince him of the stout defence he will always meet from me. These prisoners moreover, do not know anything more than those I have been obliged to send back in packets to Old England. The scarcity of provisions induces me to get rid of them, the rather as otherwise the old garrison of Frontenac could not resume any military duties.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will please obtain the King's approbation for the course I have taken, and to lay in the most favorable light before his Majesty the powerful motives which have led me to adopt it.

I am with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

Translation of the letter written by General Abercromby to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Camp at Lake George, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1758.

Sir,

As it is at present over a month since the capture of Fort Frontenac by a detachment of the troops of the King, my master, under the orders of Colonel Broadstreet, I was in hopes that in conformity to the capitulation granted to that garrison and in consequence of the engagements of M. Noyan, Colonel Schuyler would have been sent ere this hither in his place, accompanied by a like number of his Majesty's subjects actually prisoners in Canada, equal in number and grade to those permitted by that capitulation to return to Montreal. The kind treatment and civilities your people have experienced on the part of Colonel Broadstreet and the troops under his command, though composed in part of different Indian Nations, had afforded me greater reason to hope, and I must avow that I cannot imagine any reason for the delay in the execution of that convention, unless it be that your Excellency has not been informed of it. To obviate that, I have the honor to send you herewith copy of the capitulation, with a list of the names and ranks of the persons who thereby have become prisoners of war. By that list your Excellency will see, that they consist, exclusive of M. Noyan, of 4 officers, 2 sergeants, 3 corporals and 41 soldiers of the line, not including two who are dead, and 51 commissaries' clerks, workmen, laborers, sailors and farmers, 10 women and 13 children; in all 125. Which number of the King, my master's subjects, if found actually in your possession and of equal grade with those above, I expect to see here without delay, pursuant to the aforesaid capitulation. Wherefore I demand your Excellency's permission to accompany this by a letter to Colonel Schuyler enclosing duplicates of the above copies, with authority to arrange

that exchange agreeably to the conditions stipulated between Colonel Broadstreet and M. Noyan, whereunto I doubt not your Excellency's consent.

I have the honor to be, with all possible regard, &c.,

(Signed), J<sup>es</sup> ABERCROMBY.

Translation of the letter written by General Abercromby to Colonel Schuyler.

Camp at Lake George, 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1758.

Sir,

Having honored your friend Colonel Broadstreet with the command of a detachment of his Majesty's troops to lay siege to Fort Frontenac, and he succeeding in that expedition, I have again the satisfaction of seeing your captivity drawing to a close. From the good treatment and civility the French garrison had received from Colonel Broadstreet and the detachment under his orders, though composed of different Indian Nations (an evident proof that the latter can be restrained), I did, indeed, expect that you would have been ere this sent back with a like number of his Majesty's subjects of the like grade to those who were taken at Frontenac. Could I have suspected the contrary, you may be assured I would have made earlier application to his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil for the execution of the enclosed capitulation. I write him on this subject by this opportunity, requesting him to cause the capitulation to be fulfilled without delay, adding similar lists to those you will receive herewith of the names and rank of such as were permitted to return to Montreal, informing him, at the same time, that I should give you authority to arrange with him the exchange as stipulated between Colonel Broadstreet and M. de Noyan, which I do by these presents, and in consequence you will endeavor, without ceasing, to obtain your liberty as well as that of the other prisoners above mentioned; but should any unforeseen difficulty occur, you will demand of the Marquis de Vaudreuil your personal exchange, and you will be the bearer of the reasons which may prevent the above exchange, although, at the same time, I do not anticipate any. Meanwhile, I add to this clause that nothing ought to detain you any longer in a captivity so injurious to your private affairs, and flatter myself that M. de Vaudreuil, on this just and equitable request, will afford me occasion to rejoice that I had it in my power to convince him that my protestations of humanity and christianity are sincere; and, so long as I am not forced to act otherwise by different treatment of the King's subjects, whom the fortune of war may place in his hands, I shall adhere continually to these sentiments with exactitude; and, in order that he may not pretend ignorance, I leave this open so that he may read it.

By my last letters from England, I am empowered to grant your petition, which I shall willingly do in such manner as you will judge proper.

I am, with truth and regard, &c.,

(Signed), ABERCROMBY.

To Colonel Schuyler.

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to General Abercromby.

19<sup>th</sup> October, 1759.

Sir,

I have received the letter your Excellency has done me the honor to write me on the 1<sup>st</sup> of this month. I should have had that of answering it sooner, did I not wish to procure for



Colonel Schuyler, who is at Quebec, the pleasure of receiving the letter you sent me for him. What he has written me, has this moment reached my hands.

I have been, Sir, exactly informed of the capitulation granted by Colonel Broadstreet to M. de Noyan and the garrison of Frontenac. I have been penetrated with his generous proceeding, and am fully convinced that that Colonel has been particularly affected by the cruelty of the small number of Indians he had with him, who cut the head off a wounded Frenchman and scalped him at the same time. I attribute this proceeding only to the ferocity of the Indians, whom it is impossible to restrain on those occasions.

You could have given two interpretations, Sir, to my silence.

The first, that I expected your Excellency would have previously executed the capitulation of Fort George, in order to induce me to execute that of Frontenac.

The second, that you might at least presume that I deferred the execution of that capitulation until the King, my master, had given me his orders in that regard, since your Excellency has not considered it your duty to act otherwise by that of Fort George.

But, Sir, so far from making use of the right of reprisal, which I have legitimately acquired, I leave it to the Court of France to maintain it before that of Great Britain. I have therefore made it a point to execute the capitulation of Frontenac in its original state, feeling a sincere satisfaction in affording your Excellency new proofs that it will never be my fault, if we do not always carry on the war against each other with feelings of humanity and generosity, which we ought mutually exercise towards the subjects of the Kings, our masters, whom the fortune of war places in our hands.

I am pleased, Sir, that you have authorized Colonel Schuyler to negotiate an exchange of the prisoners in question with me. I have written to him that he was at liberty to go to town for that purpose; he will be present himself at Quebec. When the list of the prisoners will be begun to be made out, and when I shall have the pleasure of seeing it, I shall terminate everything with him, and accelerate, as much as in me lies, his departure and that of the prisoners exchanged for ours.

This letter has, then, no other object now than to renew to your Excellency the respectful sentiments with which I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

#### Translation of the Parol of Captain Woodward.

Whereas, it has pleased the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, to permit me to return to England<sup>1</sup> to attend to my private affairs and on my word of honor that I shall remain there as long as his Excellency, General Abercromby, will permit Captain Corrivaux to remain in Canada;

I, the undersigned, Captain in the New Jersey regiment, do hereby pledge to his Excellency, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, my word of honor that I will return to Montreal as soon as Captain Corrivaux shall be recalled by his Excellency, General Abercromby.

Executed in duplicate at Quebec, 24<sup>th</sup> October, 1758.

(Signed), SAMUEL WOODWARD.

True Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — Ed.

## List of English Prisoners delivered to Colonel Schuyler.

Names.	Condition.	Names.	Condition.
Thomas Emerson,.....	Sergeant.	Hugh McDogul, .....	Soldier.
Louis Semeth, .....	Soldier.	William Gregorie, .....	do
Daniel Philippe,.....	do	Joste Petry,.....	Magistrate.
Henry Neles,.....	do	John Joste Petry,.....	Militiaman.
Joseph Semelon,.....	do	Peter Religuen, <sup>1</sup> .....	do
George Bayde, .....	do	Georges Woods,.....	do
Carpenter Browford,.....	do	Lous Crus, .....	do
George Raik, .....	do	Ebenizer Sansworth, .....	do
Arten Rayde, .....	do	Samuel Scribner, .....	do
John Lake,.....	do	William Sanswood,.....	do
John Parent,.....	do	Piter Bachoren,.....	do
John Benham,.....	do	Phillippe Almer, <sup>2</sup> .....	do
John St. Claire,.....	do	John Kery,.....	do
Jeremie Anmen,.....	do	Phillippe Halmey, <sup>2</sup> .....	do
Amos Rodjer,.....	do	John Hall,.....	do
Fattel Ingel,.....	do	Jacob Lorge,.....	do
Mikael Rordchester, .....	do	Thoby Stall,.....	do
Thomas Brown,.....	do	Mikael Tipaul, .....	do
Benjamin Robertds,.....	do	John Wiver,.....	do
Garet Sanades,.....	do	Thomas Michel, .....	do
David Night,.....	do	George Timoth, <sup>3</sup> .....	do
Joseph Galik,.....	do	Phillipe Arter, <sup>4</sup> .....	do
John Asté,.....	do	Armant Wader, <sup>5</sup> .....	do
Rufus Chapman,.....	do	Frederick Will,.....	do
Thomas Arforder,.....	do	John Stillé,.....	do
John Sils, .....	do	Nicolas Staver,.....	do
Arman Guilas, .....	do	Stoful els, .....	do
Joseph Tetman, .....	do	Jeremi Jacques, .....	do
Ezekel Hontz,.....	do	Isaac Parker,.....	do
Malcom Stuard,.....	do	John Raiford, .....	do
William Fangram, .....	do	Epham Claland,.....	do
Joseph Vickerre, .....	do	Fastery Drick, .....	do
Phillippe Pilo, .....	do	John Ahesener,.....	do
Matthiew Severence,.....	do	Frederick Grille, .....	do
James Wedge, .....	do	Georges Slix, .....	do

## Women.

Delias Petry,  
Marie Petry,

Selaine Almer,<sup>2</sup>  
Marie Wiver.

<sup>1</sup> Supposed, by Colonel N. S. Benton, to be Belinger.

<sup>2</sup> Helmer. *Benton's History of Herkimer County*, p. 147. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Demuth.

<sup>4</sup> Herter *Ibid*, p. 173.

<sup>5</sup> Vedder.



## Children.

Anne Petry,  
 Marie Petry,  
 John Joste Petry,  
 Elizabeth Petry,  
 Margueritte Belligneur,<sup>1</sup>  
 Lisette Lorge,

Marguerite Wiver,  
 Marie Arter,<sup>2</sup>  
 William How,  
 Josia How,  
 Peter How.

Names of women and children not included in the exchange, whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil has been so good as to send back.

Margueritte Almer,<sup>3</sup>  
 Margueritte Rill,  
 Ister Hix,  
 Marie Word,  
 Sara Branon,  
 Delia Timothy,  
 Eleonard Rodjer,  
 Margueritte Moon,  
 Elisabet Arter,<sup>2</sup>

Marie Anglich,  
 Anne Broterton,  
 Ledia Flelius,<sup>4</sup>  
 Marguerite McQueen,  
 Anne Armer,  
 Suyanne Carik,  
 Isabel Andrews,  
 Anne askener,  
 Sarah Piters.

List of the English prisoners who are going up from Quebec to Montreal, to contribute to the exchange intended by the General.

## Officers.

Mess<sup>r</sup> Schuyler, Colonel of the New Jersey Regiment.

Martin, Captain-Lieutenant of Artillery.

Polman,<sup>5</sup> Captain-Major in the New England Regiment.

Thorne,<sup>6</sup> Ensign in Blakeney's Regiment.

Webb, Ensign in the New Jersey Regiment.

Stakes, Surgeon Major in said Regiment.

## Soldiers.

Samuel Dolavert,  
 Alex Johnson,  
 John Robertson,  
 Daniel Frayer,  
 Nathanel Robert,

Moses Chappy,  
 William Hamilton,  
 Matthieu Colens,  
 Jacob Dogwendos,  
 John Ware.

## Sailors.

Michael Carr,  
 Adam Malson,  
 William Warton,  
 Solomon Rotner.

John Thompson,  
 John Stonevert,  
 Thomas Brarate.

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, *supra*, p. 881.

<sup>2</sup> Herter.

<sup>3</sup> Helmer.

<sup>4</sup> or Helius.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.* Putnam.

<sup>6</sup> Oliver Shorne entered the 27th as Ensign, 27th April, 1756; was promoted to a Lieutenancy in 1761, and continued with the regiment until 1771. *Army Lists*. — Ed.

## Laborers and others.

Patrick Pournier,  
Daniel Lock,  
Jonathan Lock,  
Abel Yston,  
Thomas Stynes,

Matthiew Symonton,  
Thomas, Negro servant of M<sup>r</sup>  
Schuyler, (not a prisoner.)  
A child whose name is not known.  
Silvanis Johnson.

## Women.

Miss How,  
Miss Hamilton,  
Barberry Bruler, widow,

Elizabeth Scott,  
Elizabeth Williams.

List of English who are absent at M<sup>r</sup> Schuyler's departure and of those who go in their stead, viz:

## Names of the English absent.

John Tarin,  
John Benham,  
Fallet Ingrel,  
Jaret Sanade,  
William Gregorie,  
James Drich,  
Frederick Grill,

Names of the English delivered to M. Schuyler,  
in their stead.

George Tite,  
John Binyem,  
John Brown,  
John Bams,  
Denis Mauholand,  
Theodore Crabb,  
Cornelius Felk.

I, the undersigned Peter Schuyler, ancient Colonel of the regiment of Militia of New Jersey, authorized by his Excellency General Abercromby, Commander-in-Chief for his Britannic Majesty in all New England, in virtue of the power given me by his letter of the first of October of the current year, to negotiate with his Excellency the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commandant of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for his Most Christian Majesty in all New France, the territories and countries of Louisiana, for an exchange of the officers, hired men, soldiers, Militia of the garrison of Frontenac and the women and children who happened to be there, viz, M. de Noyan, King's Lieutenant of Three Rivers, commanding said post for me, Peter Schuyler, and other officers, hired men, soldiers, Militiamen of the garrison and the women and children who were at Frontenac, for a like number of English of the same rank,

Do certify that the Marquis de Vaudreuil has granted to me my exchange for M. S. de Noyan and that of the officers, soldiers, Militia, women and children mentioned in the preceding list, for officers, soldiers and Militia of the said garrison of Frontenac, and for the women and children who happened to be found there, in virtue of which I declare, always by the authority I hold from General Abercromby, that M. de Noyan, the officers, servants, soldiers, Militiamen and other persons included in the capitulation granted on the twenty-seventh of August of the current year, by Colonel Broadstreet to M. de Noyan, and the said garrison of Frontenac, are purely and fully discharged from their parole of honor, and are entirely free to serve each in his department, civil and military; that, moreover, the Marquis de Vaudreuil delivered to me,



of his own free will, the women and children named in the above list, over and above the number necessary to complete said exchange.

Done in triplicate, at Montreal, the first 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1758.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL. PETER SCHUYLER.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 3<sup>d</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

We learn by a courier sent from the Beautiful river to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that the vanguard of the English, consisting of 1,000 of their best troops, destined for the attack on Fort Duquesne, would have surprised M. de Lignery, Commandant of that fort, that detachment having taken an unexpected route, had not some Englishmen in advance made a noise and set fire to a barn at a distance. The sentries, having heard that noise and seen the fire, awoke our men, who were asleep, crying out "*Aux Armes!*" In a moment they proceeded against the enemy and pressed them so vigorously, that the action lasted scarcely half an hour. The English, having taken to their heels, were pursued during 2 hours; the English lost at least 6 @ 700 men; 400 have remained on the field of battle; the remainder have been massacred by our Indians, who have brought off a great many scalps, which makes it to be presumed that very few escaped.

We have taken prisoners, the Commandant, 4 officers and 100 soldiers, and have lost only 8 men and 8 wounded, who, fortunately, have not fallen into their hands.

It had been previously asserted that the English had brought to Gaspé some frame houses ready to be put up, and were forming a considerable settlement there, but we have learned since from farmers who have arrived here in a boat on the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month, that they have abandoned that project, and contented themselves with burning all the settlements and ships which were found there, and taking the settlers and fishermen prisoners.

I have had the honor to inform you in one of my preceding letters, that the English had taken possession of the Island of St. John. I was in error, 'twas the River St. John I heard mentioned. They have built a fort there; this fact is asseverated.

We learn by another courier from Fort Duquesne that the English to the number of 6000 were again marching against that fort and were within three leagues of it; as it is not probable that the Commandant can resist such a superior force, I believe it is the part of prudence to burn that fort, and abandon it if he wishes to avoid falling into their hands. These, 'tis said, are the orders which M. de Vaudreuil has given in case that Commandant will not be able to act otherwise.

M<sup>r</sup> Wolf, a partizan officer, who had been deputed to go and carry the General's letters to M. Alberterromby, reports that the latter has retired with his troops into winter quarters after

having had all the barges conveyed to fort Lydius and the intrenchments thrown down. 'Tis also reported that they have scuttled their sloops and galleys.

An English deserter who has been examined, deposes that 13 thousand Regulars are still to come from Old to New England, and that the English, disappointed at the small success they have had up to the present time, were determined to organize a considerable fleet to come and besiege Quebec at the opening of the next spring, the rather as the reduction of Forts St. Frederic and Carillon could not lead to any result.

I believe, my Lord, that this deserter has wished to put us on a wrong scent and thereby induce us to divide our forces, for I cannot persuade myself that that nation, how enterprising soever it may be, dare attempt such an adventure, on account of the risk to be incurred in the River St. Lawrence, as I have already had the honor to remark to you.

The same deserter adds, that the Boston newspapers announce three battles won by the King of Prussia over the Austrian army, but that finding himself afterwards in a position by no means favorable to his plans, he had requested a suspension of hostilities, which had been granted him, but as the Austrian General perceived that the Prince had no other object than to take up a better position, he had attacked the Prussian army with so much vigor that he had routed them with considerable loss, and that the King of Prussia had lost his baggage in that great battle and had been also wounded.

We learn the moment I finish this despatch, that only 800 men are remaining at old Fort George, and 1,500 at Lydius, and that the five battalions of Regulars, who were there, have gone into winter quarters in the neighborhood of Orange, Corlac, New-York and Virginia, towards the Beautiful river.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DAINE.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 4<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup>, 1758.

My Lord,

Indecency of the Observations of the officers of the battalion.

Reasons which have led him to consent to give the captain 30 sous a day and 20 to the other officers.

Necessity of granting the same allowance to the Colonial officers who have to attend to all the corvées, who fight well and do not talk like the others.

The indecent observations made by the officers of the Regular troops, of which I have had the largest share, as I have had the honor to inform M. de Moras, have since then assumed new force; they have even become so public that they form the conversation of the soldiers and Canadians who are returning from the army. The head of those troops is particularly mentioned as the real author of all this talk, but I pass the matter by in silence, I even affect to ignore it, in the sole view of the good of the King's service, being already aware of the consequences which might attend an open rupture with the Marquis de Montcalm. I must, however, my Lord, have the honor of reporting to you that the too great liberty his officers have experienced in giving an unrestrained course to their expressions, has insensibly led them to attempt to compel M. Bigot and me making a solid arrangement to procure for them the



comfort of living in the Colony at a small expense. You will perceive, my Lord, by the annexed copy of the letter which the Marquis de Montcalm wrote me on the 8<sup>th</sup> of last month, on this subject, when sending me copy of that he was writing to M. Bigot, that he warns me that it is of the greatest importance that I induce that Intendant to concur in his representations, in order to put a stop to the consequences of the fermentation in the minds of the military, which may be fatal.

Nothing less than such a letter was necessary to unveil the secret sentiments of the major part of the officers of the troops of the Line. I expressed my displeasure thereof to the Marquis de Montcalm. I would assuredly have not stopped there, did circumstances not lead me to pacify.

As the thing appeared to me extremely serious, according to the Marquis de Montcalm's letter, I wrote to M. Bigot to induce him to make a proper arrangement to tranquilize those gentlemen, and we have conjointly enacted that thirty *sous* a day should be allowed each Captain, and twenty *sous* each subaltern. This expedient has in every respect, been much better than to have meat, bread and wine distributed among those officers at a low rate, since it would have cost at least three *livres* each a day.

I have, my Lord, the satisfaction of seeing that the officers of the Colony, who have not even half the pay of the officers of the troops of the Line, far from following their example, attend only to giving new proofs of their zeal. But as the King's intentions are, that except the special allowances made to the regular troops, the pay of the officers generally should be equal, I wrote to M. Bigot that it appeared to me proper he should grant the officers of the Colony the same indemnity that he has allowed those of the troops of the Line, until you, my Lord, should have ordered otherwise. That Intendant has admitted the justice of my proposition, and indeed were our officers excluded from that indemnity, it would have excited a jealousy which would be so much the more justified, as our officers are obliged to attend to all the *corvées*, and as under the title of Light Infantry, they are always destined to occupy the most exposed posts.

I cannot, my Lord, but refer to what M. Bigot has the honor of writing you on this subject and individually renew to you the representations we have the honor to jointly submit to you on the subject of the compensation which it is just to allow also to the staff of the Colony.

Such, my Lord, is an expense that can only be attributed to the fermentation the Marquis de Montcalm has apprehended on the part of the officers of the Regular troops, and which he has announced to me positively.

I am with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of the letter written by the Marquis de Montcalm to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Carillon, 8<sup>th</sup> October, 1758.

Sir,

General, Chief, Protector of the troops, they rely on you and flatter themselves that you will be pleased to take their sad condition into consideration. The copy of the letter I write

to the Intendant will advise you that it is impossible for our officers to live on their pay, and will make you acquainted with the fermentation of their minds, the consequences of poverty and discouragement.

I am with respect, Sir,

Yours, &c.,

( Signed ), MONTCALM.

True Copy.

( Signed ), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

The Canadians and Indians whom I sent to Carillon have made all the impression I could desire on our enemies, as the latter have entirely evacuated their camp at old Fort George.

M. de Montcalm ought to have pursued the enemy, who have entirely vacated old Fort George, and whose retreat has been most precipitate. The officer sent by M. de Montcalm has not had the knack to retain the Indians.

I consider as certain that, if the Marquis de Montcalm had, according to my desires, sent a detachment of two thousand men on the Lidius road, it would have done wonders; it would, in fact, have attacked an English force that was thinking only about its retreat, and of hastening it. So evident is it, my Lord, that this retreat has been made with the greatest precipitancy, the English had formed *caches*, some of which we have even discovered; the others would have easily been discovered, more especially as an English deserter, who had pointed them out, had voluntarily joined a detachment sent to that effect by M. de Montcalm; but as he had assigned the command of it to an officer of the Line, the Indians who accompanied him were unwilling to remain until all the *caches* would have been discovered—a circumstance that would not have occurred, had that officer been agreeable to them, and qualified to make them listen to reason.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Bougainville to M. de Cremille.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Quebec, 8<sup>th</sup> November, 1758.

Sir,

When I left Carillon on the 21<sup>st</sup> October, the date of the Marquis de Montcalm's last despatches, he gave it in charge to me, as the distance of places did not permit him to write



you again, to give you an account of the latest occurrences in this Colony, up to even the moment when the vessels would be ready to set sail.

A detachment of 800 English, partly Regulars, partly Militia, had marched very secretly from Pennsylvania to within a quarter of a league of Fort du Quesne, by a very different road from General Braddock's. Their object was to attack, in the night, the Indians encamped around the fort, guiding themselves by the fires the latter are accustomed to have in front of each of their huts. But these fires being extinguished, and the night already advanced when the English arrived, they could not execute that attack; they posted themselves at day-break on a mountain near Fort Duquesne, and made arrangements to facilitate its reconnoissance by an Engineer whom they had brought along.

But the troops of the Marine and the Canadians, to the number of 7 @ 800 men, did not give them time. They pounced suddenly and from all sides on the English, and immediately threw them into disorder. Our Indians, who at first had crossed the river, fearing to be surprised, then returned and also charged right vigorously. It was nothing but a route on the part of the enemy. 500 of them have been killed or taken, and almost all the officers. On our side, only eight men have been killed or wounded.

This fortunate adventure has, however, produced an unfortunate and inevitable effect; the Indians, immediately on returning from the pursuit, have quitted Fort Duquesne, to return to their villages. It was found impossible to retain them; yet, the Beautiful river is almost certain of being attacked. An army of 6 @ 7,000 men, under the orders of Brigadier-General Forbes,<sup>1</sup> was to assemble at the close of September to move and operate against Fort Duquesne on the 15<sup>th</sup> @ 20<sup>th</sup> October. The English have even built a chain of posts from Pennsylvania to the Ohio, to secure their communication and to spend the winter in them, in case their expedition should not succeed. Its success is more than probable.

Colonel Broadstreet's detachment, which had taken Frontenac and our sloops, retired, after having burnt the latter, to old Fort Bull, and occupied themselves only with reconstructing it solidly. The detachment we had sent under the command of Mess<sup>rs</sup> Duplessis and Contrecoeur, to reoccupy Frontenac, fell back, we know not why, on La Présentation. Nevertheless, this manœuvre, made by chance, is said to have been from choice, for the season was too far advanced to restore Frontenac, and the sloops destined to secure us the position of Lake Ontario, will be built at La Présentation more easily and at less expense.

The Onondagas have sent an embassy to Montreal. The ambassadors, according to the custom of the Five Nations of which the Onondagas are members, have said a great deal, but nothing clear and positive, and have gone back loaded with presents and after drinking a great deal.

The English fleet which had been to take Gaspé and would, it was feared, make a settlement there, retired and quitted the river in the middle of October, after having destroyed the settlements, carried off the inhabitants, also burned the Mission of Mount Louis, and made an attempt on Miramichy. Father Germain, Missionary of Acadia, is to return here with 80 Indian families, 'Tis supposed that he will settle at Mount Louis.

General Abercromby abandoned, in the last days of October, his position at the head of Lake St. Sacrament. He retired after having burnt the intrenchments, barracks and storehouses which he had had erected there, and which led us to believe that his design was either to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, VII., 344, note. — Ed.

attack us again at the end of the fall, or to occupy that position with considerable force all winter; on the report of a deserter and the probability of that report, that the English had buried artillery, shells and shot, and sunk, in the lake, some barges and a sloop of twelve guns they had there, the Marquis de Montcalm has sent a strong detachment with some people of experience, to examine into that circumstance, and obtain any portion possible of those articles.

This retreat of the enemy has left us at liberty to go into winter quarters also. The battalions of La Reine and Berry, which are to be quartered in the government of Quebec, have left Carillon on the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> November; Languedoc, which winters in the district of Three Rivers, marched on the 4<sup>th</sup>; La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Guyenne and Bearn, destined for the district of Montreal, were to clear out in succession, and the Marquis de Montcalm to compose the rear guard of the entire army.

As Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Montcalm report to you my voyage and the motives which have determined me to make it, I confine myself to requesting you, Sir, that a voyage so difficult, taken by order of my superiors, and for the good of the service, may not, in case I be taken, be any impediment or obstacle to my promotion.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DE BOUGAINVILLE.

*M. de Lotbinière to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

Remarks by the Minister.

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

This Account is filled with falsehoods and deception.

Letter of M. de Loebiniere to the Minister, with an Account of what occurred, &c., in Canada up to May, 1758.

My Lord,

This Colonial officer says he has the honor to be known to the Marshal and to be in correspondence with him since some years.

He has only just been made Captain, even to the prejudice of some Seniors, and is not in a position to expect, as yet, the Cross of St. Louis.

He has officiated as Engineer; lacks not

This is the Narrative I announced to you in my first letter, interrupted by a journey unexpected by me, which kept me away fifteen days. On my arrival I find the only remaining ships ready to sail. Having no time to enter into a fuller detail than of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July at Carillon, I have endeavored at least to complete it, and this is all that I have been able to do. As for the remainder of the country, I have deferred until next year, to give you the particulars of all that has occurred in it. You will have learned, my Lord, that the affair of Catarakoui, which at first appeared very grave, has been unattended by any consequence; it is even easy to see that that expedition has been planned only in order to offer the Court of London something to satisfy it; a fort taken always appears, in the distance, something of moment.

Nobody knows, as yet, what to think about our fort on the Ohio. We have routed a van-guard of 1,000 men, few of whom have



theory, but has little or no practice. He it is who built Fort Carillon, which, though 'tis worth nothing, cost the King so much and is not yet perfect. He did not impoverish himself by it; he receives an income of 7 @ 8 thousand livres since three years; he had scarcely anything in 1755. He is a relative of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

escaped. .This check, possibly, will disgust the remainder of the army and save us.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will be pleased to have the Cross of St. Louis conferred on me. 'Tis a favor, I dare say, I have merited by the zeal I have evinced on all occasions.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

LOEBINIÈRE.

Quebec, 11<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1758.

Condition of New France in the month of May, 1758, and Extract of what has occurred there of the most interest during that year.

Provisions which had been very scarce the whole of the summer of 1757, the major part of those ordered in France having been taken, the scarcity increased still more in the fall. Much was expected from the harvest that year, but when the grain was ready to be cut, 'twas found, though of the finest appearance, reduced almost to nothing by the quantity of rain it received. The resolution to distribute the troops in the country was adopted, and every farmer, so to speak, found himself obliged to feed one soldier, when he had not wherewithal to feed himself and his family. Notwithstanding that precaution, it could scarcely be expected to get through the winter, even with all the economy possible. Fortunately, our Frontiers were provided for that time. That of Carillon found itself the best provisioned of all, in consequence of the supplies taken from the English at Fort William Henry and deposited there, but not in sufficient quantity to maintain more than its garrison, with some small posts acting as scouts, not ordinarily adapted to stop those of the enemy. Meanwhile, in the month of March, one of our parties, numbering about two hundred, and some Canadians and Indians, under the orders of Sieur de La Durantaye, a Cadet in the Marine troops, defeated one of a hundred and eighty men, of whom only enough escaped to carry the news of that defeat to the enemy.

Although the English, in all their marches towards Carillon, did not shew themselves except in strength, we were sufficiently fortunate not to receive any real check; the whole was limited to the loss of from twelve to fifteen oxen or cows, three or four prisoners or scalps, and to destroying on us a kiln of charcoal, which was too far from the fort to be saved. They dare not approach either our field hospitals or any huts remaining standing in the last camp.

In the spring they multiplied their parties, doubtless in order to ascertain by the prisoners they might take, our precise situation, which they already knew was very melancholy. They succeeded, in the fore part of May, with seventeen carpenters, who were crossing the river to square some timber required for the fort; in the act of landing at the point near the little swamp, opposite the redoubt, these carpenters received a volley of musketry by which five were killed, and the remainder taken and carried to Fort Edward.

Hoping to receive supplies early from France, the siege of that fort had been planned in the winter on the supposition, always, that this frontier would be bare of troops in consequence of the expedition which 'twas thought the enemy would send, at the opening of the spring, against Louisbourg. A strong detachment was, also to be sent to the Five Nations; this was demanded by their chiefs, who assured that they would determine the Cantons to march against the English: the whole being combined so as to make a diversion in the direction of Corlar. Meanwhile, the month of May was advancing without any news having been as yet received from Europe. It was no longer possible for the farmer to feed the soldier, having no more wheat, pease or oats, and many had, throughout the entire winter, no other resource than the last mentioned grain. All Quebec had been reduced to two ounces of bread per head; it was four ounces since the summer; notwithstanding that reduction, the supply was not adequate for more than fifteen days.

The reserve, in this town, was hardly sufficient to convey two or three battalions as far as Chambly. Between the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup>, the workmen belonging to the Engineer and Artillery departments, were dispatched to Carillon with some gunners, the whole amounting to about two hundred and thirty men; even the departure of these, however imperative, was on the eve of being stopped for want of provisions.

The government of Montreal was no better victualed. The dépôts at Chambly and St. John did not contain wherewith to supply the portion of the troops for Carillon, and there were no resources elsewhere. The North East (wind) had continued now several days, without anything making its appearance, whereby the Marquis de Vaudreuil was obliged to give orders to Sieurs de Loebinière and Fiedmont, who conducted the workmen and gunners to Carrillon, to discharge the former from Chambly, with the exception only of such as were indispensable and some twenty gunners, so that the whole amounted at most to thirty-five men; provisions had even to be brought from Carillon, to facilitate the passage of the troops to Chambly and St. John, and the regiment of La Reine was on the eve of arriving at the former fort. Orders were issued to retain this regiment at Chambly, as the scarcity was daily increasing, and the soldier could, at that fort, be reduced, without danger, to half a pound of bread, whilst, were he sent on to Carillon, he would have indispensably consumed a pound and a half.

Such was the condition of the Colony on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil had intelligence that eight French ships and one prize, freighted with seven thousand and some odd barrels of flour, had anchored before Quebec on the night of the 19<sup>th</sup>. The Northeaster continued with such violence for eight days that it was impossible to get anything out of these vessels the whole of that time. At length, the wind having moderated, some sloops were loaded with provisions for Chambly and Montreal to be thence distributed to the different points of operation.

Between the end of May and the 10<sup>th</sup> of June, the two battalions of Berry and that of Languedoc were sent from Quebec. The soldiers of the Marine, scattered throughout the three districts, were recalled from the rural settlements. The Chambly Portage was indifferently furnished, both because the centre portion of the farmers were still detained on their farms by their sowing, and in consequence of the bad roads occasioned by the incessant rains. Besides, the scarcity of horses at the Basin, where the mortality among the stock had been considerable during the winter, was the cause of the sections having been more backward than ordinary.



Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Fiedmond and Loebinière repaired, the last days of May, to Carillon, the latter sick and continuing to grow worse, in consequence of the great occupations and little assistance he had. Each attended to his respective department. The regiment of La Reine arrived there in the beginning of June; shortly afterwards the 2nd battalion of Berry; both were employed carrying earth from the covert-way and the glacis.

The counterscarps were begun at the fronts of attack; afterwards we set about completing the two halfmoons in masonry. The number of workmen was increased from one moment to the other, by the arrival of fresh battalions.

17<sup>th</sup> June. A knowledge of the movements which the English were making, to come and attack Carillon, was begun to be acquired from prisoners, one of whom was an Ensign of Regulars, taken at the mouth of the River of the Falls, within half a gun shot of the fort, forming part of a scout of twenty men, who were approaching to reconnoitre and take some prisoners, if there was a chance. We learned that 6,500 Regulars were already at Fort Edward; that they were shortly to come to the lake; that the Provincials were to follow, and that the Portage would be passed with great celerity; that they had for the expedition a number of barges and bateaux, some of which had already arrived at Fort Edward.

M. de Bourlamaque, Colonel of Infantry, who was at Carillon since some days, dispatched *Sieur Wolf*, a partisan officer, by the lake, with an escort of 50 men, to convey the *Marquis de Vaudreuil's* answers to the letters which *General Abercromby* had written to him respecting Mess<sup>rs</sup> *Schuler* and *Martin*, who having gone in the winter to New England to attend to their affairs, were to have returned to Carillon at the opening of the spring. *Sieur Wolf* was recommended to return immediately after delivering the letters of which he was the bearer, having an eye to the number of English he should see both on the lake and at Fort Edward.

23<sup>rd</sup> M. de Bourlamaque not seeing M. Wolf make his appearance, entertained no longer any doubt of the movements on the part of the English which had been announced to him, and in order to obtain a more particular knowledge thereof, he detached *Sieur de Langy-Fontenelle*, an officer of the troops of the Marine, an excellent Ranger, at the head of 60 and some Indians, with orders to proceed to the head of the Lake, to examine carefully the number of troops and the movements that might be thereabouts.

25<sup>th</sup> *Sieur de Langy* arrived in the evening from his scout with one officer and sixteen soldiers of *Major Rogers' troop*, who were taken within two leagues of the head of the Lake in an island where they had landed on perceiving our Indians; he reported that the English were at the Lake in great numbers with bateaux, and that there were great movements in that quarter. The prisoners reported that the English were to set out for our carrying-place in fourteen days, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, of whom 6,500 and more were Regulars; that seven thousand of that army under the orders of *Lord How*, were to come by land, the remainder by water in 1,500 barges or bateaux, each carrying 25 to 30 men; that *Colonel Johnson* was expected with five hundred Indians of the Five Nations; that *Sieur Wolf* and his escort were detained at Fort Edward until the arrival of Mess<sup>rs</sup> *Schuler* and *Martin*. They likewise reported that they had recently learned the landing of the English on the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month near *Louisbourg*, where they had lost as much as one regiment; that 5 and 6 regiments of Regulars were marching with some Provincial levies of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania against the French forts on the Ohio. From them also we learned the capture of two of our largest ships in the Mediterranean.



Dispatched a courier to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to communicate this intelligence to him. On the first knowledge he had of it, he forthwith dispatched the troops as fast as the arrival of provisions at the dépôts permitted. All those of the Line were at Carillon in the end of June; 400 men had been selected from the entire, to whom were to be adjoined 400 of the troops of the Marine under the orders of Chev. de Levis and M. de Rigaud, for the purpose of marching with the Five Nations towards Corlar. Their destination was altered when it was ascertained that the enemy was directing his entire force against Carillon, and they were sent thither, and people contented themselves with sending M. de Longueuil, Governor of Three Rivers, with 200 Canadians or Indians, to the Five Nations, to make sure of their promise. All the Militia of the three governments were commanded to repair to Carillon, where the Marquis de Montcalm arrived on the 29<sup>th</sup> of June with Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Pontleroy and Desandrouins, Engineers, who might be necessary there in consequence of the weakness of Sieur de Loebinière's lungs which had, through the fatigue of his detail that he has borne alone, having no one with him capable of sharing it, increased to such a degree as to confine him from time to time to his bed; he continued, notwithstanding, after their arrival, to occupy himself equally with the care of the fortification of the place.

The Marquis de Montcalm had orders to take possession of the Falls and Carrying place with the force he had at his disposal, on the representation of several, he was undecided whether he ought not to fall back on St. Frederic in case the enemy appeared in as great number as announced. On this subject he consulted Sieur Loebinière, who was occupied for the last three campaigns in fortifying Carillon, who, he knew, possessed a perfect knowledge of both the one and the other posts; who made him appreciate the risks he would entail on the Colony by abandoning Carillon; the advantage of the latter place; the impossibility of the enemy getting beyond it as long as 'twas occupied; the facility which existed at all times to fall back, if forced; the water communication; the ease with which the ground could be disputed, inch by inch, by means of abatis wherewith he proposed to crown a height within one-fourth of a gun-shot from the fort, the approach to which thereby became impossible; following up this abatis by some detached works proper for facilitating the retreat in case we were obliged to abandon the height, and necessary to maintain ourselves, any time, masters of the campaign; finally, the facility of constructing an intrenchment in form on the right, flanked by the fire of the fort and the halfmoons, which was in like manner proposed by him, this intrenchment occupying reciprocally a position so as to fire obliquely in front of the fortification of the place. All this work, being capable of being constructed in eight or ten days with the number of men he had, whilst that necessary to cover the army and St. Frederic, if it were desirable to occupy the heights, required more than two months' labor, the ground being stony and the woods affording no resource, as they were at a great distance. Besides, the enemy, being masters of the open country, and having no one to dispute the ground with and to interrupt him in his works, might run a road near the hill to convey his barges from the River of the Falls to that of St. Frederic, the considerable number of which would interrupt all communication on Lake Champlain, whereby our force would be exposed to have its retreat cut off, and obliged, for want of reinforcements and provisions, to surrender prisoners of war. Carillon being occupied, nothing of that sort was to be feared. All these reasons determined the Marquis de Montcalm to maintain that place in preference, and to defend it to the last. The plan of the intrenchment on the right was determined, and the principal points of the abatis on the hill fixed. M. de Bourlamaque, who had been to reconnoitre the ground between



the Falls and the hill, had proposed one somewhat farther into the wood, the left of which rested on the River of the Falls, and the right on a small marsh which discharges into the River St. Frederic; but, after having examined the whole, that of the hill was preferred to it, for the soldier in the woods, who cannot see what is passing behind him, is often tempted to believe that he is turned, which may make him miss. Besides, retreat then became more doubtful than on the hill, where he perceived at a glance, the fort by which he was protected and the whole of the intervening ground, as well as everything that might pass on that side; he was then to think only of not permitting his being broken through, as he has nothing to mind but his front. The Marquis de Montcalm decided also on going to occupy the posts of the Portage and Falls, being disposed not to engage in a general action there, but to have recourse to stratagem wherever it could be used to advantage.

M. Lemercier, Commandant of the artillery in this country, who arrived the following day, confirmed the Marquis de Montcalm in all these arrangements.

1<sup>st</sup> July. Sent forward seven battalions and some troops of the Marine and Canadians; the battalions of La Reine, Guyenne and Bearn, with the troops of the Marine and Canadians, to take the post at the Carrying place, under the orders of M. Bourlamaque; those of La Sarre, R. Rousillon, Languedoc and the 1<sup>st</sup> Berry to occupy the heights of the Falls; the 2<sup>nd</sup> Berry remained encamped behind Carillon, ready to throw itself into it in case of necessity.

2<sup>nd</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm went to the Falls, and employed the battalion encamped there in making palisades and fascines which were conveyed daily to Carillon.

4<sup>th</sup> Sieur de Langy was sent to the lake on a scout; when near the islands he perceived some thirty odd barges full of men; he found means by a bold manœuvre, to extricate his bateaux, and in the evening came to the Portage without any loss. A detachment of 250 @ 300 volunteers was formed to go to the Bald Mountain, where, 'twas supposed, the enemy might land.

5<sup>th</sup> This detachment repaired thither and discovered, between five and six o'clock in the evening, more than 150 barges, which without doubt were the vanguard of the enemy's army. On M. de Montcalm being advised thereof, he gave orders to be on the alert and prepared to march. At the same hour, Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Lanaudière, de St. Ours, de Gaspé, Denys, Desmeloise and de Morville, officers of the Marine, arrived at Carillon with a detachment of about 150 men of their corps and Canadians; they received orders to proceed forward next day on receiving provisions.

In the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> @ 6<sup>th</sup>, some shots were fired at the Portage, doubtless by the enemy's scouts on our advanced posts.

6<sup>th</sup> Between five and six o'clock in the morning the lake was observed covered with barges and bateaux; a picket was sent to the camp which M. de Contrecoeur occupied in 1756, called The Burnt camp, whither the enemy directed their descent, who appeared to approach timidly, but having noticed only a file of 50 men, came full sweep and landed there; the picket returned at the instant. M. de Bourlamaque, who received orders to fall back on the Falls, resisted the first two, in order to afford time to save the baggage, so as to give his retreat an appearance of less precipitancy, but it being reported to him, whilst with the third, that M. de Montcalm was himself about retiring to the fort, he had fire set to some tents which were remaining and to the rest of the baggage which could not be removed, and proceeded to the Falls about eleven o'clock in the morning. M. de Montcalm, who had transferred to the fort in the morning everything that might embarrass the battalions at the Falls, made arrangements for his army to fall back on it as soon as the enemy should make their appearance.



On arriving at Carillon, the enemy being landed, axes were distributed to the 2nd battalion of Berry, to construct the projected abati, the workmen of the artillery and engineers were adjoined to them, and on that day it was advanced more than one-third to the hill.

Meanwhile, the detachment of volunteers stationed at the Bald Mountain, seeing themselves in the enemy's rear, thought of retreating; approached the Carrying place, and in the act of crossing the stream, to join M. de Bourlamaque, supposed still to be at the same post, were charged by a number of the enemy and put to flight in an instant. Almost all who had crossed were either killed or taken. Five officers of the Line were among the latter. Captain de Trepezéc of the Bearn regiment, received a shot in the body, of which he died the next morning in the fort. Sieur de Langy received a very slight wound in the leg whilst recrossing the river, and came in during the night. More than one third of the detachment returned at the same time. The enemy in this affair lost Lord Howe, who commanded that van-guard.

M. de Montcalm commenced his retreat at 4 o'clock, keeping the troops of the Marine and Canadians in the rear and on the flanks of his army, which deployed at 6 o'clock within sight of the fort. In the night, I judged the enemy, by their fires, to be, as yet, no farther than the Carrying place.

7<sup>th</sup> The abati on the height was continued; on the summit a parapet was constructed of piece upon piece; the whole was finished about three o'clock in the afternoon. Axes were afterwards distributed among the Canadians to protect themselves by a similar abatis at the bottom, on the right of the hill and included between it and the river which leads to St. Frederic. The bottom, which was about five hundred toises wide, was confided to the troops of the Marine and Canadians. As they were only four hundred and some men, they could do but very little throughout the day; in the evening, judging by the fires, the enemy had passed the Falls, and had reached within 7 @ 800 toises of our intrenchments. During the night, some shots were fired at our advanced guards; care was taken to keep some detachments outside the intrenchment, and fires were lighted in advance. The eight pickets of the troops of the Line destined for Corlar, arrived between 8 @ 9 o'clock at night.

8<sup>th</sup> Chevalier de Levis landed at day-break and went to reconnoitre his post at the intrenchment. The troops of the Marine and Canadians continued their abatis; but as there were several alarms, they were, as yet, only within 100 toises, or thereabouts, of the height at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. About that hour, a number of Indians appeared on the right bank of the River of the Falls and opposite our intrenchments. After having uttered their cry, they fired a volley of musketry which scarcely reached two-thirds of the river; we had always some detachments abroad to discover the enemy's movements.

As we knew by our scouts that the enemy was seemingly advancing to attack, the firing of a cannon was agreed on as a signal, to take position. The 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Berry, under M. de Trecesson's orders, was to remain at the fort to defend it; his grenadier company, with the seven other battalions, amounting in all to two thousand eight or nine hundred men, guarded the intrenchment of the height, the extent of which was about 300 and some toises. On the left, 25 toises from the height, was the River of the Falls; between the one and the other was a very steep slope taken in flank by a branch of the intrenchment, and in front by a detachment of volunteers and the cannon of the fort, seven pieces of which bear on that point. In front of the height is a gorge with a double slope, very steep, of which the slope near the intrenchment was protected by a strong abati that crowned the whole; on the right, the bottom, of which I have spoken, was confided to the care of the troops of the Marine and Canadians, and



may be 500 toises from the hill to the river. This troop had its left resting on the height and its right on a point of wood, near the opening where the abatis then terminated; between the height and that troop was a pretty steep slope, with a double face. Chevalier de Levis was on the right of the hill; M. de Bourlamaque, on the left; the Marquis de Montcalm in the centre, ready to proceed wherever his presence would be necessary; M. de Raymond, captain of the Marine detachment, was in the bottom at the head of his troop and of the Canadians on the right of the hill. Half an hour after noon, 50 or 60 bateaux were seen through the opening; these, 'twas known, were full of provisions, of which we were in urgent want, since at that moment we had only eight days' supply. About one o'clock our detachments, and grenadiers, who were in advance, perceived the enemy approaching in three columns; they all came in without any confusion. The signal was given, and the following instant the three columns were seen defiling; the 1<sup>st</sup> towards the left of the intrenchment, the 2<sup>nd</sup> against the centre; the 3<sup>rd</sup>, which appeared the strongest, marching towards the bottom, on the right of the hill. Some Indians and Rangers went in front as guides. Chevalier de Levis, who perceived them, ordered M. de Raymond's troop to make a sortie by the wood, in order to outflank that column. It succeeded so perfectly that its fire, with that of La Reine and Bearn, on the right of the hill, obliged that column to throw itself on the right, in order to avoid a double flank fire. Then all found themselves together on the hill which opened and received the most brisk fire imaginable. At the same instant twenty-eight or thirty barges were discovered deploying in the cove, above the mouth of the River of the Falls. Seven or eight cannon shot fired from the fort, which sunk two, made the rest to disappear, and they did not show themselves any more.

Meanwhile the enemy kept constantly, until half-past three o'clock, at the foot of the abatis, vainly trying to clear it, but seeing that was not possible, ascended the hill and reëntered the wood in order to rally. 'Twas then only a simple discharge of musketry from one side to the other until  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 4 o'clock, when they again showed themselves, but did not engage in such numbers as the first time; then the fire became hotter than ever, and so continued until half-past 5 o'clock, at which time the enemy commenced to retreat.

From the commencement of the attack, munitions of war continued to be carried from the fort to the intrenchment, by means of horses; but as there was not a sufficient number of them, a portion of the 2<sup>nd</sup> battalion of Berry, with the workmen were employed in this transportation which caused us the loss of 30 to 40 men, the enemy continually firing at them.

When the retreat of the enemy commenced; the fire slackened by degrees and entirely ceased at  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 7 o'clock in the evening. We learned by 38 @ 40 prisoners taken during the action in the sortie on the right, that the enemy had brought to the attack from 13 to 14,000 men of the élite of their troops; that the General's design was to return with the entire army of 20,400 men, next morning, should he not succeed that day. Preparations were made in consequence. On the following night four cannon were placed on the right, and six on the left of the hill.

9<sup>th</sup> At day-break a very thick smoke was discerned; 'twas correctly concluded that the enemy were burning the barges that had been transferred and were retiring. Nevertheless 'twas not ascertained until the evening, about six o'clock, on the return of Sieur Wolf and his escort, who announced to us that in the course of that very night, more than 80 barges full of the wounded had been sent to the head of the Lake, and that the entire embarkation was completed at daylight.

The loss of the enemy is estimated at over 4,000 men, killed or wounded, among whom are a great many officers, several of whom are of consequence. Ours, during the day of the 6<sup>th</sup> and of the 8<sup>th</sup>, amounts to 4 or 500 men, killed, wounded or missing; of this number, 43 are officers, 15 of whom are dead, five are prisoners and 23 are wounded. M. de Bourlamaque is among the last; in the shoulder.

A journey I have just made renders it impossible for me to accomplish all that is promised in the title of this narrative, and I have had considerable difficulty in completing the day of the 8<sup>th</sup>, as the ship sails in an instant.

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*Brigadier Prevost to Captain de Becourt.*

Copy of the letter from M. Prevost, commandant at Fort Edward, written on the 13<sup>th</sup> November, 1758, to M. de Becourt, commanding at Fort Carillon.

Sir,

I have received from Lieutenant Wolf, on the 10<sup>th</sup> of this month, your letter of the same date, and on the following day Colonel Schuyler arrived with one Major, one Captain-Lieutenant, two Ensigns, one Surgeon, forty-five farmers, twenty-six women and twelve children, some of whom had been ransomed from captivity by the humanity and goodness of Colonel Schuyler; you will find the number thereof in the annexed list.

I permit M. Wolf to procure several goods for the account of Mess<sup>rs</sup>, the officers in your post. I am sorry that I have not been able to furnish them to him myself, as my provisions for the winter are not yet arrived. I would have been glad of that opportunity to evince to you my gratitude for the civilities you have shown Colonel Schuyler and some others of our officers.

I am, etc.

(Signed),      PREVOST,<sup>1</sup> Brigadier.

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*Memoir of M. Péan on the Condition of Canada.*

M. Péan has been sent by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, to bring the detail of the advantage gained the 8<sup>th</sup> of July last by the King's troops, under the orders of the Marquis de Montcalm, over the English at Carillon.

2<sup>nd</sup> To give an account of the state of that Colony and to solicit the succors which are absolutely required for its defence and preservation.

<sup>1</sup> JAMES PREVOST was appointed Colonel-commandant of the 2nd battalion of the 60th regiment, 4th January, 1756; Major-General in America 3rd June, 1762; and Lieutenant-General, also in America, 25th May, 1772. He died in the latter part of 1775. Beatson prints the name "James Provost Mackay." *Political Index*, II., 127. — Ed.



At M. Péan's departure in the month of August last, the Colony remained in the most critical situation; the farmers, after having furnished the last bushel of their wheat for the subsistence of the troops which were marching against the enemy, were supporting themselves only by the aid of some vegetables and wild herbs; eighteen months ago the people, without excepting a single officer, had to be reduced to four ounces of bread a day; they have been reduced of late to two ounces only. During the winter it had become necessary to deprive the troops of bread, and to subsist them on beef, horseflesh and codfish.

The provisions brought by several ships during the year have been immediately forwarded to the armies, but Quebec has always remained in its melancholy situation.

Yet, people have to defend themselves at Carillon against thirty thousand men; against ten thousand at Fort Duquesne and against six thousand towards Chouaguen. The capture of Louisbourg, the settlements pretended to have been made by the English at Gaspé and on the Island of Anticosty, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, have rendered the situation of Canada much more afflicting, but the late misfortune experienced at Fort Frontenac by the Colony, is the most prejudicial of those it has been threatened with, and 'twill run the greatest risks if that fort be not retaken, as it served as an entrepôt for all the King's forts and Indian posts, and as the English will close all the passages. Then, the Indians, who constitute our principal force, finding themselves deprived of all they want, by failure of the succors the French would furnish them, will not fail to go over to the English, and will come and scalp at the very gates of the towns in which the people will be obliged to shut themselves up.

'Twill probably cost a great many men and much money to retake that fort, but it is of such great necessity for the preservation of Canada, that 'tis impossible to dispense with making every effort to retake it.

The harvest is reported very bad, and we must not be surprised at that, if we observe that all the farmers have been obliged to march to oppose the efforts of the enemy.

'Tis therefore to be presumed that this Colony is about to be exposed to much more serious suffering than it has experienced in preceding years, during which people have been under the necessity of consuming all the cattle.

Many persons have died of hunger, and the number would have been much greater had the King not subsisted a greater part of the people.

The land in Canada is in general, very good, and has often supplied in time of peace, provisions to other colonies, and almost always to Isle Royale; but not having had the good fortune to participate in the last peace, and being forced since fifteen years into continual war, which has employed almost all the farmers, the land could not be cultivated, and the failure of the crops which has ensued, has augmented so considerably the price of provisions and rendered them so excessively dear, that the officer can no longer subsist there without running considerably in debt; this is not the case with the soldier to whom too considerable an allowance, and one too expensive to the King has been made.

'Tis certain that Canada will, next year, have to fight more than sixty thousand men, as the English have just sent thither additional troops; no more than fifteen to eighteen thousand men can be employed in its defence, because many will be required for the conveyance of provisions and ammunition, in consequence of the difficulty of the roads and the distance of the different posts.

Supposing the English are not yet at Gaspé, we may rest assured that they will seize it in the spring, and then they will be able to impede the navigation so much, that 'tis to be feared they will capture the greater portion of the succors which will be on the way to Quebec.

'Tis greatly to be feared that they will seize Isle au Coudre, and as the channel at that place is very narrow and the only one, it would be no longer possible to get any relief up to Quebec, and very difficult to drive the English from it.

It is to be expected that the capture of Fort Frontenac will detach from the French interest several Indian Nations who will side with the English, and that fear is founded on the small quantity of merchandise we have to give them, whilst the English furnish them goods in profusion. That event would be much more prejudicial to the Colony than a more considerable reinforcement of English troops, since the Indians are so much afraid of each other that it is very difficult to get them to fight against one another.

Notwithstanding the sad condition of this Colony, we may flatter ourselves that it will sustain itself against the enemy, if succored in season. The bravery of the Canadians is as well known as their fidelity to the King; they are accustomed to fight one against four, but how will they manage without ammunition and bread?

The troops that the King has dispatched thither are equally well disposed and may be relied on.

Three things are necessary for the safety of Canada: these are provisions, ammunition and goods, and men, and 'tis necessary that this relief arrive in the month of April, which is the time the ice breaks up.

The largest portion of the provisions is to be furnished by a contractor in Canada, who has an agreement with the King; this contractor is obliged to make the advances; he has, consequently, established houses in the different ports of France, where he has correspondents; these correspondents have purchased five or six armed frigates which are to be commanded by Captain Canon, lieutenant of a frigate, to escort the transports as far as Quebec; 'tis to be hoped that he will conduct them there, if he can sail about the 15<sup>th</sup> of February.

There are difficulties which might retard this departure and perhaps cause the entire failure of his expedition.

1<sup>st</sup> Those interposed by the Intendant of Bourdeaux, to the loading of the flour. M. de Massiac who had approved the arrangement of M. Canon, had prevailed on the Comptroller-General<sup>1</sup> to issue orders to load the half of it, the correspondents find themselves embarrassed as to the rest; they request permission to load the entire; no time is to be lost for this expedition, and the smallest delay would render it impossible to deliver those provisions. Another difficulty is, that last year, these merchants expended all their funds for the demands of Canada, their returns could be made only in bills of exchange of the country on the Colonial treasurers; these bills had hitherto the best possible credit, and at a discount of one half per cent per month on them, all the money needed was easily obtained; but since the reduction of Isle Royale, this paper is totally discredited; these merchants have not been able to obtain money, no matter what arrangement they proposed; on their remonstrance M. de Massiac had promised them to endeavor to procure them facilities to negotiate their bills; this engagement not having been yet fulfilled, brings them to a stand-still, and renders it impossible for them to satisfy their obligations. They have proposed divers means. The first, has been to engage the Farmers-general to order their receivers at Bourdeaux and the other ports where supplies are furnished, to give a preference to these bills and at the usual discount. The second, to give them a credit on M. de Montmartel, to whom they would have remitted these same bills of exchange with the interest due.

<sup>1</sup> Jean Nicolas de Boullongne. — Ed.



If one or the other of these arrangements could be effected, this paper would recover its usual credit; the Farmers-general or M. de Montmartel would, perhaps, not be exposed to receiving much of it.

The correspondents of the contractor have proposed to convey some troops in their frigates and transports, on payment of their passages; this would be an arrangement so much the more advantageous, as the troops would diminish the number of sailors which are obliged to be furnished them. Captain Canon has offered to take fifteen hundred men or thereabouts.

As for the other merchandise needed by the Indians and troops, M. de Massiac has likewise ordered it to be furnished; the persons who have contracted to supply it, have been ordered to have it, as well as the munitions of war, conveyed to Brest and Rochefort in all January next; the whole will probably be put on board the King's ships.

But as these will be exposed to fighting, and as 'tis important, in order to facilitate manœuvres in the engagement, that they should not be too heavily loaded; 'tis thought that 'twould be advantageous to put the surplus of provisions, munitions and goods on board three or four 60 @ 70-gun ships of those that have been reformed for fighting; by putting no artillery on board, they would still be able to carry the merchandise and ammunition to Quebec with more security than merchantmen, because they would sail better, deceive by their size, be escorted by men-of-war, and accommodate a larger quantity than a more considerable number of small merchantmen. Besides, the King would have the benefit of the freight, and have to pay only the sailors.

15<sup>th</sup> November, 1758.

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*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 15<sup>th</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

The three vessels sailed on the twelfth which carry my despatches and a letter written you, on my part, by M. de Bougainville, supplementary to my last of the twenty-first of October. M. Doreil, Commissaire ordonnateur, embarked in the King's flyboat *l'Otarde* and M. de Bougainville in *La Victoire*. Letters from Quebec inform me that there is still a fourth little vessel to sail, and I hasten, my Lord, to write you to inform you of the return of our troops to their quarters. Whatever diligence I used, although I anticipated my orders for their departure, which was much sooner than in 1755 and 1756, a too early frost, unexampled within the last fifty years, has occasioned much suffering among the troops and to myself much apprehension and embarrassment.

Chevalier de Levis, who was a passenger with me, has personally incurred some danger. We experienced, on Lake Champlain, a real tempest which scattered our fleet of bateaux like those of Saint Cloud, and the ice made us shudder on entering the rivers. But, luckily, we are quit for some slight loss of bateaux and baggage, and of only four soldiers. I write you about it only for fear some private letters should create alarm respecting that event.

We have just received news from Fort Duquesne of the twenty-third of October. Captain Aubry, of the Louisiana troops, has gained a tolerably considerable advantage there on the

15<sup>th</sup>. The enemy lost on the occasion a hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded and missing; they were pursued as far as a new fort called Royal hannon, which they built at the head of the River d'Attiqué. We had only two men killed and seven wounded. Although the Indians have retired to hunt and the Louisiana detachments, which came from the post of the Illinois as well as those of Detroit, have returned home, I think that Fort Duquesne is safe for this autumn and winter, and that the enemy will also think of going into winter quarters, and content themselves with preserving their new establishment; but 'tis greatly to be feared that the difficulty of transporting provisions in the spring, the fear of having its communication with Canada cut off, will cause Fort Duquesne to be abandoned.

I am, with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Cremille.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 21<sup>st</sup> November, 1758.

Sir,

My last was dated the twentieth of October. I learn that we have still one small vessel remaining which will not sail until the arrival of the courier that is about to be sent to Quebec, and I profit by it to inform you of the arrival of all our troops in their quarters; it has not been without a great deal of suffering, although their departure from the Camp of Carillon has been a great deal earlier than in 1755 and 1756. We experienced in the fore part of November a cold unexampled at this season for fifty years. Luckily, it has cost us only four soldiers; I write you merely for fear some private letter might have created alarm in regard to an event which raised apprehensions of more serious consequence. Chevalier de Levis who was a passenger with me, personally ran some risk on Lake Champlain.

We have just received some news from Fort du Quesne of the twenty-third of October. Captain Aubry<sup>1</sup> of the Louisiana troops has gained a somewhat considerable advantage there on the fifteenth. The enemy lost on the occasion one hundred and fifty men, killed, wounded or missing; they were pursued up to a new fort, called Royal hannon, which they are building at the head of the River D'attiqué.<sup>2</sup> We had only two men killed and seven wounded.

<sup>1</sup> Captain AUBRY, Knight of St. Louis. He was taken prisoner by Sir William Johnson at Niagara in 1759, and next returned to Louisiana where he remained after the peace of 1763, in command of four companies at New Orleans. He succeeded to the government 4th February, 1765, and surrendered the Colony in March, 1766, to Governor Ulloa for Spain, but retained its government until the arrival of Spanish troops. On the expulsion of Ulloa, in 1768, M. Aubry continued to administer the government until relieved by General O'Reilly in July, 1769. He, soon after sailed from Louisiana for Bordeaux, and the vessel had already entered the River Garonne, when she was overtaken by a heavy storm and sunk near the Tower of Cordouan, 24th February, 1770. Governor Aubry, and all on board (except the captain, surgeon and a couple of sailors), perished on this disastrous occasion. *Gayarré*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Loyal hannon, afterwards Fort Ligonier, was situated on the East side of Loyal hannon creek, in the town of Ligonier, Westmoreland County, Pa. *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII., 389.



Although the Indians have retired to hunt, and the Louisiana detachments which came from the Post of the Illinois, as well as those from Detroit, have returned home, I think that Fort Duquesne is safe for this autumn and winter.

I have annexed to the letter I had the honor to write you on the twentieth of October, copy of my representations to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot, the Intendant, as to the impossibility of our officers living on their appointments, in consequence of the dearness of all our provisions, both have agreed to grant a supplementary pay of thirty *sous* a day to each captain, and twenty *sous* to each lieutenant, to indemnify them for the high price of provisions, only, however, until the opening of the campaign. 'Tis a slight alleviation of a very great evil, and I think 'twill be impossible to dispense with giving the officers a greater increase of pay, and which subsists equally through the winter and the campaign season.

I always request of you to continue your kindness and to be persuaded of an unlimited attachment which equals the respect wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your most humble, and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.

#### An Account of Major Grant's Defeat near Fort Duquesne.

[ Pennsylvania Gazette. ]

Annapolis, October 5th, 1758.

We are informed by a letter from Frederick county, that on Monday, the 11th of September, Major Grant, of the Highland regiment, marched from our camp on the waters of the Kiskiminitas, with 37 officers and 805 privates, taken from the different regiments that compose the Western Army, on an expedition against Fort Duquesne.

The third day after their march, they arrived within eleven miles of Fort Duquesne, and halted till three o'clock in the afternoon; then marched within two miles of Fort Duquesne, and left their baggage there, guarded by a captain, two subalterns, and fifty men, and marched with the rest of the troops, and arrived at eleven o'clock at night upon a hill, a quarter of a mile from the Fort. Major Grant sent two officers and fifty men to the Fort to attack all the Indians, &c., they should find lying out of the Fort; they saw none, nor were they challenged by the centries. As they returned, they set fire to a large store house, which was put out as soon as they left it. At break of day, Major Lewis was sent with 400 men (royal Americans and Virginians), to lie in ambush a mile and a half from the main body, on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining the French would send to attack the baggage guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the Fort, to cover the retreat of Capt. M'Donald's company, who marched with drums beating toward the Fort, in order to draw a party out of the Fort, as Maj. Grant had some reason to believe there were not above 200 men in the Fort, including Indians; but as soon as they heard the drums they sallied out in great numbers, both French and Indians, and fell upon Captain M'Donald, and two columns that were posted lower on the hill to receive them. The Highlanders exposed themselves without any cover, and were shot down in great numbers, and soon forced to retreat. The Carolinians, Marylanders, and Lower Countrymen, concealing themselves behind trees and the brush, made a good defence; but were overpowered by numbers, and not being supported,

were obliged to follow the rest. Major Grant exposed himself in the thickest of the fire, and endeavored to rally his men, but all to no purpose, as they were by this time flanked on all sides. Maj. Lewis and his party came up and engaged, but were soon obliged to give way, the enemy having the hill of him, and flanking him every way. A number were drove into the Ohio, most of whom were drowned. Major Grant retreated to the baggage, where Captain Bullet was posted with fifty men, and again endeavored to rally the flying soldiers by entreating them in the most pathetic manner to stand by him, but all in vain, as the enemy were close at their heels. As soon as the enemy came up to Capt. Bullet, he attacked them very furiously for some time, but not being supported, and most of his men killed, was obliged to give way. However, his attacking them stopped the pursuit, so as to give many an opportunity of escaping. The enemy followed Major Grant,<sup>1</sup> and at last separated them, and Captain Bullet was obliged to make off. He imagines the major must be taken, as he was surrounded on all sides, but the enemy would not kill him, and often called to him to surrender. The French gave quarters to all that would accept it."

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*

Montreal, 20<sup>th</sup> November, 1758.

My Lord,

The preceding letters I had the honor to write to you, had relation to the different objects of this Colony, supposing the war to continue; but as the King might possibly, my Lord, make peace during the winter, in such case the principal occupation of this government will be:

- 1<sup>st</sup> To impress on the Colonists all its mildness.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> To restore abundance in it.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> To encourage population and agriculture.
- 4<sup>th</sup> To remedy the excessively high rate of labor.

<sup>1</sup> JAMES GRANT, of Ballendalloch, was appointed Major of the Montgomerie Highlanders on the raising of that corps in 1757, and immediately afterwards accompanied the regiment to America. He was wounded and taken prisoner on the above occasion, when 231 of his men were killed and wounded. In 1760, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 40th foot; was breveted Colonel in the army in 1772, and on 11th December, 1775, was appointed Colonel of the 55th, which regiment formed part of the forces under General Howe in 1776; on the 1st of January of that year Colonel Grant was gazetted Major-General "in America," and commanded the fourth and sixth brigades of the British army at the battle of Long Island in August following. In the next year he was appointed Major-General in the army, and accompanied Howe to the Delaware in command of the second brigade, and was left at Elkhead to maintain the communication with the fleet; he afterwards commanded the first and second brigades at the Brandywine; and was engaged at Germantown on the 4th October following, when he forced the left of the American army to give way. In May, 1778, he was detached with a strong force to cut off the Marquis La Fayette, on the Schuylkill, but was unsuccessful in that design. He defeated General Lee, in New Jersey, in June, and on the 4th of November sailed from Staten Island in command of the army sent against the French possessions in the West Indies. In December following he reduced St. Lucia; was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General 20th November, 1782; became Colonel of the 11th foot in 1791 and Governor of Stirling Castle. In May, 1796, he was promoted to be General in the army and died "very old" at his seat at Ballendalloch, near Elgin, in Scotland, about the 13th May, 1806. *Stewart's Sketches of the Highlands; Beaton's Naval and Military Memoirs*, IV., VI; *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1806; *Army Lists*. — Ed.



5<sup>th</sup> To protect commerce, diminish the price of goods to the Indian Nations, which is the only means to make them feel less regret for the English stores, and attach them to us more and more.

6<sup>th</sup> To secure the frontiers of the Colony.

7<sup>th</sup> To lessen his Majesty's expenses.

8<sup>th</sup> Finally, to replace this Colony on a footing capable of making the Colonists regret the desire many of them feel to return to France.

As most of these different objects, my Lord, [can] be discussed only as a consequence of the articles of a treaty of peace in which the respective limits will have been finally settled, I confine myself now to what relates to the recall of the land forces. Nothing would appear to me of more advantage to this Colony than to withdraw all the battalions from it as soon as peace is concluded; besides costing a great deal, they will always foster a spirit of division; their manner of waging war being accompanied with less hardship than that of the Colony, would insensibly be adopted; the introduction of baggage and provisions in the campaign proceeds from the officers of those troops; 'tis most pernicious to the fashion of bush fighting; is an obstacle to the change of camp from one moment to the other and thereby prevents frequent detachments.

Had I, my Lord, in the field as many independent troops of the Marine as land forces, New England would long feel the effects of it.

It would be essential, however, my Lord,

1<sup>st</sup> That in recalling the battalions, you would be pleased to procure the French soldiers facilities to remain in the Colony and to induce the King to issue an ordinance authorizing every soldier belonging to the troops of the Line to enter those of the Marine.

2<sup>nd</sup> That his Majesty should grant an absolute discharge and two years' pay to all of those soldiers who are married, or would marry and settle in the Colony.

3<sup>rd</sup> Should his Majesty at the peace reform his troops, let him have some sent to Canada as recruits to complete the companies and serve to form new ones.

4<sup>th</sup> Rather than be again under the necessity of sending back battalions to the Colony, 'twere better, I think, to make an augmentation of a certain number of companies of which that of soldiers would be more or less considerable in times of peace or war, proportionally to the quantity of troops his Majesty would wish to have in this country.

5<sup>th</sup> His Majesty might permit the officers belonging to the troops of the Line, who are married or will marry in Canada, to pass with the same rank, into the troops of the Marine, their seniority, however, only dating from the day they serve in this Colony.

6<sup>th</sup> I have the honor to represent to you that it would be unfortunate, should such favor extend to the Colonists, who have entered, successively, as lieutenants in the troops of the Line, in preference to the Colonial service; they would indeed have remained a long time Cadets before being able to be Ensign *en second*.

Articles five and six are so important, that if they did not remain, the officers of the Colony who have served with the greatest zeal, would see young men over them who often would have neither talents, nor experience; some of them even would never have dared to flatter themselves with becoming officers in the troops of the Marine.

'Twould be superfluous, my Lord, to offer you any reasons in support of the difference that exists in the defence to be expected from a troop which has the Colony for its resource, in which are its property, family and fortune, and that of a troop which feeling expatriated, has

no other ambition than not to dishonor itself and to return to its family, caring very little about the injuries the enemy may inflict on the Colony, or even its total loss.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Brigadier-General Forbes to Governor Denny.*

[ Pennsylvania Archives, VIII., 222. ]

Fort Duquesne, or now Pittsburg, the 26 Novr, 1758.

Sir:

I have the Pleasure and Honour of Acquainting you with the Signal Success of his Majesty's Troops over all his Enemys on the Ohio, by having obliged them to Burn and abandon their Fort Duquesne, which they effectuated upon the 24th Instant, And of which I took Possession with my little Army the next Day,—The Enemy having made their escape down the River, part in Boats and part by Land, to their Forts, and Settlements on the Mississippi being abandoned, or at least not seconded by their Friends, the Indians, whom we had previously engaged to act a neutral part, And who now seem all willing and ready to Embrace His Majesty's Most gracious Protection.

So give me leave to congratulate you upon this publick event of having totally expelled the French from this Fort and this prodigious tract of Country, and of having in a manner reconciled the various Tribes of Indians inhabiting it to His Majesty's Government.

I have not time to give you a detail of our proceedings and approaches towards the Enemy, or of the Hardships and Difficulties that we necessarily meet with; all that will soon come out, but I assure you, after receiving the Ground & Fort, I have great reason to be most thankful for the part that the French have acted.

As the Conquest of this Country is of the greatest Consequence to the adjacent Provinces, by securing the Indians, our real Friends for their own Advantage, I have therefore sent for their Head People to come to me, when I think in few Words and few Days to make everything easy; I shall then set out to kiss your Hands, if I have Strength left to carry me through the Journey.

I shall be obliged to leave about Two Hundred Men of your Provincial Troops to join a proportion of Virginia and Marylanders, in order to protect this Country during Winter, by which Time I hope the Provinces will be so sensible of the great Benefit of this new Acquisition, as to enable me to fix this noble, fine Country, to all Perpetuity, under the Dominion of Great Britain.

I beg the Barracks may be put in good repair, and proper Lodgings for the Officers, and that you will send me, with the greatest Dispatch, your Opinion how I am to dispose of the rest of your Provincial Troops for the ease and Convenience of the Province and Inhabitants.



You must also remember that Colonel Montgomery's Battalion of Thirteen Hundred Men, and Four Companies of Royal Americans, are, after so long and tedious a Campaign, to be taken care of in some Comfortable Winter Quarters.

I kiss all your Hands, and flatter myself that if I get to Philadelphia, under your Cares and good Companys, I shall yet run a good Chance of re-establishing a Health that I run the risque of ruining to give your Province all the Satisfaction in the Power of my weak Abilities.

I am Sir, with great Esteem and regard,

Your most Obedient and Hum<sup>e</sup> Servant,

JO. FORBES.

P. S. I must beg that you will recommend to your Assembly the building of a Block House and Saw Mill upon the Kiskaminities, near Loyal Hannon, as a thing of the utmost Consequence to their Province, if they have any intention of profiting by this Acquisition.

I send the New Levies to Carlisle, so beg you will lose no Time in sending up Mr. Young, the Commissary, to clear them.



*Abstract of, and Ministerial Minute on, the Despatches from Canada.*

The last letters written from Quebec by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, M. Bigot and the Marquis de Montcalm, are of the month of November. Although they agree in saying that this year's harvest has been good, they ask unanimously for reinforcements of troops, ships of war, provisions, ammunition and goods of all sorts.

One object of not less interest than that of reinforcements, is the manner the Chiefs of the Colony appear to be unanimous. In the commencement of this year, the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm lived on such indifferent terms, and so many remarks were made on the administration, that this estrangement had exercised an influence over all minds; the Marquis de Vaudreuil complained of it, and the Marquis de Montcalm also complained of the want of confidence on his part.

Things have been pushed so far, that both, equally aware of the evil their coolness might produce, became reconciled and made up friends again, but that was in appearance only.

Immediately after the affair at Carillon of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, which has been reported to his Majesty, these two officers no longer agreed in opinion; the Marquis de Vaudreuil wished that detachments to the number of 12 or 15,000 men be sent in pursuit of the enemy; M. de Montcalm sent out only 15 and 30 men, and the campaign has finished without undertaking anything on that side.

In the month of November, when nothing more remained than to take up winter quarters, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has persuaded the Marquis de Montcalm to repair to Montreal to concert measures of attack or defence, to be employed against the English. Their conferences have run on three points: The defence by the lakes, that by land and that by the River St. Lawrence.

After having conversed about it, they have written their opinions, and differ so widely one from the other, that whatever be the zeal which animates them both, serious apprehensions

cannot fail to be entertained from this diversity. Nothing better can be done than to place their respective Memoirs under his Majesty's eyes.

This state of things requiring his Majesty to decide, it appears necessary that he should be pleased to grant the Marquis de Montcalm his recall, which he has demanded in the letter also annexed hereunto, as his health and the debts he has contracted do not permit him to continue his service.

This recall appears so much the more indispensable as the Marquis de Montcalm, on becoming Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's armies, a grade, moreover, merited by his services, would feel some objection to serve in this new capacity under the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who is only Governor Lieutenant-General; a title which does not possess, among military men, the same extent of power as that of Lieutenant-General of the armies.

Should his Majesty determine to recall him, it will be possible to replace him by giving Chevalier de Levy, who accompanied him to Canada, the command of the troops of the Colony, with the rank of *Maréchal de Camp*, which the Marquis de Montcalm held, and which the Marquis de Vaudreuil requests for him, although he does not know whether the Marquis de Montcalm is to remain in the Colony; Chevalier de Levis had been designed to succeed the Marquis de Montcalm in case of accident, he is generally beloved and esteemed by all the troops and Militia of the Colony, and the knowledge he has acquired since he is in service there, affords reason to think that a better selection could not be made.

In case his Majesty will approve of it, 'twill be proper to give him at the same time, the general command of the Colony, supposing the Marquis de Vaudreuil should happen to die, as his Majesty had granted it to the Marquis de Montcalm; and the provisions thereof will be sent to the Intendant in a sealed package, which will not be opened until the death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, should it occur.

28<sup>th</sup> December, 1758. On mature reflection, this arrangement cannot take place, as Mr de Montcalm is necessary in the present conjuncture.



*Colonel Montresor's Plan of the Campaign for the British forces in 1759.*

Plan for the Operations of the Campaign for the year 1759, carried on from the Department of New-York, humbly submitted for Amendments.

That 9,500 men march as soon as the season will permit, to the Oneyda Station, or Stanwix fort, there to encamp until the provisions, stores and boats be arrived, in order to proceed on according to the following proposal:

That 6,500 from the above number do proceed to Oswego, with boats sufficient to carry 6,000 men, with 30 days' provision, who are to embark from thence. Four thousand for Cadaraqui, with two 12 pounders, four 6 pounders, one 8 inch howitzer, two royals, four cohorns, one Engineer, one 1<sup>st</sup> Lieutenant and one 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant of artillery, two bombard<sup>rs</sup>, four gunners and 20 matrosses.



There to land in the part most convenient, and under cover from the place, according to the intelligence sent before to reconnoitre it ; and if any works have been made to it since the last attack worth while to raise batteries against them, the same is to be done, but if otherwise, to assault it and secure what can be of service for carrying on this design, viz', provisions, stores, and particularly vessels of any kind. This done, and an arrangement made, then to embark again with the artillery, provisions, &c., and to proceed into the River St. Lawrence to La Gallette or Oswegatchie, distant about 45 miles, where, according to this project, they will meet with 3,000 men ordered to march from the abovementioned Camp, ten days after 6,500, who are to have with them one Engineer, one Lieut. of artillery, one bombardier, two gunners and eight matrosses with 6 or 8 cohorns, to have marched from the Carrying place through the woods to la Galette distant between 80 or 90 miles, there being an Indian path often made use of by the enemy's parties to come to the Mohock river, and are seldom more than three days in performing it.

La Galette is represented to be a small, weak fort, only as a security from the Indians, and cannot be of any strength. The settlements about it must be set fire to in the night of the arrival and destroyed, in order to occasion a terror, at the same time invest the fort, which, if not thought advisable, to attempt by a brusquée, or *coup de main*. Then to raise a battery as if for cannon was to be mounted, and from thence fire the cohorns in the night, whose reports may have the effect of a speedy surrender, and greatly facilitate the enterprise which may be effected before the Cadaraqui force comes up, as it must be immediately at their junction, being themselves attacked by land and water by a formidable and respectable body of troops.

These forces joined, they are to take post at La Galette, which is so advantageously situated, both in regard to itself and to the command of the River St. Lawrence, for all vessels going from Montreal to the lakes, and which navigation from it to Cadaraqui, etc., is free and clear from rifts, whereas to Montreal is embarrassed with falls, rifts and islands (for which reason the French are blamed for making Cadaraqui their chief post), and is to us for the taking and securing it entirely, as it cuts off all communication from Montreal to the lakes, and assures us a part of the east side of the river, which is but thinly settled, until the neighborhood of La Prairie, opposite to Montreal, distant nearly 120 miles, and from whence ('tis said is a road), as the river to La Galette has so bad a navigation. This Post being taken, a garrison left, to be supplied with provisions from Oswego, as it must be the depot for the time, the remainder of the army to continue their march always on the east side of the river, securing all vessels and provisions they can gather from the several settlements, and proceed until they find a proper place to cross and land on the Island of Montreal.

The remaining 2,500 to be disposed of as follows : Five hundred to keep the post and dépôt at Oswego, and the two thousand who are to embark at the same time as the 4,000 did, and to shape their course for Niagara with one Engineer, one Lieu<sup>t</sup> of artillery, 2 bombadiers, 4 gunners, 12 matrosses, with two 12-pounders, 2 six-pounders, one 8-inch howitzer, 2 royals, 4 cohorns. This body is to land on the nearest and safest landing place to the fort, with summons to surrender, letting them know that all their communications are entirely cut off from the River S<sup>t</sup> Lawrence. That the English are in actual possession of La Galette and marching their army towards Montreal, which, if not agreed to on the spot, then to be attacked vigorously, which must be on great disadvantages on the enemy's side, who will not dare to hold out, considering the situation they must be in after the loss of Fort Duquesne.

This place, when taken, must be secured, provided and strengthened, in order to keep a garrison there for preserving the thoroughfare and communications from the upper lakes to the lower, and to the vast country through which the Ohio and Mississippi run through. 'Tis been always a noted Indian mart and trading place.

Distribution of 9,500 men.

Cadaraqui,..	{	Boatmen,.....	1,500	Niagara,....	{	Boatmen,.....	500
		Rangers and Provincials,	1,000			Rangers & Provincials,	500
		Regulars,.....	1,500			Regulars,.....	1,000
LaGalette,..	{	Rangers and Provincials,	2,000	Oswego Post,		Regulars,.....	500
		Regulars,.....	1,000				
		<u>9,500</u>	<u>7,000</u>			<u>2,500</u>	

That 7,000 men march up as soon as the season will permit, and encamp at Lake George, there to gather and make a sufficient number of boats and vessels necessary to carry the abovementioned troops, with all the artillery designed for this body down the lake; this to be formed and ready to embark at a minute's warning and at the time prescribed in the Reasons given for this Project.

N. B.—The quantity of artillery is not mentioned, as 'tis supposed that the won't be less than was proposed and brought last year.

Distribution of 7,000 men.

Camp at Lake George:

Boatmen,.....	1,000
Rangers, .....	1,000
Provincials, .....	1,000
Regulars,.....	4,000
<u>7,000</u>	

That 3,000 men march to the fort at N° 4 and there to encamp until such time they are provided with proper tools, stores and provisions, and then to proceed for Otter creek, below the Falls, there to build bateaux and rafts sufficient when required to cross Lake Champlain, and, if possible, to take post on one of the points of land that forms the opening of the Otter creek, and there to remain until orders shall be given them to cross over.

Distribution of the 3,000 men.

N° 4, for Otter creek:

Carpenters, bateau builders,.....	500
New Hampshire Rangers,.....	1,000
Connecticut Provincials, .....	1,500
<u>3,000</u>	



When this last number are ready prepared to cross over Lake Champlain, the corps of troops, &c., at Lake George must embark and move down towards Tierandoraga, at the same time the Otter Creek forces must cross the lake and take post in the communication or road to Crown Point, lying below it. In order to stop all convoys of stores, provisions or reinforcements coming to the assistance of Crown P<sup>t</sup>, etc., whose garrison, seldom exceeding 300 men, will keep close within. The body of the enemy's troops at the lines and Tierandaroga, seeing the army in motion on Lake George, and another crossing over Lake Champlain, will be at a loss how to act. For if they should offer to unfurnish the lines and fort, the Lake George army pushes on their design, and with the conquest of that part the rest must fall, as their army and forts are invested at one time and between two fires. And if the enemy should not leave their intrenchment, but resolve to defend it, then the said 7,000 men must attack their intrenchment with a vigorous artillery with ricochet fire and shells, driving them from it, during which time the 3,000 men, supposed on the same side of the lake as the forts and lines, are to advance slowly on the rear of the enemy. In which situation no troops in the enemy's position can remain long, but naturally will attempt to force through the weakest part and abandon the intrenchment, which must be passed with speed to save the 3,000 men from being defeated.

N. B.

Orders must be given to the 3,000 men to destroy all the enemy's vessels and boats on the lake to prevent their retreat.

#### Reasons for the foregoing Scheme.

1<sup>st</sup> By attacking the enemy at La Galette it not only prevents assisting Cadaraqui, but also furnishes us with an advantageous post, which can be kept up with ease by securing this side of the river and the navigation of it, rendering Cadaraqui of no use. For the like reason, (it may be said), that Niagara is also in the same condition by the communication being stopped. But as it is a post which must always be kept up for the reasons given before, besides it receiving some supplies from other parts than from the River St. Lawrence, it is extremely necessary to secure it, as it will well answer the expense made on it.

2<sup>d</sup> By the attack of La Galette the army may find some assistance of provisions, etc., for advancing further in the country, where they can meet with no resistance, as no succors can be sent from Montreal or the posts in that neighborhood, by being kept in *echée* by the armies on Lake Champlain and Lake George, who are watching every minute the present opportunity to force and penetrate that way.

3<sup>d</sup> By making an effort on Lake Champlain with boats, etc., and taking Posts on one of the points where Otter Creek runs into the lake, it will stop the enemy's sending any reinforcements to Tieranderoga, not only for fear of being intercepted, but by another greater reason, which is, that as they must naturally imagine, the impression is the most easiest made where the resistance is the least, and as by the supposition our forces are already 50 miles in their country and in the road to their second Capital, which they must either leave open to the army on the river, or unfurnish their intrenchments before Tierandaroga, or let the Otter Creek army go quietly on with their design, which is to get between the forts and their communication, or suffer the 7,000 men at Lake George, who are to be ready at a minute's warning with all their

necessaries proper for besieging or carrying war in an Enemy's country, for to go up the lake and land, taking possession of their forts as far as *La Prairie*, opposite to Montreal, which is the point of union of this project, and for the whole to join except those of Niagara.

N. B. That all the boats that are to take in troops or artillery should be numbered and registered for what service they are to be employed in, that the distribution of them may be detailed in such a manner that day or night it might be executed without confusion; as the effect of this part of the enterprise depends greatly on the celerity of its motion, which is to take place according to that of the enemy's. For which reason proper scouts are to be kept continually going between each of these separate bodies, as their action depends on the true and certain intelligence of their several manœuvres.

This plan or project of operations is founded only on one principle, which is to keep the enemy in suspense and state of uncertainty in being attacked at each extremity of its second Capital by two bodies, subdivided in two or more, mutually assisting each other, preventing them from resolving whether to send supplies or reinforcements to either of them, or watch the defence of *Montreal*, extremely weak of itself, and hardly deserves the name of a walled town.

Therefore let the enemy act against what part they think proper, the rest in all probability will succeed, and if any one of them has the advantage, the whole will soon reap the benefit, from the position of the several attacks and the situation of the country in which they are made in.

JACQ. MONTRESOR,<sup>1</sup>

Lt. Col. Chief Engineer for the Department of N. Y.

New-York, December 29th, 1758.

Distribution of the whole number, amounting to 20,500.

Cadaraqui, .....	{ Batoe men, .....	1,500	
	{ Rangers, .....	500	
	{ New-York Provincials, .....	500	
	{ Regulars, .....	1,500	
			4,000
La Gallette, or Oswegatchie, {	{ Rangers, .....	500	
	{ Provincials, .....	1,500	
	{ Regulars, .....	1,000	
			3,000
Niagara, .....	{ Batoe men, .....	500	
	{ Rangers and Provincials, .....	500	
	{ Regulars, .....	1,000	
			2,000

<sup>1</sup> JAMES MONTRESOR became Director of Engineers and Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army 4th January, 1758, in which year he was at the head of the Engineer Department, in the expedition against Ticonderoga, under Abercrombie. He drew the plan of Fort Stanwix and the surrounding country in the summer of the same year. *New-York Documentary History*, 8vo., IV., 425. He was Chief Engineer also to Amherst's Expedition, and superintended the construction of the Fort at the head of Lake George, in July, 1759. *Knox's Journal*, I., 403. He obtained in 1771 a grant of 10,000 acres of land at the Forks of the Pagkatagan or Otter Creek, in the present town of Pantton, Vt., and in May, 1772, became Colonel in the army. He died in December, 1775. *Army Lists*; *New-York Land Papers*. — Ed.



Fort Edward,.....	{ Batoe men, .....	1,000	
	{ Rangers, .....	1,000	
	{ Provincials, .....	1,000	
	{ Regulars, .....	4,000	7,000
For Otter Creek,.....	{ Carpenters and bateau builders,.....	500	
	{ New Hampshire Rangers,.....	1,000	
	{ Connecticut Provincials,.....	1,500	3,000
Oswego Post,.....	Regulars, .....	500	
Fort Edward Comm <sup>n</sup> ,.....	Regulars, .....	500	
Fort Stanwix, etc.,.....	Regulars, .....	500	1,500
Total of the whole,.....			20,500

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*French Campaigns in North America, 1754-1758.*

[By Chevallier DE MONTREUIL.]

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

The English having, in 1754, built Fort Necessity, twenty-five leagues from Fort Duquesne, M. dejumonville was detached with 40 men to go and summon the garrison to retire. He was killed with seven Canadians, and the remainder of his detachment made prisoners of war. On this intelligence, Captain de Villiers, of the troops of the Marine, was ordered to conduct 700 men and avenge his brother's death; he reduced said fort on the 3<sup>rd</sup> July by capitulation, and made the garrison prisoners of war.

In the year 1755, the King of France, being informed that several regiments had been sent from Old to New England, dispatched to Canada the second battalions of La Reine, Artois, Bourgogne, Languedoc, Guienne and Bearn, under the orders of Baron de Dieskaw, to whom Colonel Chev. de Rostain was appointed Second, and Chev. de Montreuil Major-General.

The regiments of Artois and Bourgogne landed at Louisbourg, and the four others at Quebec in the course of June.

The ships *l'Alcide* and *le Lis*, with four companies of the regiment of La Reine and four of the regiment of Languedoc on board, were taken on Green Bank. Chev. de Rostain was killed by a cannon shot in the former vessel.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, who arrived from France at the same time as the battalions, had advice of the capture of the French fort, called Beausejour, in Acadia; no longer doubting the pretensions of the English on Canada, he determined to undertake the siege of Fort Chouaguen, situate on Lake Ontario. He dispatched, in the course of July, the battalions for Fort Frontenac, whither he sent artillery, munitions of war and provisions. Having learned, in the meantime, that the enemy was erecting a new post on the River of Orange, 7 leagues from Lake St. Sacrament, he countermanded the battalions of La Reine and

Languedoc, which he sent to Fort St. Frederic, situate on Lake Champlain, where he concentrated, at the end of August, a corps of three thousand men, the command whereof he gave to Baron de Dieskaw, who, on his arrival, detached some small parties to observe the enemy's movements, who reported to him that they had a considerable camp near the house of a Frenchman named Lidius, situate on the River of Orange, where they were constructing a fort and several roads, to come to Lake St. Sacramento and the Bay of the *Grand Marais* to attack the frontier. On this report, he proceeded on the 2<sup>nd</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup> to encamp at Carillon, in order to stop the enemy at that point, where they were obliged to pass. On the same day, he learned from a prisoner that the enemy had retired to Orange, and left 500 men to finish the fort.

On this news, which turned out to be false, Baron de Dieskaw, not having sufficient provisions to take his army thither, marched on the 4<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, at the head of 1,500 men, to wit, 200 troops of the Line, 700 Canadians and 600 Indians. The remainder of the troops encamped at the Falls of Lake St. Sacramento and at the Two Rocks, situate at the entrance of the *Grand Marais*, to secure the Baron de Dieskaw's retreat, and prevent the enemy entering by Lake St. Sacramento.

Baron de Dieskaw, after four days' march, learned, within half a league from Fort Lidius, that there was a camp of 4,000 men near Lake St. Sacramento, distant six leagues from him, and having resolved, on the advice of the Indians, to go and attack it, he marched, at day-break, on the 8<sup>th</sup>, and encountered a force of one thousand men within half a league of their camp, whom he successfully fought; having arrived there at the same time as the detachment, he ordered an immediate attack, so as not to afford time to the enemy to recognize each other, but the greatest part of the Canadians and Indians, being fatigued after the first shock, rested themselves, and the few that remained courageously formed the attack on the left within 1 200 paces of that on the right, where the land troops distinguished themselves. Baron de Dieskaw and Chevalier de Montreuil went to post themselves in the centre of these two attacks, within a short musket shot of the enemy, who perceived them and fired several volleys of musketry at them, when Baron de Dieskaw was wounded by two shots, one of which was very dangerous. Chevalier de Montreuil pressed him to retire after receiving a slight wound in the leg, but he persisted in remaining in the same place, saying he could not do it, and an instant afterwards, received a ball in both hips; Chevalier de Montreuil then called to his aid two Canadians whom he perceived at a certain distance, and who came to him; one of them, on arriving, wished to carry the General on his back; Baron de Dieskaw refused; the other Canadian, kneeling at his feet, was killed outright, and fell on his legs. Chevalier de Montreuil seeing Baron de Dieskaw was unwilling to allow himself to be removed, asked what course he wished adopted? Who ordered him to proceed to the right where the troops of the line were fighting, and having answered that he should not abandon him, Baron de Dieskaw ordered him in the King's name to retire. Chev. de Montreuil thought it his duty to execute his orders, so as to send him some relief and remedy the disorder which prevailed among the detachment. Arriving at the right, he saw the troops of the Line, of whom there were remaining about one hundred soldiers, in the act of retiring; he ran and stopped them within 500 paces of the camp; made them take up an advantageous position, which so checked the enemy that they dare not embarrass the remainder of the troops who were retreating. Chev. de Montreuil, sure of being made prisoner of war, should he return to the place where he had left Baron de Dieskaw, remained half an hour in presence of the enemy, expecting that the detachment would return, but having learned on the contrary, that it was continuing its march, decided on retiring, and did not overtake until nightfall two hundred Canadians or



Indians, led by Captain St. Luc de la Corne, of the troops of the Marine, with whom he arrived next evening at 8 o'clock, at the Bay of the *Grand Murais*, where the bateaux had been left and the rest of the detachment had arrived at 10 o'clock in the morning.

10<sup>th</sup> In the morning, Chev. de Montreuil had the wounded embarked to the number of one hundred, whom he sent to Montreal, and started in the afternoon at the head of his detachment to rejoin the camp at the Two Rocks. The loss of the enemy amounted to 500 men, killed or wounded, and that of the French, Canadians and Indians to 160. Baron de Dieskaw was made prisoner of war; Chev. de Montreuil received a musket ball in the left arm and several in his coat.

11<sup>th</sup> He proceeded to report this affair to the Marquis de Vaudreuil who was at Montreal, whence he returned to the army encamped at Fort St. Frederic with M. de Lotbinière, Engineer of the Colony, with orders to build a fort at Carillon, where the army encamped on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, and labored with all possible diligence, so that on the 15<sup>th</sup> of November, when it retired, the fort was safe from a *coup de main*, and capable of lodging a garrison of 200 men, which had been left there.

The battalions of Guienne and Bearn encamped during the campaign, before Frontenac, where they threw up some intrenchments. That of Guienne proceeded to Niagara at the close of the summer and returned to Montreal on the 5<sup>th</sup> of December.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, one thousand Canadians or Indians, under the command of Captain de Beaujeu of the troops of the Marine, defeated within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, fifteen hundred English commanded by General Bradoc, one thousand of whom were killed or wounded, their artillery and munitions of war, which remained on the field of battle, were conveyed to Fort Duquesne. M. de Beaujeu fell in that action, in which thirty Canadians or Indians were killed or wounded.

Copy of a letter from Baron de Dieskau to Chevalier de Montreuil, dated,  
Spirits at Bath in England, this 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1758.

[ For this letter see *supra*, p. 682. ]

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#### Campaign of 1756.

The new preparations the English have made to invade Canada, notwithstanding the ill success of their expedition last year, have been as public in Europe as in America. They were expected, and independent of the arrangements for defence made in this Colony, the King has sent thither the battalions of La Sarre and Royal Rousillon, under the Marquis de Montcalm's orders, with reinforcements and a large quantity of ammunition and provisions.

Immediately on the termination of last year's campaign, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor and Lieutenant-General of New France, made arrangements to harass continually the English in their own Colonies. He kept in the field throughout the entire winter, detachments of Canadians, soldiers and Indians, which made incursions on all sides. The Indians have killed a great many people; a considerable number of cattle have been carried off; a great many houses and stores burned; the country has been abandoned in several parts of the frontiers of

the English Colonies, and all these movements have been effectual not only in augmenting the discontent which the injustice of their Governors' plan had created among them, but also in giving rise to embarrassments and difficulties which have prevented the execution of those plans in the spring. The Marquis de Vaudreuil did not stop here; in adopting all the other precautions which appeared to him practicable to provide for the security of all the frontiers of Canada, he has formed the project of attacking the English themselves in the establishment at Chouaguen, on Lake Ontario.

They fortified themselves there shortly after, so that they had erected three forts, to wit, Fort Chouaguen, situate on the left bank of the river, Fort Ontario, on the right of the river, and Fort George, 300 toises beyond that of Chouaguen, on a hill overlooking it.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was informed in the beginning of the winter that the enemy was collecting troops with considerable provisions, munitions of all sorts, in the forts at Chouaguen, in order to attack Forts Niagara and Frontenac in the spring. He first dispatched a detachment of troops, Canadians and Indians, under the command of *Sieur de Lévis*,<sup>1</sup> to attack a fort which was the principal entrepôt of those supplies. That fort was carried by assault in the month of March, and destroyed, with all the buildings dependent thereon, and all the ammunition found there was removed, burnt or thrown into the river.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil organized another detachment of 700 men, under the orders of Captain de Villiers, of the Colony, to intercept the transports which were to be formed on the Chouaguen river, and the detachment did, in fact, destroy there, in the forepart of July, a fleet of about two hundred craft, in which more than 500 men were killed or taken prisoners.

The success of these expeditions confirmed the Marquis de Vaudreuil in his project against Chouaguen, and, under pretence of succors necessary for the particular defence of Forts Niagara and Frontenac, he early concentrated troops there, and sent artillery, warlike stores and provisions thither; reinforced *Sieur de Villiers'* detachment on the River Chouaguen, and, after having been assured of the actual situation of the English post and of the junction of the troops destined for the expedition against Chouaguen and of everything necessary for its execution, he recalled the Marquis de Montcalm from the Lake Champlain frontier, where he had sent him as the theatre of the most interesting operations, and immediately dispatched him to Fort Frontenac, with the orders and instructions necessary for the Chouaguen expedition, of which he was to have charge. The Marquis de Montcalm, being desirous to conceal his march from the enemy, set out alone from Carillon and ordered Chev. de Montreuil, the Major-General, to remain with the division commanded by Chev. de Lévis, Brigadier of the King's armies, who contributed essentially to the success of the Chouaguen expedition, by the diversion he caused about Lake St. Sacrament.

29<sup>th</sup> July. On the Marquis de Montcalm's arrival at Frontenac, he found all assembled except *Sieur de Villiers'* detachment, which the Marquis de Vaudreuil had reinforced, and of which *Sieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil* had assumed the command. This detachment, having already gone even to the River Chouaguen, [repaired] to the Bay of Niaouré, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil had marked the general rendezvous. The troops destined for the expedition, were composed of about three thousand men, including the detachment commanded by *Sieur Rigaud*, which was to serve as the van-guard.

The Marquis de Montcalm lost not a moment in preparing to leave Fort Frontenac, after having made the necessary dispositions to secure the retreat, in case superior forces rendered

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* De Lévi. — Ed.



that inevitable. He issued orders to two armed sloops on Lake Ontario, one of 12 and the other of 16 guns, to cruize on the route to Chouaguen, and established a chain of Canadian and Indian scouts on the road from that place to the town of Albany, to intercept expresses.<sup>1</sup> As early as the 4<sup>th</sup> of August, he embarked with the first division of his troops, composed of the battalion of La Sarre and that of Guienne, with 4 pieces of cannon, and on the 6<sup>th</sup> arrived at the Bay of Niaouré, where, on the 8<sup>th</sup>, arrived the second division, composed of the battalion of Béarn, the Militia and bateaux loaded with the artillery and provisions.

On the same day the Marquis de Montcalm dispatched the van-guard commanded by M. Rigaud to advance within three leagues of Chouaguen, to a cove called *L'anse aux cabannes*.

10<sup>th</sup> The first division being arrived at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the van-guard repaired, four hours after, by land and across the woods, to another cove, situate within half a league of Chouaguen, to cover the landing of the artillery and troops. The first division reached that cove at midnight. The Marquis de Montcalm succeeded in getting a battery erected at once, on Lake Ontario, and the troops passed the night in bivouack at the head of the bateaux.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, at day-break, the Canadians and Indians advanced to within a quarter of a league of, and invested Fort Ontario, situated, as we have stated, on the right bank of the River Chouaguen.<sup>2</sup> Sieur Decombles, who had been sent at 3 o'clock in the morning to make arrangements for this siege, and to determine the part against which immediate operations were to be directed, was killed, returning from his reconnoissance, by one of our Indians who escorted him, and mistook him in the dark for an Englishman. Sieur Desandrouins, the surviving Engineer, ran a road through the woods, partly through swamps explored the evening before, for the purpose of conducting the artillery across. This road, commenced at 11 o'clock in the morning, was finished at night, and thoroughly completed next morning. The camp was established at the same time, the right resting on Lake Ontario, covered by the battery erected on the preceding evening, and that protected our bateaux from attack; the left, on an impassable swamp.

The precaution taken by the French to march only at night and to enter rivers when halting by which they were concealed, had till then hid [their approach] from the enemy, to whom it was announced only that same day by the Indians who went even to the foot of the fort to fire. Three armed sloops which sailed at noon from the River Chouaguen came cruising in front of the camp, discharged some pieces of artillery, but the fire from the battery forced them to sheer off. Since then, they cruised only in the offing.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> at day-break, the battalion of Béarn arrived with the bateaux of artillery and provisions. These bateaux were forthwith unloaded in presence of the English barks which were cruizing in front of the camp. The battery on the beach was increased—the park of artillery and the depot of provisions established, and Sieur Pouchot, captain of the Regiment of Béarn, who had successfully begun a fortification at Niagara, received orders to act as Engineer during the siege. Arrangements were made to open trenches that very night; Sieur de Bourlemaque superintended them. Six pickets of workmen, fifty men each, were under orders for that night; two companies of grenadiers and three pickets to support them.

Notwithstanding the greatest possible diligence, the work at this trench could not be begun until midnight. It was rather a parallel of about 100 toises, the front opened at 90 toises from the ditch of the fort through ground embarrassed by obstructions and stumps of trees. This parallel finished at five o'clock in the morning, was completed by the day laborers who

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 442. — Ed.

cut the lines of communication and commenced erecting batteries. The enemy's fire, which had been very brisk since the break of day, ceased at about eleven o'clock at night, and it was perceived that the garrison evacuated Fort Ontario and passed over to that of Chouaguen at the opposite side of the river. They abandoned, in retiring, 8 pieces of cannon and four mortars. The fort having been immediately occupied by the grenadiers of the trench, the workmen were commanded to continue the communication of the parallel to the river side where at nightfall was commenced a large battery placed so as to batter Fort Chouaguen, the road from that fort to Fort George, and take the intrenched camp in the rear. Twenty pieces of cannon were conveyed, during the night, in men's arms, a labor which occupied the whole army with the exception of the picquets and the camp guard.

<sup>1</sup>On the 14<sup>th</sup>, at day-light, the Marquis de Montcalm ordered Sieur de Rigaud to ford the river to the other side with the Canadians and Indians, to occupy the woods and harass the communication with Fort George where the enemy appeared making considerable preparations. M. de Rigaud executed that order at once; although there was a great deal of water in that river, and the current was very rapid, he plunged in and crossed over with the Canadians and Indians, some swimming, others in the water up to the waist or neck, and reached his destination without the enemy's fire being able to stop a single Canadian or Indian.

At 9 o'clock the besiegers had 9 pieces of cannon ready for action, and although the fire of the besieged had been, up to that time, superior, they hoisted the White flag at ten o'clock. Sieur de Rigaud sent back to the Marquis de Montcalm two officers whom the Commandant of the fort delegated to him to demand a capitulation, which was immediately drawn up, and the conditions were, that the garrison should be prisoners of war, and that the French troops should enter into immediate possession of the forts. It has been already stated that they occupied that of Ontario on the preceding evening. Sieur de Bourlemaque, who was named Commandant of Forts Georges and Chouaguen, took possession of them, with two companies of grenadiers and the pickets of the trenches; he was instructed to demolish all the forts, and to remove the artillery and warlike stores and provisions which happened to be there.

The celerity of our operations, in a soil which they considered impracticable, the erection of our batteries completed with so much rapidity, the idea these works gave them of the number of the French troops, the movement of the corps detached from the other side of the river, the dread of the Indians, the death of Colonel Mercer, Commandant of Chouaguen, who was killed at eight o'clock in the morning, and, more than all yet, Sieur de Rigaud's bold manœuvre and the dread of the Canadians and Indians, who were already firing at the fort, doubtless determined the besieged not to make a longer defence. They have lost 152 men, including some soldiers killed by the Indians whilst endeavoring to escape through the woods. The number of the prisoners has exceeded 1,600, of whom 80 are officers. Seven vessels of war have also been taken, one of which carries 16 guns, one 14, one 10, one 8 and the other three are armed with swivels; these are exclusive of 200 transports, and the officers and crews of these vessels have been included in the capitulation of the garrison, which was composed of Shirley's and Pepperell's two regiments of Regulars, and Schuyler's regiment of Militia. The artillery taken consists of 55 guns, 14 mortars, 5 howitzers and 47 swivels, which have been removed with a large quantity of bullets, shells, balls and powder, and a considerable pile of provisions.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 443. — Ed.



The Marquis de Montcalm has lost only three<sup>1</sup> men, viz<sup>t</sup>: one Canadian, one soldier and one gunner, exclusive of *Sieur Decombles*, and there were in the different corps of troops under his orders about twenty wounded, all slightly. *Sieur de Bourlamaque*, Captains de *Palmarol* of the Grenadiers, and du *Parquet* of the regiment of *La Sarre*, are of this number.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of the same month, all the forts having been demolished, the transportation of the prisoners, artillery and provisions having been completed, the Marquis de Montcalm reëmbarked with his troops, and repaired in three divisions to the Bay of *Niaouré*, whence the different corps will go to the destinations respectively indicated to them. The Marquis de *Vaudreuil* has caused the four colors of the *Shirley's* and *Pepperell's* regiments of Regulars, and that of *Schuyler's* Militia to be deposited with the usual ceremonies in the churches of *Quebec* and *Three Rivers*.

The Marquis de Montcalm, on his return to *Montreal*, set out to rejoin the army at *Carillon* and terminated the campaign there, where nothing of interest transpired.

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#### Campaign of 1757.

The Marquis de *Vaudreuil* having formed a plan of offence toward *Lake St. Sacrament*, in order to secure *Forts Carillon* and *St. Frederic*, sent in the month of *March* a force of 1,500 men, Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians, under the orders of *M. de Rigaud*, Governor of *Three Rivers*, to burn the sloops, bateaux and sheds lying under the guns of *Fort George*, called by the English, *William Henry*, situate at the head of *Lake St. Sacrament*, six leagues from *Fort Lidius*, called *Fort Edward*.

This expedition having had all the success possible, *M. de Vaudreuil* resolved on opening the Campaign with the siege of *Fort George*, and in consequence ordered betimes the necessary preparations.

The delay of the ships and the want of provisions rendered that operation very doubtful; the first ships which arrived at *Quebec* at the end of *June* and in the course of *July*, not having brought sufficient to justify the undertaking of the siege of *Fort George*, *M. de Vaudreuil* commissioned *Sieur Marsel*, inspector of the King's stores, to make a strict enquiry as to the amount of provisions the farmers may have in their possession. Every one of them, full of zeal for his country, cut himself down of his own accord to a very small modicum for his support until the harvest, and the surplus supplied what was wanting for the siege. *M. de Vaudreuil*, after having made sure of provisions, issued orders to assemble the troops in the course of *July* at the *Little Carrying place* of *Lake St. Sacrament*, which is half a league long, and where a corps of Canadians was stationed since the month of *May*, under the orders of *Captain Gaspé* of the Colony. The army being assembled there at the time appointed, was occupied, from the date of its arrival, in the transportation of the artillery, bateaux, ammunition and provisions.

27<sup>th</sup> *July*. The Marquis de Montcalm called the chiefs of the Indian Nations together, and presented them, in the King's name, a belt of 6,000 beads of *Wampum*, to bind all the Nations to each other and to him, in order that they might not separate from each other nor quit him until the close of the expedition.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*. The number is "thirty," *supra*, p. 443. — Ed.

30<sup>th</sup> Everything being ready, Chev. de Levis marched by land with 2,800 Frenchmen, Canadians or Indians to the Bay of Ganaouské, on the left side of Lake St. Sacrament, within four leagues of Fort George. He had orders to wait there for M. de Montcalm who was to embark on the 1<sup>st</sup> of August with 4,800 men, and be followed by the entire artillery.

2<sup>nd</sup> August. These two divisions having formed a junction at three o'clock in the morning, set out again in the course of the day. Chev. de Levis commenced his march at ten o'clock and went to within a league and a half of Fort George. M. de Montcalm set out at noon and on the

3<sup>rd</sup> Arrived at five o'clock in the morning, with his troops and artillery at the place of landing reconnoitred by M. de Levis. On arriving, he was informed by two prisoners that the enemy being made aware of our movement, was to march out of Fort George at the firing of a signal gun to meet us; he merely made the troops land and prepared to march against the enemy on hearing the first gun.

In fact, several were discharged at Fort George at 7 o'clock in the morning. M. de Montcalm commenced his march immediately at the head of his army and left 500 men under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel de Privat of the regiment of Languedoc, to guard the bateaux and artillery, Chev. de Levis forming the van-guard with a part of the Canadians, all the Indians and the same detachment he had had previously under his orders, approached unopposed within a gun shot of the place, and posted himself on the Fort Lidius road to stop all relief. M. de Montcalm proceeded to the van-guard at one o'clock in the afternoon and having perceived with Chev. de Levis that 'twas impossible, without compromising the King's troops, to assault an intrenchment which communicated with Fort George, came to the conclusion to have the Commandant summoned, who gave him for answer that the troops of the garrison were resolved to defend themselves to the death.

M. de Montcalm ordered the necessary preparations for the siege; the trench was opened during the night of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of August, near the lake, 350 toises from the place. The Regulars and Marine troops were encamped at a short distance from the tail of the trench, and had their left resting on Lake St. Sacrament and their right on the forest. The Canadians and Indians commanded by M. Rigaud, M. de Vaudreuil's brother, under Chev. de Levis, formed a camp apart, some distance on the right of the Regulars and Marine troops, in order to be able to repair promptly to Fort Lydius, on the first notice that would be received of the enemy marching to the relief of Fort George. Every time Chev. de Levis would march forward, on occasion of some alarms, M. de Montcalm and the Major-General would follow close at the head of the Brigade of la Reine, composed of three battalions, one of which was formed of the soldiers of the Marine; the Brigades of La Sarre and Royal Rousillon, of two battalions each, remained in the camp under Colonel de Bourlamaque's orders, to defend the ditch in case of a sortie.

5<sup>th</sup> The Indians intercepted a letter from General Web, written at Fort Lidius, dated midnight the 4<sup>th</sup>. He informed the Commandant of that place that he would advance to fight the French army immediately after the arrival of the Provincial Militia, whom he had ordered to join him forthwith; that, nevertheless, should the Militia unfortunately arrive too late, the Commandant should look to obtaining the best conditions possible; he added, that the situation of Fort Lidius did not permit him to detach any of his troops. 'Twas known, nevertheless, that this General had command of a camp of four thousand men.

6<sup>th</sup> We had eight pieces of cannon and one mortar in battery, which fired with much success.



7<sup>th</sup> There was a second battery of 8 guns, one mortar and two howitzers which commenced firing at eight o'clock in the morning. After the first volley, M. de Montcalm ordered a red flag to be hoisted and sent General Web's letter to the Commandant of the place, who, after having thanked him for it in writing, was waiting for the first shot from our side before he would open his fire.

Our workmen were occupied during the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> @ 8<sup>th</sup> in constructing a road, with a quantity of fascines, across a swamp 30 toises wide, which was protected by a hill from the enemy's fire.

The next night's works were pushed to within about sixty toises of the fort.

9<sup>th</sup> At eight o'clock in the morning the Commandant of the place ordered a white flag to be hoisted and demanded a capitulation, to which M. de Montcalm consented on the following conditions:

I. That the troops of the garrison and intrenched camp shall march out with their baggage and the honors of war.

II. That they shall proceed, on the next morning, to Fort Lidius, and in order to be protected from the Indians, they shall be escorted by a detachment of our troops and the principal officers and Interpreters attached to the Indians.

III. That these troops shall not serve for 18 months against either his Majesty or his allies.

IV. That all the French, Canadian or Indian prisoners taken on land in North America since the commencement of the war, shall be brought in to the French posts within the space of three months.

The capitulation having been approved by the Indian chiefs, assembled for that purpose, was signed at eleven o'clock after which Chevalier de Montreuil, Major-General, proceeded at once to the fort and intrenchment, by order of the Marquis de Montcalm, to take a list of the troops, and secure the provisions and munitions of war. The garrison was immediately relieved by the grenadiers and the pickets of the trenches were marched to the intrenchment where a guard of our troops was stationed. Chevalier de Montreuil proceeded to execute the orders he had received from the Marquis de Montcalm, and when all was regulated, the Commandant asked to set out with his men at night-fall to avoid the Indians and demanded several officers of the Colony, conversant with their language, to accompany him to protect himself and his men from any insult on the part of the Indians.

The officers, having learned that the greater part of the Indians were lying in ambush on the Lidius road, where they should necessarily pass, advised the Commandant to postpone his departure until day-break.

Next morning the English were attacked on their retreat by the Indians who plundered the greater part of their baggage, took about 600 men whom they carried to the camp and killed about thirty.

The Marquis de Montcalm, Chevalier de Levis, M. de Bourlamaque, Chevalier de Montreuil and several officers, recovered about three hundred from the Indians and had them placed for safety in the fort. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has ransomed, at Montreal, the English who could not be got out of the hands of the Indians. The former have been sent from Fort George to Fort Lidius; the others from Quebec to Halifax, by sea.

The loss of the French, Canadians and Indians during the expedition amounted to 13 men killed and 40 wounded; that of the enemy to 41 killed and 71 wounded.

The French army, including Indians, was composed of 7,626 men, and the troops of the garrison and intrenchments of 2,372. Our artillery consisted of 31 guns, two mortars, three howitzers, 10 grenade mortars, 70 thousand weight of powder, shot and shell in proportion.

In the fort and intrenchment were found 3,000 barrels of flour or pork, 23 guns, 8 of which were brass, iron howitzers, mortars, 17 swivels, 35,836 pounds of powder, 2,522 shot, 545 shell, 1,400 balls, 1 grenade chest, 6 chests of artificial fireworks and grapeshot of different calibres.

The reduction of this fort has been preceded by the defeat of 300 English, taken or killed on Lake St. Sacrament, the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, by 400 Indians or Canadians, under the orders of Lieutenant Corbière of the Colony, without losing a man.

16<sup>th</sup> Fort George being entirely destroyed, our artillery, that of the enemy and all the munitions of war and provisions having been removed to the Little Carrying place of Lake St. Sacrament, the army reëmbarked and arrived there on the same day.

M. de Montcalm, not having sufficient bateaux to accommodate all his army, sent the battalions of Royal Rousillon and Béarn to one of the islands of Lake St. Sacrament to encamp until the return of the bateaux which he sent for them the day after his arrival.

17<sup>th</sup> The Canadians were sent home to save the harvest; the Regular and Marine troops remained in camp at the Little Carrying place to transport artillery, bateaux, munitions of war and provisions, after which they have been dispersed, to work at the fortifications of Forts Carillon and St. John.

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#### Campaign of 1758.

The Marquis de Montcalm having arrived on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June at Carillon, where the eight battalions were encamped,

2<sup>nd</sup> July. Seven of them were sent to encamp at the Carrying place and Falls, and the Marquis joined them on the 3<sup>rd</sup>.

3<sup>rd</sup> M. de Bourlamaque, commanding the battalions of La Reine, Guienne and Béarn, encamped at the head of the Carrying place, learned from scouts that about sixty bateaux were on Lake St. Sacrament. He immediately detached three hundred and fifty men, under the orders of Captain Trepesec, of the Béarn regiment, to go by land to observe the route they should take.

6<sup>th</sup> In the morning the Marquis de Montcalm, who was encamped at the tail of the Carrying place with the Royal Rousillon battalions and the first Béarn, had advice that the lake was covered with bateaux within three leagues of the Carrying place. He immediately sent orders to M. de Bourlamaque to fall back, on whose arrival he joined to the five battalions those of La Sarre and Languedoc, which were encamped on the left bank of the lake falls.

About two o'clock in the morning a great fire of musketry was heard near the Portage, an eighth of a league beyond the Falls; it proceeded from M. de Trepesec's detachment, which had been surrounded on endeavoring to return to its camp; about one hundred of them escaped, 144 were taken and the balance remained on the field of battle. Colonel d'How, who commanded the English detachment, was killed in this encounter.



At night the Marquis de Montcalm retired under Fort Carillon, where he bivouacked through the night with his troops.

7<sup>th</sup> In the morning he hastily intrenched himself on the heights of Carillon, where he had abatis formed in advance; this labor was not interrupted during that entire day.

8<sup>th</sup> At day-break, the troops put themselves under arms behind their intrenchments, constructed of timber, piece above piece. The Marquis de Montcalm sent volunteers out to observe the enemy, and ordered each battalion to render the intrenchment it occupied as complete as possible, and to keep its arms at its side, so as not to be surprised.

The enemy did not delay their appearance; they deployed in four columns at one o'clock in the afternoon. Our main guards and grenadier companies, whilst firing, retired in regular order behind the intrenchments. Thereupon, all the troops took their posts, and the soldiers who happened to be in the fort at Carillon, ran to the intrenchments at the signal of the gun.

The second battalion of Berri had orders to remain in the fort to deliver and to convey all the ammunition necessary for defending the intrenchments. The enemy opened their attack by a most brisk fire of mnsketry and immediately advanced to fight with the cold steel, but our fire was so well sustained and directed, that it was impossible for them to approach nearer than 15 or 20 paces. In this way the fight continued until four o'clock, the enemy constantly bringing fresh troops against us, and from four o'clock until seven, they kept up a fire at a greater distance. They finally retreated after a considerable loss.

Waited until next morning to visit the field of battle; the Marquis de Montcalm did not give orders to do so, until he was assured that the enemy thought no longer of returning and were hastily embarking to go home. About 1,200 men were buried; the number of wounded carried off has been about 3,000. We have had 14 officers killed and 20 wounded in this action; 92 soldiers or Canadians killed and 248 wounded.

The enemy's army was composed of 15 @ 16 thousand men; of these seven thousand were Regulars. Our's was 3,000 Regulars and 500 Canadians. This brilliant day may be said to have saved the Colony.

The enemy, on arriving at Fort George, detached a body of troops on an expedition against Fort Frontenac, which they reduced on the 26<sup>th</sup> August, and after demolishing it, and burning the sloops, except two which they employed, returned to Choueguen. The garrison was sent prisoners of war to Montreal, and exchanged for the same number of men that we had in the Colony.

25<sup>th</sup> August. The English reduced Louisbourg and made the garrison prisoners of war.

14 September. A force of 800 English was defeated by a detachment of Canadians and Indians, within sight of Fort Duquesne which they were coming to reconnoitre, thereby checking the march of an army of 6,000 men, who were on their way under General Forbs to besiege it.

Captain de Ligneris, of the Marine troops, who commanded at that fort, having had orders to burn and to remove the artillery, warlike stores and provisions on the approach of the enemy, executed those instructions in the month of October, on learning that they were within at most, two days march of him, and retired to Fort Marchault. The enemy contented themselves with building a small fort enclosed with palisades on the River Malengueulée, a short distance from Fort Duquesne.

Nothing of interest transpired the following winter.

END.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Massiac.*Montreal, 28<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup>, 1759.<sup>1</sup>

My Lord,

I learn this moment the arrival at Quebec of the schooner *La Nanette* and receive the letter you did me the honor to write me on the 24<sup>th</sup> June last. I hasten to answer it so as not to delay that schooner, which M. Bigot is getting ready to sail as soon as the courier returns.

I am, my Lord, extremely sensible of your goodness in inhancing to the King the advantages gained by the different detachments which I have kept in the field during the winter; the assurance you give me of the satisfaction entertained by his Majesty of my services, can only increase the desire I feel to render him more important ones, and furnish him new proofs of my zeal and industry in seizing every occasion to humble his enemies.

M. de Bellestre's success last fall in burning the Palatine village and carrying the forts which protected it, would indeed have been, my Lord, a great help to the Colony, had it been possible to remove the considerable portion of provisions of all sorts found in that village. I had particularly provided for that in the orders I gave that officer; but circumstances were not favorable enough to admit of their execution.

1. M. de Bellestre being much exposed to be pursued and perhaps cut off by a force infinitely superior to his own, was under the absolute necessity of using the greatest activity in his operations, success depending essentially on that. He was consequently unable to moderate the attack of his detachment. This was made by one party with all possible vigor, whilst others were busy firing the houses, barns &c.

2. The 500 horses lost by the enemy in this affair were not exactly captured. The greater portion of them was killed or wounded, and M. de Bellestre brought with him but a very small number, which was of very great service to subsist his detachment on its return.

3. Had he had all those horses and all the provisions at his disposal, he could not absolutely have profited by them, either because it was prudent for him to hasten his retreat, or because the transportation of the provisions had been utterly impossible, both on account of the difficulty of the roads and by reason of the rivers to be passed, and the impossibility of feeding the horses.

I have nothing to add, my Lord, to the reports I had the honor to make to M. de Moras of my arrangement on the opening of the campaign, and of the great resources I found in the good will and zeal of the Canadians in supplying the provisions of which we were but too much in want. I can not sufficiently express to you, my Lord, the pain I feel at not being in a situation to give full scope to my plans, the object of which was to anticipate our enemies by quickness, render their operations very undecided, to be able to observe them and to profit by lucky opportunities to gain new advantages over them. I regarded them as certain in the Corlac district, whither I had destined Chev. de Levis, in consequence of the good dispositions I had placed the 5 Iroquois Nations in, who were desirous of joining him. The friends I have among these Nations did not prove false to the attachment they have vowed to the French; they have constantly contrived obstacles to the views of our enemies, as soon as they have had an inkling of them; but the expedients which succeeded so well with them during winter, became insensibly fruitless, in consequence of it being really impossible for me to dispel their apprehensions, and place them in a position not to observe any longer any terms with the English.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* 1758. — Ed.



Nothing less, my Lord, than the success of the detachment I had confided to Sieur de La Durantay, was necessary to make our enemies renounce their projects and preparations for scaling Carillon in winter. Mess<sup>rs</sup> La Durantay and de Richerville having been included in the promotion of 1757, as ensigns *en second*, I employ them in the propositions I have the honor to submit to you this year, as ensigns on full pay. I have also placed Sieur de la Chevrotière as ensign *en second*; I have anticipated his Majesty's favorable disposition towards them, by making them participate in the 6,000<sup>l</sup> he has granted on his list of 1757 to those who have distinguished themselves the most. I gave each at first 200<sup>l</sup>. You will perceive, my Lord, by one of my letters, that I have not as yet received that sum. Our officers are generally penetrated by the attention with which his Majesty has honored their services and the rewards he has been disposed to grant them. I lost no time in informing them thereof.

Mr. Robert Rogers, who was at the head of the detachment defeated by our cadets, had the knack to escape when he saw his ruin imminent; he left on the field of battle, his coat, and even the order he received from his General, which gave me every reason to believe that he had been killed, the rather as an Indian assured me he had himself killed him.

I cannot, my Lord, but defer to the exactness with which M. Bigot has rendered you an account of the provisions which have reached us in different ships; from that you will be able to judge of our situation. I must, however, have the honor to observe to you that the scarcity is increasing from day to day in the Colony; the consumption of provisions has been only too great, notwithstanding our economy. The transportation in bateaux of the provisions sent to victual all our posts as far as Fort Duquesne, could not be effected without very considerable loss occasioned by the rains and severity of the season.

I have nothing to add, my Lord, to what I have had the honor to observe to you on the necessity of having the provisions reach us here early; on that depends mainly the safety of the Colony. It is due to my obligation and zeal to have the honor to repeat that to you, in addition to all the other demands I have already had the honor of making in my letter, in cipher, of the 7<sup>th</sup> of last month.

I have had the honor, my Lord, to render you an account, in one of my private despatches, of M. de Boishebert's campaign at Louisbourg, and in the Bay of St. George; that officer returned to Quebec only on the 18<sup>th</sup> instant. I can render you only very good testimony of his zeal in the execution of the orders I had given him; he has always, in accordance with my intention, some detachments watching the enemy on the River St. John and seizing opportunities to harass them. These detachments have been too feeble to undertake great enterprises; I have never been convenient enough nor sufficiently able, to send him any other forces.

Sieur de Boishebert was not at the head of the 50 Acadians who after having been in the neighborhood of Port Royal, were pursued by a detachment of 200 English. These Acadians had themselves elected their chief and equipped themselves at their own expense, as I have had the honor to report to M. de Moras.

M. de Ligneris has written to me from Fort Duquesne on the 30<sup>th</sup> of last month; he continues to have parties out, who brought him two prisoners on the 30<sup>th</sup>, from whom he learned that General Forbus was immediately expected at Royal Amnon;<sup>1</sup> where there were more than 2,000 men, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, with 8 pieces of cannon on field carriages and several mortars; that a fort had been built there of piece upon piece, and one saw-mill;

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Loyal hannon. — Ed.

as for the rest, they are ignorant whether Fort Duquesne is to be attacked this fall; that the Provincials had orders to go into winter quarters; that they had been since countermanded, but that people still spoke of dismissing them; that there are no more horned cattle at Royal Amnon,<sup>1</sup> but plenty of provisions of flour and salt meats; that the English suppose us to be very numerous at Fort Duquesne. I am not sure, my Lord, whether the enemy will organize any expedition this fall, or wait until spring; the advanced season and the two advantages we have gained in succession over them, would lead me to hope that they will adopt the latter course. 'Tis much to be desired, for 'twould not be possible for M. de Ligneris to resist the superiority of the enemy's forces. Meanwhile, he will use all means in his power to annoy them; embarrass their communications and intercept their convoys. It is a great pity that he has been absolutely obliged, by the scarcity of provisions, to reduce his garrison to 200 men; fortunately, the messages he has delivered in my name, to the Delawares and Chawenons of the Beautiful river, have confirmed these nations in their attachment to the French. The Delawares of the mountains have also favorably received the messages sent to them, and are beginning to remove their villages to our territory. I have renewed my orders to all the posts to procure for M. de Ligneris, early in spring, all the assistance in their vicinity. I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased fully to assure his Majesty that I will neglect nothing to preserve for him the possession of the Beautiful river and of this Colony in general; that it will not be my fault, should our enemies make, eventually, any progress; but in fact and strict truth, the salvation of this Colony will depend on the prompt arrival of the succors of every description which I have had the honor to demand of you.

As my last despatches are the most interesting, I profit by this opportunity to transmit to you the quadruplicates thereof, the vessel by which I calculated to send them being armed as a privateer, and having no fixed destination.

I flatter myself, my Lord, that you will have the goodness to pay the most serious attention to everything I have had the honor to observe to you respecting the situation of this Colony, and to the propositions I have submitted to you in favor of our officers; I cannot sufficiently impress upon you the importance of your obtaining his Majesty's approval thereof, and of your having the goodness to transmit to me by several of the first ships a list *en commandement* of the promotion.

I am with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and most ob't serv't,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*Memoir on the Position of the French and English in America.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Memoir respecting, first, the position of the English and French in North America; secondly, what is absolutely necessary to send there, so as to be able at least to attempt some defence. [January, 1759.]

The English have had in North America, during the last campaign, sixty-three thousand men, 23,000 of whom were troops from Old England. They have sent some more there since, and their latest papers announce the departure of ten thousand Scotch for the New World.

<sup>1</sup> See *supra*, p. 924. — Ed.



They have in their Colonies the greatest abundance of provisions, horses, oxen, munitions of war, Indian goods, and more than 350 leagues of coast open to succors from Europe.

Their troops are at present distributed in winter quarters, as follows: At Louisbourg and Halifax, on the banks of the Hudson river, on the Mohawk river, at the head of Oneida lake, on the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries, thereby announcing the plan of attacking us simultaneously by the River St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario.

Eight French battalions which will hardly number, at the opening of the campaign, 3,400 men, twelve hundred troops of the Marine, at most, five or six thousand Militia. Such are our forces. The Indians cannot be included in the account. English presents, our poverty, our prodigious inferiority—what motives to abate their ardor! Besides, being independent, never making two expeditions consecutively, even should the first have resulted only in raising one scalp; ill qualified for defence; afraid of death; what benefit can be expected to be derived from them?

No stronghold in the country; Niagara, the most tenable of the whole, cannot, if properly attacked, hold out more than three weeks. Shell alone will force Carillon to surrender; a small, narrow right angle, inasmuch as its longest side is 54 toises and the small one 39, without casemates; besides, all the other bicoques,<sup>1</sup> which are called forts, are scarcely proof against a sudden assault. I do not except even Mont-Real and Quebec, if the foot of their walls be once reached.

We are in want of provisions, that is to say, by carefully economising the little we have, it will be hardly possible to enter on the campaign and subsist through its first month.

We are in want of powder, to such a degree, that if the English come to Quebec, there is not six days' supply for the cannon. Almost all the guns are iron, and bad. Mortars are wanting, and still more so, shells, of the calibre of those we have.

For the service of all the forts and of several bodies of troops, scattered over more than five hundred leagues of country, there are in the whole Colony only two Engineers, without any draughtsman, eight artillery officers, five of whom are from France, eighty-six gunners, including 4 sergeants and 10 Cadets; these last are useless in a service of urgency, not a single man having the remotest idea of mines; not a mechanic of any sort whatever.

Goods, to trade with the Indians, are almost entirely wanting.

Under these circumstances, 'tis evident that France, should she send ten thousand men, with munitions of war and provisions proportionate to such a force and to the actual necessities of the Colony, would not place herself again there on anything near a level with the enemy.

But this expedition would require at least one hundred sail, and such a fleet would run the risk, either from the danger of unfortunate encounters, or forcible delay from ice, of not arriving at all, or of arriving too late, and find the campaign already opened and the Colony perhaps invaded.

It appears, then, that this armament cannot be thought of, and we must confine ourselves to treating Canada as a desperate disease is treated, in which the sick man is supported by cordials until he either sink or a crisis save him; that is to say, to send thither only what is absolutely necessary so as to be able to try and make a defence.

Now, What is absolutely necessary?

<sup>1</sup> A term used in France to signify a place ill-fortified and incapable of much defence. It is derived from a place on the road between Lodi and Milan, which was originally a gentleman's country house, surrounded by ditches. In the year 1522, a body of Imperial troops were stationed in it, and stood the attack of the whole French army. This engagement was called the Battle of the *Bicoque*. *James' Military Dictionary*.—Ed.

1<sup>st</sup> Provisions; to freight ships with them on account of the King; to encourage the contractor, who fits out, in this way, very considerable armaments in order that his ships may have crews; to send *poudre alimentaire* tested at the Invalides.

2<sup>nd</sup> Munitions of war; a train of artillery; Artillerists and Engineers. In the first place, the largest quantity of powder possible; nine and twelve-inch mortars, and the greatest quantity possible of shells of the same calibre; all the ships ought to be ballasted with them. In the second place, a train of field artillery, and to work them a detachment with the troops of the Line, composed of four Engineers \* (A) and two draftsmen, fifty gunners, fifty bombardiers, 4 sergeants included, \* (B) thirty workmen, wheelwrights, joiners, carpenters, and smiths, including 5 sergeants or corporals, with an overseer of workmen, twenty miners, including two sergeants and two corporals, with one overseer of miners; observing, that the two aforesaid overseers be junior officers to those detached from the Royal corps in 1757 for Canada. In the third place, a great number of guns, flints and powder-horns, which save half the consumption.

3<sup>rd</sup> Indian goods. Some must be sent and in considerable quantity. These articles are extremely necessary, if it be desirable to preserve any Indians.

4<sup>th</sup> Recruits, viz: First, at least one thousand with their arms and 18 months' provisions; secondly, some miquelets, troops of no use in Europe in the present war, and who will render the greatest service in Canada. Thirdly, 150 Scotch, Irish and Germans to encourage and attract deserters of these Nations, who, in that case, will join us in great numbers.

#### Observation.

Relative to the preceding articles, it may be, 1. Ordered, that every privateer or vessel belonging either to the contractor or merchant demanding permission to proceed to Canada, take ball and shell as ballast; moreover, on the King's account, a cargo of munitions of war, provisions, guns, Indian goods and some recruits; 2. Negotiated, that the Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, Irish and English even, carry thither warlike stores and provisions, and that arrangements be made particularly for this object, with Sweden and Russia, who are situated so much the more advantageously in this regard, as the Baltic and Norwegian ports are nearly in the latitude of the Straits of Belleisle, and therefore their ships would be almost certain not to meet any English vessels.

What arrangements can the Court make? What orders send to Canada for the next campaign?

1. Threatened with being attacked by a superior army simultaneously at three points, 'tis evident that if the ten thousand men who compose our force, be divided into three corps, 'twould be the means of being annihilated, without even making the slightest effort.

The Court must therefore order that they be all kept concentrated in a sort of centre, with bateaux, warlike stores and provisions all ready on the three routes, in order to repair rapidly and in force to the first point attacked; or, if many be attacked at the same time, to that one the defence of which will offer us the most advantages, and there combine stratagem with the most determined boldness.

\* (A.) N. B. Imagine 500 leagues of country where it will be necessary incessantly to construct and to form intrenchments, and then judge if one Chief Engineer and 5 Engineers under his orders, be too many.

\* (B.) The officers of the Royal corps, detached to Canada in 1757, all went there to command this troop which should be detached with its train of artillery along with the troops of the Line, and which would not be lost, even should it be necessary to surrender the Colony by the *Project* to be hereafter explained.



2. Orders must be issued that of all the Militia divided into three classes, good, middling, bad; the first make the entire campaign, incorporated for that time into our battalions and those of the Marine; the remainder constituting the special Militia corps. This arrangement is absolutely the only one whereby any profit can be derived from these Militiamen. In regard to the two other classes; to order that they have in their houses, accoutrements, a gun, one pound of powder, two pounds of ball, ten days' supply of biscuit and pork, a certain number bateaux, kettles and *prélats*<sup>1</sup> per parish, in order that in case of urgency, all the men march when commanded. The monks, priests, civil officers and women will perform the field labor,

In regard to the defence of Quebec, the Court ought

1<sup>st</sup> To send four flyboats or merchantmen, to be stranded in the places to be pointed out by Sieur Pelegrin, Captain of the port of Quebec, to serve as batteries and forts there. It will be productive of this other great advantage for the general defence of the country, that the crews of these ships, which people will endeavor to have commanded by officers of merchant vessels, who have made the voyage, will receive orders to man the navy that is to defend Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

2<sup>nd</sup> To order the construction of batteries, 1° at the Eboulement, at Point *aux Bouleaux*, and nearly opposite that, at *La Prairie* on Isle aux coudres; 2° at *Cape Torment*, which will batter the ships that must, in order to pass the Traverse, proceed one by one, and remain exposed to its fire, within short musket range, over a quarter of an hour; 3° on the Island of Orleans, one at St. Francis, and the other at *St. Laurent*. An intelligent officer would be required on board the fleet, with orders, in case the ice or contrary winds should detain it near the above mentioned place, to have constructed during that detention, the proposed works, in whole or in part, by the recruits, gunners, and even the crews.

3<sup>rd</sup> To order the construction of the redoubts and lines proposed in 1757, in a Memoir sent to the Court.

4<sup>th</sup> To order the preparation, without delay, of brulots, crafts, bateaux mounted with cannon, and redoubts similar to those already constructed by Sieur Jacau, Colonial Captain of Artillery.

5<sup>th</sup> To order that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pellegrin and Le Vasseur be consulted, and their advice followed in all this maritime defence.

6<sup>th</sup> That the women, children, magistrates and all those persons that embarrass the defence, be immediately sent to Three Rivers, and that the greatest supply possible of provisions and munitions of war be collected there, storing them in private houses and even in the churches if necessary.

Now comes the question, Quebec taken, is Canada reduced?

Yes, without a doubt, since: 1. There is not in a second line any place of strength, any spot having in dépôt any warlike stores and provisions; 2. Canada cannot sustain herself by herself and without succors from France.

This second question will be asked: If Canada be lost, can France keep Louisiana?

No, in the actual condition of Louisiana. 1. Because there is not in that country either a General of any experience in war, or disciplined troops, or Engineers, or Artillery officers and soldiers in sufficient number. 2. Because, Canada once lost, Louisiana would be invested by English forces, without being able to receive any succor from France, except at one confined port, which could be easily blockaded by superior naval power.

From the solution of these two questions, I conclude

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. Qui prélat; tarpaulina.* — Ed.

1<sup>st</sup> That the Court, foreseeing the case of Quebec being taken, and even the inevitable loss of the Colony, if the army be beaten, and the other frontiers forced, should send to its Governor-General full power to capitulate for the entire of Canada, and its instructions on the kind and nature of such capitulation. Otherwise, that country, entirely exposed, will be wholly sacked, the inhabitants dispersed or destroyed, the Colony irrecoverably lost to the King. Humanity and the interest of France dictate a seasonable capitulation.

2<sup>nd</sup> Let the Court send orders to the French staff, to the remnant of the eight battalions with the colors, to the Engineers and Artillery corps attached to them, to the best soldiers of the Marine to be incorporated into the battalions, to Indian Interpreters and selected Canadian Voyageurs, to start for Louisiana twenty-four hours before a parley be called.

The advantage of this plan, which is proposed only because it is feasible, is, 1<sup>st</sup> That it will preserve to the King a good body of troops. 2<sup>nd</sup> Save Louisiana, because then 'twill be possible to make a stand there some time, even without succors from France. Provisions can be drawn from Illinois, and by means thereof our Upper country posts and Indians preserved; provisions will be obtained also from the Spaniards. 3<sup>rd</sup> And confer honor on the French nation. The retreat of the Ten thousand immortalized the Greeks.

But in order that this plan be put into execution, it is necessary: 1. That the Court send express orders to the Marquis de Montcalm, leaving him always at liberty to derogate therefrom, should unforeseen circumstances render its execution impossible, with an open letter to the troops, whereby his Majesty makes known that he expects this courageous manœuvre from them, and forbids the infirm or aged officers and soldiers undertaking that march, which would be beyond their strength.

2. Let the Court order the Governor-General to keep in store at Mont-Real two hundred and fifty bark canoes, and at the head of the Rapids seventy days' provision of biscuit and lard for two thousand five hundred men; powder and ball, wampum belts, a certain quantity of vermilion and some Indian goods.

3. Let the Court authorize the Marquis de Montcalm, or whomsoever will represent him, a Brigadier or an inferior officer to command at Louisiana.

4. The most profound secrecy respecting this project to be observed in France and Canada. Finally, when should the ships be dispatched?

In the first days of March—the 10<sup>th</sup>, at the earliest—the 15<sup>th</sup>, at the latest.

The ships to be ordered to cruize on the banks, if the gulf be still closed; if open, to enter immediately south of *Anti-Costi*; if the ice still block up the upper part of the river, to wait until the ice come down, anchor the large ships at *Bic*; the smaller at the *Brandy pots*. In these two anchorage grounds they have nothing to fear. From the *Brandy pots*, to send the Generals by land, the despatches from the Court. If the gulf be closed, to order a vessel, steered by the pilots of those roads, whom I have brought with me to France, to take the gûl of Canso; land there, in some cove known to them, some Canadians, good walkers, to whom I have had despatches given, who will travel by land, and carry to the Generals the orders from the Court, which it is essential they should know betimes.

I conclude this Memoir with the following observation:

If France desire to fit out a stronger expedition to relieve Canada, such an effect would be produced more certainly by a diversion than directly.

The fleet sent to Quebec would run the risk of being intercepted or arrive too late, and these two misfortunes would be equally bad.



The landing for a diversion could be made nowhere better than at *Carolina*.

1<sup>st</sup> The English do not fear any such thing on those coasts, and it would be easy to give out some other object for the expedition.

2<sup>nd</sup> Carolina is at a distance from all the forces the English have on that Continent and from every point where they wish to attack us. Danger seems greater at a distance.

3<sup>rd</sup> Carolina and the neighboring provinces are full of negroes. What advantage could not be derived from that circumstance?

4<sup>th</sup> The landing force, in case it would not be able to maintain its ground, could retreat by the River of the *Cheraquis* to Louisiana.

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*Memoir on Canada,*

Wherein is examined, 1<sup>st</sup> Whether it be important to preserve it; 2<sup>nd</sup> Whether it be possible to defend it, in case the war continue in 1759; 3<sup>rd</sup> Whether it be easy to relieve it in its present situation.

FIRST QUESTION.

*Is it of importance to preserve Canada?*

There have been, from all time, people who have thought, and perhaps there are some still who are of opinion, that the preservation of Canada is of little importance to France. Some allege that it costs the King a great deal, and that it will eventually cost more; that it yields nothing, or next to nothing; that, in 1755, 1756, 1757 and 1758, probably more than fifteen millions have been expended yearly, which might have been better employed in the centre of the Kingdom. Others say that the Kingdom, which is itself stripped of people, is being depopulated to settle a country which is extremely rough, full of lakes and forests, frequently subject to the greatest scarcities; that there are within the Kingdom good lands which remain uncultivated; that the Indian trade is little worth; that, so far from increasing, it will always diminish, as the trade in peltries cannot last a century; they add, that the Canadian voyages are long, fatiguing and dangerous.

Finally, the third pretend that, in all the wars we shall have with the English, Canada will be taken, at least in part; that 'twill always be the cause of preventing France, at the peace, preserving European conquests. Besides, that when Canada will be well settled, it will be exposed to many revolutions; is it not natural that Kingdoms and Republics will be formed there, which will separate from France?

We read in the *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, by Father Charlevoix, Vol. I., Book 4, Page 173, that these same difficulties nearly were submitted to the King's Council in 1631, and that they were answered in a manner to determine his Majesty to preserve those vast countries, for these principal reasons:

1<sup>st</sup> It is certain that if France abandon Canada, heresy will establish itself there; Nations known and unknown, will remain in Paganism or adopt the religion of England. How many souls eternally lost! This reflection may strike a Christian Prince.

2<sup>nd</sup> France possesses, in North America, more territory than is contained in the European continent. Its riches are not yet known; the best spots are not yet settled; the King's glory seems to require that so extensive a country be preserved notwithstanding the immense expenditure incurred there; it is always painful to behold the enemy aggrandizing themselves at our expense; besides, these expenses might considerably diminish; and, after all, this object is not so remarkable in times of peace; it would even be easy for those who are acquainted with finance to demonstrate that the trade and consumption of goods which is going on in Canada, produces for the King in time of peace, much more than is expended. This is the place where general reasons might be adduced to prove that it is of importance to a state to possess Colonies. 'Tis wrong to object, that it is depopulating the kingdom. One year of European war causes the loss of more men than would be required to people New France. It might be complained that no care has ever been taken to increase its population; that might be easily done now in a perceptible manner, because the Colony begins to grow in numbers. How many thousands of useless men within the heart of the Kingdom and in other states! Every year the English are transporting into foreign parts a great number of families whom they encourage to settle in New England. Were New France peopled, there is no country so easy of preservation; naval forces, essentially necessary to Old France, would guard Acadia, Louisbourg; and it may be asserted that if Canada be lost to France the latter will require a larger naval force than ever, because the English will become absolute masters of the sea.

'Tis true, that in process of time those vast countries will possibly divide themselves into Kingdoms and Republics; the same will be the case with New England; but how many centuries before that will happen! 'Tis looking too far ahead to extend one's view into a futurity so distant and so uncertain.

3<sup>d</sup> Supposing, in fact, that Canada will never be of much use to France; that it will cost even a trifle, must it be reckoned as nothing, the preventing a rival nation aggrandizing itself, establishing, on the seas, a despotic empire and monopolizing all the trade?

The English, once masters of Canada, will necessarily take Louisiana and the Islands, because, being no longer disturbed by the Canadians, they will direct all their weight against the Islands, which are an object of importance for France. For the same reason it may be relied on, that the English will soon wrest New Mexico from Spain, and Portugal may truly be affected by it.

Our immense forests, our vast prairies, once in the hands of the English, will carry abundance everywhere, and facilitate forever the construction of all the ships they will desire.

Were it only the codfishery, this would be an object of infinite importance and which we should lose. Of all commerce, this is the richest, the easiest, the least expensive and the most extensive. As early as 1696, the trade of the Island of Newfoundland alone amounted yearly to 16 millions. Canada once taken, all the fishing ground must be renounced.

Without knowing all the branches of trade which is and can be carried on through out New France, it may be said that if the King lose that country, the commerce of England will soon be augmented more than 150 millions.

A thousand other reflections present themselves to the mind, but it is unnecessary to abuse the patience of those who will read this Memoir.



## SECOND QUESTION.

*Should the war continue in 1759, will Canada be able to defend herself?*

The number of men in that Colony bearing arms has perhaps been exaggerated. I dare assert that there are not fifteen thousand of them, but at least eleven thousand must be deducted from that number for the reasons following:

1. We must strike off 4,000, to wit: the old men, those necessary in the country, the sick, the husbands of sick women, the servants of the parish priests, the sextons, those who hide themselves to avoid being called out, those who find means to be exempted, the pilots for navigating the river; sailors for a great many sloops and bateaux, those at outposts, who watch the signal fires day and night.

It is, in general, doing much to levy more than two-thirds of the men.

2. Of the eleven thousand men to be levied, nearly 1,000 must necessarily be deducted for the Upper and Lower posts, and usually these are the best; it would be easy to enumerate them.

3. 1,500 mechanics of different sorts, carpenters for batteaux, artillery work, blacksmiths, gate-keepers, cartmen in the towns, must also be deducted; again add to these, 1,500 domestics for the officers, the town's people, necessary couriers, clerks, writers.

4. Again, 3,000 men must be employed for the transportation of provisions, utensils and all the necessities for the camps.

We have 4,000 leagues of country to preserve; we have scarcely 78 settled; the current must be surmounted, the wind is oftenest contrary; sloops are frequently a month going up to Montreal, as long in going to St. John; a portage must be made, that is to say, bateaux and their cargoes have to be transported in carts, and then there are 40 leagues before reaching Carillon, which is the first camp; from Montreal to Soulange is twelve leagues, three or four of which are rapids, requiring carts; between Soulange and La Présentation there are more than ten rapids, the bateaux have to be partially unloaded and the freight carried on the back in these bad roads.

To Niagara is reckoned 120 leagues; a lake has to be crossed which the slightest wind agitates; after that comes a considerable portage of three leagues; pirogues are used to go to Presqu'isle, the River au bœuf and Fort Duquesne; but there is especially a portage of at least 4 or 5 leagues.

To give an idea of the difficulty of transportation, I suppose that we had to send from the lower part of Brittany into Westphalia everything required by an army of 4,000 men, who would find nothing on the route—nothing in Westphalia. Tradesmen would find this very difficult of execution, yet it would be much easier than to transport from Quebec what is required for the Beautiful river alone.

Add to this, that we have in Canada scarcely 5 months of the year suitable for transportation.

It follows that, supposing eleven thousand men could be raised in Canada, 4,000 only of them will be fit to fight, the others being occupied elsewhere, and, in fact, they are perhaps never met in the camps.

The 8 battalions of French Regulars, the forty companies of the Marine, hardly form a corps of 6,000 men; 'tis a great deal, still, to add two thousand fighting Indians.

I ask now, if it be possible for twelve thousand men to resist the enemy's army, which certainly amounts to sixty thousand men, to be divided probably into three—one at Lake St. Sacrament, another at Lake Ontario and towards the Beautiful river; the last at Quebec.

Bradok's defeat, the capture of Chouaguen, that of Fort George, the victory of the 8<sup>th</sup> of July last, would create flattering hopes were not something miraculous recognized therein, which cannot be calculated on. It is further to be remarked, that it is almost impossible to get our forces to Carillon before the beginning of June, and the enemy can reach there by the end of April. Judge, then, if it be possible for the prudence of the Generals, the bravery of the troops, the willingness of the farmers, to resist the efforts of the enemy, if the latter have on foot, in 1759, as large a force as in 1758. I refer to the last question what regards our scarcity of provisions and liquors and presents for the Indians. I will not say that there is every prospect that no ploughing will be done this year, that the enemy will prevent this and the putting in seed the early part of the spring.

### THIRD QUESTION.

#### *Is it easy for France to relieve Canada in 1759 ?*

Troops and provisions are required ; all must arrive in May ; the examination of this article will point out the difficulty.

It is not too much to demand an augmentation of eight thousand troops. On arriving at Quebec, they will probably be reduced, by death and disease, to 6,000 ; consequently, we shall have only 18,000 to oppose against 60 thousand. Is this too much ? Is it sufficient ? The situation of the country must be relied on, and calculations made on the mistakes of the enemy.

Men-of-war or merchantmen are necessary for conveying 8,000 men ; if the former be employed, 300 on board each, exclusive of the crew, is a liberal allowance ; 27 ships will be required ; if merchantmen, they will carry only 200, and 40 of them will be necessary ; but will it be possible to dispense with having them convoyed by ships of the Line, Isle Royale and Gaspé being actually in the hands of the English ?

The Contractor-General of Canada demands 40 ships for his share alone, but how many of these will be intercepted ? 20 at least will be required by the merchants ; here are at once 100 ships of 300 tons required, exclusive of those which are to carry the munitions of war ; still more are necessary for the conveyance of provisions, for though the harvest be good, it is not sufficient for the Colony and for extra mouths. This has been proved in 1756.

The difficulty of transportation in Canada occasions a great consumption of provisions by pure loss, and it is impossible to remedy it ; the necessity of employing Indians is another occasion of wasteful consumption. A party of Indians [is sent] to make prisoners, with 15 days' provisions ; it returns at the end of 8 days victorious, or without striking a blow ; it has consumed everything and demands provisions. How are they to be refused ? Another inevitable abuse : Our domiciliated Indians are unwilling to go to fight unless we feed their women and children, so that if you have 2,000 Indians, it will require provisions at least for 6,000. It is not flour alone that is wanting ; the Colony is very bare of oxen and sheep, and at the close of 1759, hardly any will be found for refreshments for the troops or the ships, and 'tis certain, if the war continue, the Colony will be obliged to live on salt meat, which will have to be imported from France, and in that case what a number of ships will be required. Finally, supposing France could furnish all those vessels, will they arrive in sufficient season ? The enemy will attack probably in May. Will those succors arrive in small fleets as in 1758 ? It is to be feared that they will meet the enemy on quitting France ; some they will find about



the roadsteads of Halifax ; others will be about Louisbourg and Gaspé. Should those succors be sent altogether, a strong convoy will be required, and it will happen that many vessels will be separated by fogs and storms ; it will happen that those ships will not be ready soon enough to sail together, and though they should be, their voyage will be a great deal longer. All these succors are necessary ; can France furnish them ? If an attempt be made to recover Louisbourg or Gaspé, or if any considerable diversion be made on the coasts of New England by a considerable fleet, then the whole of the succors I have enumerated may not be wanting ; but has France ships and seamen ? Enough for the seas of America and Europe.

#### DETACHED THOUGHTS.

Perhaps it will be easy to convince the Crowns, especially the Maritime powers, of the interest they have in preventing the aggrandizement of England ; the reasons suggest themselves.

It is almost impossible to retake Louisbourg ; we possess no port in those seas ; the enemy has, or will have, 8,000 men there, and doubtless after our example, will keep some ships of the line in that port.

Acadia is entirely ruined, stripped of all domestic animals ; most of the inhabitants dead ; 'twill cost immense sums to reëstablish the few of them that remain. The English, once masters of Canada, will prefer it to the island of Minorca, and being on the eve of invading it, will find it difficult to listen to propositions for peace. Indeed, New England must be very weary of the wars our Indians are waging against it. It sees in its midst nearly 4,000 of its frontier families bewailing their kindred who have been massacred and whose properties have been laid waste. It knows that in taking Canada it will be rid of the cruelty of the Indians and enjoy forever the sweets of peace.

Quebec is not a strong place ; all our hope depends on preventing the landing and having outside a flying camp of 4,000 men, to annoy the enemy in their march and during the siege ; it is very improbable that the enemy is ignorant of the strength of the fleets which will be sent ; 'tis natural that they will oppose stronger ones, especially as they can station them in the most advantageous ports.

To send succors in divisions is to run the risk of losing all in detail ; to send them together, is to expose ourselves to a general action and to lose all at once ; it is to expose oneself to a very long voyage.

Ten ships of war well armed, once arrived at Quebec would defend it infallibly ; at least the enemy could not approach it with any vessels, nor even with boats. They must land below Quebec, on the North or South shore, and 2,000 men on each side would be a great check, and prevent them occupying those places that command the town and harbor ; each ship could furnish 200 men, without prejudice to the operations it would have to carry on, and should it take out 200 troops, we might be certain of arresting the English fleet, because the Colony would supply more.

The difficulty consists in getting those ships there. Were the locality known, the feasibility perhaps might be admitted of stationing 2 or 3 ships at the Traverse, as many between Point Levi and the Island of Orleans, one or two near Beauport to drive off the enemy's bateaux should they dare to present themselves. 'Tis for Seamen to decide.

The preceding reflection must not prevent the sending of every other sort of succor in men, provisions and munitions of war, demanded in the Memoir.

Assuredly the English will make an attack by the Lakes St. Sacrament and Ontario ; we should need 16 or 18,000 fighting men, the enemy's preparations are made, and absolutely speaking they might make themselves masters of Canada by these two points.

Canada has but one very narrow outlet, that is the gulf. If the English preserve Louisbourg and Acadia, 'twould be difficult to receive any relief by that way.

It were desirable that Holland should possess Acadia. That Republic would be a great assistance to Canada, would as far as she might be able to, prevent the English seizing it for fear of being herself driven from Acadia, which she would have a great interest in preserving; as a choice of evils, it would be one hundred times better that Holland possess it; with her we would arrange the limits; we would have enough in Louisbourg, the Island of St. John, Gaspé, the Petit Nord; in this way would be terminated the thorny question of limits.

On the supposition that Holland would have the Peninsula, the Isthmus would remain with the French; also, the River St. John and Lake Saint Sacrament; Leydius might be regarded as the English boundary; our limits would be Fort Bull, and then the chain of the Apalaches mountains which divide in fact in two the territory between the lakes and the sea coast; or if that point could not be gained, the River Oyo would answer our purpose.

'Tis to be feared that the English will leave in New England 15 or 18 thousand Regulars, which they will, on declaring war, push suddenly into Canada; what means of resistance are there, if we do not keep up 8 or 10 thousand troops; but unfortunately the Colony will be unable to feed them except in the most abundant years, and supplies of provisions, all the implements and munitions of war necessary for 10,000 men, will be required from time to time from France. It will be necessary to think seriously of establishing granaries or magazines of reserve, on account of the scarcities which frequently overtake us.

The people of Canada must naturally be quite tired of the war, many have perished in it; they are burthened with the most harassing works, have not time to increase their property nor even to repair their houses; a portion of their subsistence has been wrested from them, many have been without bread for 3 months, the troops that incommode them are quartered on them, they have not throughout the year as much food as they think they need; they are told that the English will allow them freedom of religion, furnish them goods at a cheaper rate and pay liberally for the smallest service. These ideas are spreading. Some persons above the populace do not blush to speak in the same style; it is natural for the people to murmur and allow themselves to be seduced; the inhabitants of the cities will be the most easily debauched.

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### *Memoir on the next Campaign in Canada.*

#### Artillery of Canada. Regulation to be made for the next Campaign.

The corps of artillery in Canada is composed of 3 officers, 10 cadets and 66 gunners, including 19 gunners and one sergeant detached from the Royal corps in 1767.<sup>1</sup>

In appointing Sieur Mercier, one of these 3 officers, Commandant of this artillery, the intention was to make two companies of it, instead of one which existed previously, but as

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* 1767. — Ed.



the material failed, especially for officers, application was made to France for some. Six were detached, and through some misunderstanding, no doubt, passed into the Colony to be degraded on arriving there. M<sup>r</sup> Berryer<sup>1</sup> has corrected that error, by declaring them detached to serve with the troops of the Line.

But will the plan of forming two companies of artillery with 3 officers, 10 cadets and 86 gunners, still subsist?

It appears to me that the following arrangement would be better adapted to the public service at least for this campaign. Peace is necessary for the alterations:

1° To form only one single Colonial company of artillery, composed of 100 gunners, bombardiers and 10 cadets, of which Sieur Mercier to be Commandant, if it be desired that he should preserve that title; Sieur Jacqueau, Captain; Sieur de Lusignan, Lieutenant; Sieur Danseville, first Ensign. If it be proposed to make officers of any of the Cadets who have served during the last campaign, let them be made 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Ensigns.

2° To withdraw from this company the sergeant and 19 gunners detached from the Royal corps in 1757.

3° To complete it with the gunners and bombardiers which the Minister of Marine will send in the month of March.

4° To order that a troop to be organized, under the name of Detached company from the Royal corps serving with the troops of the Line, of the 20 gunners of the Royal corps and such as will remain from those sent this spring, after the Colonial company shall be completed. Sieur de Montballiard will be its Commandant; Sieur de Louvicon, Captain; Sieurs D'Epinassi, Bonafour and Du Verni, Lieutenants.

5° To order that for service Sieur Mercier and de Montbelliard rank equally according to the seniority of their commissions as Captains. Sieurs Jacqueau and Louvicon and the other officers will follow the same arrangement, that is to say, equal rank, seniority of commission.

Should an officer be sent to Canada to oversee the workmen and another the miners, with the workmen and the miners required, they will likewise be detached to serve with the troops of the Line under Sieur de Montbelliard's orders.

The advantage of this arrangement is:

1° To excite emulation between these two corps. The service will gain thereby.

2° To lessen the expense, as for instance, by economy; if the Minister will order that the works of the artillery and the transportation relative thereto be no longer done by contract, but in the same manner the Marquis de Montcalm has had the external work of Carillon executed in 1758.

<sup>1</sup> NICOLAS RENÉ BERRYER was the son of an Attorney-General of the Grand Council. He was Intendant of Poitou in 1743, and in 1747 was appointed Lieutenant of Police, in which position he effected the disgrace of Count d'Argenson, by the spy system then in vogue. Having thus gained the good will of Madame de Pompadour, the King's favorite, he proved his gratitude to his protectress by filling the Bastille with her enemies. In 1755, he attempted to carry out a general press among the vagrants and idle children that invested Paris, in order to have them transported to Louisiana, but such was the indignation it excited, that Mr. Berryer was obliged to fly for his life, and the Court was obliged to sacrifice him to appease public anger. Mde. de Pompadour, notwithstanding, had him appointed Counsellor of State, and on the 1st November, 1758, had him advanced to the office of Colonial Minister, for which he was less fitted than for the Police department. On the 18th of October, 1761, he was appointed Keeper of the Seals, and died 15th August, 1762, after having, in his different employments, attended more to the affairs of Mde. de Pompadour than to those of the State. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

3° To have a corps of artillery, which, not being Colonial, will be able, in case we be obliged to capitulate for the Colony and its troops, to retire to Louisiana with the troops of the Line.

11<sup>th</sup> January, 1759.

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*M. Berryer to M. Bigot.*

Versailles, 19<sup>th</sup> January, 1759.

Sir,

I answer your letters of the 12<sup>th</sup> August, 3<sup>rd</sup> September and 6<sup>th</sup> November of last year, touching the expenses of Canada.

I shall not enter with you into the detail of the different chapters of expenditure contained in the forms (*projets d'états*) you have sent me conjointly with M<sup>r</sup> de Vaudreuil. I consider it useless, at present, to make any change, in advance, in forms I have found introduced of similar returns, which do not include one quarter of the expenses incurred each year, although that custom be very ridiculous in itself and in no wise contributes either to order or accountability. I have ordered these blanks to be dispatched, and send them to you with another joint despatch. But I forewarn you that it is my intention to establish a new order as soon as circumstances will permit it.

As for the rest, it is not in these forms that the abuses consist which certainly prevail in the expenditure in Canada. I am also persuaded, as you observe, that there is no room for retrenchment in the objects of fixed expenditure, and that the variable expenses depend on the concurrence of circumstances which arise during the year; they cannot be all foreseen in the blanks.

The abuses exist in the employment made of the funds in the Colony; they are to be sought for in the hands of those intrusted with their details, and an end can be put to them only by investigation. I cannot conceal from you that I have perceived in the account called for by me of what has been done for some years back, that people are in the habit of consuming without economy, without order and without any precaution for the King's interests.

How, for example, is it possible that the small-pox among the Indian Nations of the Upper country, should have occasioned extraordinary expenses to the amount of a million? By whom has this expense been made? Is it by commanding officers at the posts? Is it by the storekeepers? You do not enter into any detail on this point. Every one, then, is at liberty to distribute the King's property, and the matter is got rid of by passing it to the account of waste (*consommation*). I confess to you that this manner of administration is very extraordinary.

How do you wish me to reconcile, on the other hand, the enormous demands for all sorts of goods which you have made this year, under pretext of a general scarcity of everything, with your information contained in other letters wherein you advise me of the capture of Fort Frontenac; that the King has lost, in that fort, a prodigious quantity of provisions and goods. I am not ignorant that the fort was the dépôt for the posts on Lake Ontario and Erié and the Beautiful river; that, therefore, it must be always supplied, but if the posts in the Upper countries could have caused an expenditure of a million in provisions and merchandize, Fort Frontenac had no need of all that you say it contained.



Again, I perceive that in addition to the immense supplies which arrived last year in Canada, and which ought to have sufficed to furnish all those posts, purchases are made at those very posts, from private persons, of considerable parcels of goods, and I cannot infer from this manœuvre anything else but that the King's property is considered consumed on its arrival, and that it is afterwards resold to his Majesty at excessive rates.

By this operation the King buys in France and repurchases the same effects in the Colony. I am no longer astonished that immense fortunes are seen in Canada; the liberty of disposing at will of everything is the true cause thereof, especially when the certificates of presents pretended to have been made to the Indians, are accepted without any examination; or when, as in the case of *Sieur D'autrive*, the Treasurers' clerk at Montreal, the difficulty is got over by retiring from the service. The investigations which have been made, judicially, into the deficit of his cash account prevent me making an example of him; but I do not conceal from you that his precipitate departure from the Colony, perhaps, also, the pretext he made for so doing, would be sufficient for not exempting him from suspicion.

As for the rest, in the multiplicity of movements now in Canada, I can only excite your zeal and instruct you to direct a more scrupulous attention to the choice of persons entrusted with any department of administration; you cannot do everything yourself, you cannot be everywhere, but you can assure yourself of those in whom you place any degree of confidence, and that is the principal source, more or less, of the abuses that occur.

Having spoken to you of the consumptions, it remains for me to communicate to you what regards the finance of the Colony. All that occurs in the fabrication of the treasury notes, receipts and their conversion into bills of exchange on France, is not free from the apprehension of fraud that they are exposed to; Canada having only one million of paper-money, which is not sufficient for the payment of the expenses, 'tis certain that it becomes indispensable to supply the deficiency by some other means; the simplest, no doubt is, for the Intendant to sign the printed notes which are in use for many years past, to transfer those notes to the Treasurer, who submits them to the Registrar, and issues them successively in proportion to the expenses.

You will see by the printed notes I transmit to you this year, that whatever idea I might conceive of this new and dangerous form, I place you in a condition to continue your operations by enabling you to circulate the notes which procure you the means to do so. The state of the Colony, the want of time and the confidence I must place in you, are the reasons which determine me thereto.

I shall avow to you, nevertheless, that this practice is contrary to all the laws of the Kingdom, for by such operation the Intendant alone becomes, without being expressly authorized thereto, the fabricator of a money which has circulation in the Colony, without the King's permission, and you must be aware of all the consequences thereof.

I have not considered it my duty to propose to his Majesty to suppress that practice, the place of which it would be necessary to supply by some other, but he has ordered me to tell you that it is his intention

1<sup>st</sup> That *M. de Vaudreuil* sign with you all the Treasury notes that you will have to issue to the Treasurers' clerks.

2<sup>nd</sup> That no notes be issued without the cause of the expense being recorded.

3<sup>rd</sup> That you cause to be remitted a monthly list of the notes that Treasurer will issue to the public, either for the purpose of returning the paper money brought to the Treasury to obtain bills of exchange on France in their stead, or for expenses which may exceed the amount of such paper.

4<sup>th</sup> That you verify conjointly the value retired in acquittances in the hands of the Treasurers' clerks, immediately after drawing the bills of exchange.

5<sup>th</sup> That a list be also furnished you of the printed bills and notes remaining in circulation after the drawing of the bills of exchange.

6<sup>th</sup> That you cause to be transmitted to me copy of all those lists and the result of your operations.

You will easily perceive the arrangements which may result from the facility with which a prodigious quantity of such bills has, up to the present time, been entrusted to the Treasurers' clerks, who then become absolute masters of them without any other precaution than exacting from him receipts for the quantity, without enquiring into their employment; without verification of their conversion into bills of exchange, he can make any use he thinks proper of them. This is so true that in the month of November, when you rendered an account of the year's expenses, you state nearly how much they ought to amount to; they are counted, and a year afterwards and the following years very considerable excesses are discovered.

This confusion which has prevailed for a long time in the finances of the Colony, would excite violent suspicions; I am fully convinced that neither one nor the other of you have any thing to reproach yourselves with, but as heads of the administration of the finances, you are not exempt from stories circulated here, and of which I was not ignorant previous to the King confiding to me the Department of the Marine. I did not attach any credit to them; I have merely collected all the information I have been able to obtain on whatever regards Canada. I have concluded that it was indispensable that I should communicate to you all that I have had reason to perceive, and in the firm resolution which I have come to, of placing all parties right, of uprooting abuses and putting an end to everything that might contribute thereto. I reckon on your paying every attention to this object that it merits; on both of you closely watching it, and concurring in furnishing me the information I need in order to put into execution the views I propose to myself.

'Tis certain that if, hereafter, the expenses increase every year as they have done since 1755, Canada would become excessively burthensome to the Kingdom; it is already much so; you are not ignorant of the efforts that it has been necessary to make to meet the payments; I hope I shall have, from this very year, a satisfactory account to render to the King of the attention you will apply to it. I cannot too strongly recommend you to furnish me the means to do it.

I am, Sir, entirely yours.



*Minute providing for the office of Governor-General in case of M. de Vaudreuil's death.*

The events in the life, having created in 1756 the apprehension of the death, of M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, and the crisis to which that Colony would be subject, in case the general command of it was not assured at once, his Majesty decided that the Marquis de Montcalm should assume it in default of M. de Vaudreuil, the Deputy Governors, though men of merit in their station, not being fit for the place of Commander-in-Chief, especially in a time of war and in regard to the troops of the line under his orders. A



commission was consequently issued for the M<sup>te</sup> de Montcalm and it was addressed to M. Bigot, the Intendant, recommending him under the strongest injunction of secresy, not to unseal the packet nor to make any use of it except in the case of M. de Vaudreuil happening to die.

As there is no knowing how far the events of the war might produce a change in the office of Commander-in-Chief of Canada, 'tis deemed proper to propose to his Majesty, in confirming the orders already issued, to bestow it on M. de Montcalm in default of M. de Vaudreuil; to dispose of it, also, in favor of Chevalier de Levis, Brigadier-General, in case of M. de Montcalm's death. This precaution appears necessary in the present circumstances, and there is reason to presume that the office of Commander-in-Chief being assured to three persons, in default the one of the other, the discussions which the Deputy Governors might create to procure it for themselves, will be avoided, and this packet will be addressed as before to M. Bigot, not to be opened except in case of accident.

29<sup>th</sup> January, 1759.

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*Minute respecting the promotion of M. de Montcalm, Chevalier de Levis, &c.*

His Majesty having been informed of all that occurred last year in Canada, has been graciously pleased to reward the services of the Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis, by making the former Lieutenant-General of his armies, and the second, Major-General (*Maréchal de Camp*). The Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor, Lieutenant-General of the Colony, is equally entitled to favor by his zeal and services. His office of Governor-General requires, at the same time that 'tis fitting, that he should receive marks of his Majesty's bounty at a time when the King bestows signal proofs thereof to the officers serving under his orders.

What appears at the moment the most suitable and what will greatly flatter the Marquis de Vaudreuil, is the Honorary Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis. His Majesty granted him two years ago the Grand Ribbon. The troops of the Colony, the farmers, the Indians themselves who are attached to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, will see him with pleasure thus particularly distinguished by his Majesty, and it will not fail to influence advantageously the operations of this year.

February, 1759.

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*M. de Silhouette to M. Berryer?*

Paris, 8<sup>th</sup> February, 1759.

Sir,

I have received the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 27<sup>th</sup> of last month. I have omitted nothing to enable me to respond to the marks of esteem and confidence you honor me with.

I have read with attention the two Memoirs on which you direct me to give you my opinion. The first treats of the nature of Louisiana and of Canada. The second supposes the

abandonment of this latter Colony, proposes the emigration of the Canadians to Louisiana and discusses the objections thereto.

To throw light on so important a matter and to satisfy your orders, I have made a preliminary Memoir on the previous question—Is it proper or not to abandon Canada? I have examined in this Memoir the influence the American system may have on that of Europe, the nature of the possessions of the French and English in that new world; finally, what are the views of the English and the advantages they propose to themselves in the conquest of Canada.

I annex to this Memoir copy of that which has been made in 1751 by the Marquis de la Galissonnière on the French Colonies in North America. He treats in it the same questions, and his testimony in such a matter ought to possess great weight.

I have thought that I ought not confine myself to the general question of abandoning or maintaining Canada. I have prepared a second Memoir, submitting the summary detail of the plan for the emigration of the Canadians to Louisiana, and discussing its motives. That detail and those motives are scattered through the answers of the author of the project to the objections he raises himself. It is there I have found them.

The struggle between France and England, to-day, is for the preponderance in America. The English pursue their object with an attention, an activity, efforts and an expense which prove at least that the influence of the American system over that of Europe is not a problematical opinion with that nation.

The conquest of Canada is considered by the English only as a stepping-stone to the conquest of the other French Colonies, and that is the motive which must render its preservation extremely precious to France.

What I have the honor of submitting to you here agrees with what M<sup>r</sup> de la Galissonnière was writing from Canada as far back as 1747, when he was Governor-General of that country.

I had, at that time, no relation with him; I had not the advantage of his acquaintance. What his sojourn in America unfolded to him of the views of England, my sojourn in England also afforded me an opportunity of observing; and at so great a distance, without having ever communicated with each other, we concurred in opinion as we have since done in esteem and friendship. I had occasion, several times, to converse with Marshal de Noailles<sup>1</sup> and Count de Maurepas on the projects of England, and on their persuasion, I drew up, in the month of October of the same year, 1747, a Memoir on the finance, marine and commerce of that nation, in which I discussed the necessity of placing Canada, as soon as circumstances would permit, in a position not to fear anything eventually from their enterprises; with that view I proposed to have conveyed thither the soldiers that would be reduced at the peace; to continue their pay to them some time; to give those of them who would apply for their discharge, lands, facilities to cultivate them, and in that way appropriate to that Colony a supply of soldiers

<sup>1</sup> ADRIEN MAURICE DE NOAILLES was born in Paris in 1678. He made his first campaign in Catalonia, and obtained a company in 1693. Assisted at the siege of Roses, at the battle of Ter, and at the capture of Palamos and Gironne. In 1695, he commanded a brigade of Cavalry. In 1701, he accompanied the Duke of Anjou to Madrid; was created Brigadier in 1702, Major-General in 1704, and served in Germany under the Duke of Burgundy. He commanded the French army in Spain in 1706 until the peace of Utrecht, and on the death of Louis XIV., he was appointed, 15th September, 1715, President of the Council of Finance, and filled that office until January, 1718, when he retired to the country. He was sent to the army in Germany in 1734, under Marshal Berwick and captured Worms. He was next created Marshal and sent to command the army in Italy in 1735, where he remained until September, 1736. He was again called into active service in 1741, and in 1743 was appointed to the command of the army in Germany, where he lost the day at Dettingen, and served under Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy. In 1746, he was Ambassador to Spain; retired from public life in 1755, and terminated a long and honorable career 24th June, 1766, at the age of 88 years. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.



and husbandmen ; measures which, carried out with a wise economy, would have been of trifling expense, would have saved the state many millions in the course of the present war ; made Canada the bulwark of all the other Colonies, and might have resulted in a superiority of land forces over the English in America as in Europe, which belongs to the constitution of France to possess over them, and would have been capable of disconcerting their projects. Marshal de Noailles and M. de Maurepas desired that I should submit that Memoir to all the King's Ministers. I did so. Circumstances, doubtless, have not permitted the application to that object of the funds which would have been necessary for its execution.

As the naval forces of the English are greatly superior to those of France, it was an additional reason for making Canada stronger in men ; but, by being inferior, as we are in America, both on land and sea, a continuation of reverses must be expected ; it is still less from the naval forces of the English than from the land forces belonging and proper to their Colonies, that those of France have to fear the most damaging blows. I cannot help suspecting that the difficulty of sustaining Canada is the real source of all the motives by which its abandonment is sought to be cloaked. If such be the case, in a short time will be seen reviving the gothic system that France can dispense with Colonies, and has need only of husbandmen and soldiers. Russia is in no want of soldiers ; she does not lack husbandmen inasmuch as she exports grain ; Russia, nevertheless, receives subsidies from foreign powers ; so true is it, that something more is necessary for the dignity, the grandeur and power of a State, especially of a State which is bounded in great part by the sea, and has for its capital enemy a nation whose might consists principally in its naval force.

To enter into a more minute detail would be anticipating the perusal of the Memoirs which I have the honor to send you, but I cannot terminate this letter without presenting two Observations to you, one of which is instant ; the other may influence the projects and plans of operations to be followed in the course of the present war.

The first is, that no means ought to be neglected to enable Canada to defend herself against the ulterior progress of the English, or at least to contest the ground with them, inch by inch. Although that Colony be in the most extreme danger, yet, almost all its inhabitants are soldiers, or as good. A people, so brave, when not in want either of provisions or ammunition, can find resources where none are imagined.

No one feels, more than I do, how important it would be to adopt all such measures as circumstances may permit, to provide for the defence of that Colony, but I do not feel myself sufficiently instructed to discuss that point. I could do it as it ought to be done, only with aid and counsel, and I could not take any unless authorized. Besides, it would not be possible to form any plan of arrangements except on the communication of information necessary to understand the actual state of the Colony.

The second Observation is, that if Canada be unfortunately lost, means must be devised to obtain its restitution at the peace, as well as that of the other French Colonies, which it will be easy for England to seize, as soon as the fear or resistance of Canada will have ceased to offer any obstacle thereto. The English will place so great a price, and with justice, on their conquests in America, that it will not be possible to prevail on them to give them up, except by making them apprehend the consequences of an invasion of England herself.

When I had the honor to see you, Sir, for the first time, you encouraged me to prepare a Memoir on that subject ; I have partially treated the matter in a Memoir I had drawn up in the month of November, 1755. I annex hereunto an extract from it, to which I have added some ulterior and more detailed reflections on the project of a landing.

I submit this letter and all those Memoirs to your wisdom and decision. I am entitled to claim your indulgence. It is founded on my obedience to your orders, and on the sentiments of zeal and respect, with which I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed), DESILHOUE<sup>1</sup>.

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*Marshal de Belle Isle to M. de Montcalm.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Versailles, 19<sup>th</sup> February, 1759.

Sir,

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bougainville and Doreil have handed me the letters you have entrusted to them for me. The former, who is about to depart on his return to Canada, will convey my answers to you. You will have been surprised at not receiving anything from me by the frigate which has been dispatched to you in the month of 7<sup>ber</sup> last. I was advised of it so late that my packet did not arrive at Brest until after she had set sail. You will find it among those confided to M. de Bougainville.

I shall not repeat what I have already told you of the satisfaction the King entertains of your services. Your promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General, of which I send you the commission, and the Red ribbon that has been accorded to you, will make you more sensible of them than all the assurances I could give you. His Majesty has also had regard to the expenses the command confided to you requires you to incur, and it has never been his intention that a place in which you defend so courageously his interest should be a burthen to you.

You will learn that in attending to your interests I have not neglected those of the staff and regimental officers employed under your orders, both in procuring for them an increase of pay and obtaining rewards commensurate with their services. I enclose, herewith, commissions of Major-General (*Maréchal de Camp*), for Chevalier de Levis; of Brigadiers for Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Bourlamaques and de Senezergues, with the letters of service I have transmitted to them in consequence, and which you will have the goodness to send them. You will find another of Colonel for M. de Bougainville, on whom the King has conferred that rank, in order that he may perform the duties thereof with the troops under your command. The other packets he carries, contain the copies of the particular favors which you will find almost conformable to your propositions. I refer, for the rest, to the letters of detail I write you and with which I hope you will be satisfied.

As regards your duty during this campaign, I am very sorry to have to inform you that you must not expect to receive any Military reinforcements. Besides augmenting the scarcity of provisions which you have only too much experienced up to the present time, it would be much to be feared that they would be intercepted by the English, on the passage; and as the King

<sup>1</sup> ETIENNE DE SILHOUETTE was born at Limoges on the 5th July, 1709. After acquiring his education, he traveled in Europe, and went to England to study the financial system of that country, and became Chancellor to the Duke of Orleans. After the peace of 1748, he was one of the three Commissioners appointed to arrange with England the limits of Acadia; he was next Royal Commissioner at the India Board, and was named Comptroller-General in March, 1759, but held that place only eight months, and retired to the country, where he died, 20th January, 1767. *Biographie Universelle*.—ED.



could never send you assistance proportionate to the forces the English are able to oppose against you, the efforts which would be made here, would have no other effect than to excite the Ministry of London to much greater efforts to preserve the superiority it has acquired in that part of the continent. Although in this conjuncture it is to be expected that the English Generals will desire to profit by their advantage in order to inflict on the Colony severer blows, the recollection of what you have achieved last year makes his Majesty hope that you will still find means to disconcert their projects. M. Berryer will cause to be conveyed to you as much provisions and ammunition as possible; the rest depends on your wisdom and courage, and on the bravery of the troops. His Majesty is convinced that the confidence he reposes in you and in them cannot be better placed. He relies equally on the good understanding he wishes to prevail between the troops of the Marine and those of the Colony, and that the manner you will live with M. de Vaudreuil, will furnish them the example. This is a point whereon M. Berryer must insist, and which I believe it is unnecessary to recommend to you.

I have the honor to be, most perfectly, Sir, &c.

P. S. As it is to be expected that the entire efforts of the English will be directed against Canada, and that they will attack you at different points at once, it will be necessary that you confine your plan of defence to those which are most essential and most connected, in order that being concentrated on a smaller extent of country, you may be always enabled mutually to help one another, to communicate with and to support each other. However trifling the space you can preserve, it is of the utmost importance to possess always a foothold in Canada, for should we once wholly lose that country, it would be quite impossible to enter it again. To fulfill this object, the King reckons, Sir, on your zeal, your courage and pertinacity. His Majesty expects you will exercise all the industry you are capable of, and that you will communicate the like sentiments to the principal officers and altogether to the troops under your orders. M. Berryer writes to the same effect to M. de Vaudreuil, and directs him to conduct himself with the greatest harmony towards you; you must both feel all its necessity and all its importance. I have become responsible for you to the King. I am well assured that you will not dishonor me, and that for the good of the State, the glory of the Nation and your own preservation, you will have recourse to the greatest extremities rather than ever submit to conditions so disgraceful as those accepted at Louisbourg, the memory of which you will efface. Such are, Sir, substantially, the King's intentions. He has entire confidence in you and all the qualities he recognizes in you. I have fully confirmed his Majesty therein by the testimonies I have rendered. I wish you perfect health, I feel no uneasiness for the rest. Rely also on all the sentiments I entertain for you, Sir, and that I most sincerely desire to find myself in a position to afford you marks thereof.

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*Ministerial Minute respecting Supplies procured in Spain for Canada.*

The threats of the English to besiege Isle Royale and to attack Canada in 1758, determined M. de Moras, as early as December, 1757, to employ foreigners to transport succors to those two Colonies.

With that view he informed the Marquis d'Aubeterre, the King's ambassador at Madrid, that he would find Sieur Darragay, a merchant of that city, disposed to furnish and to transport provisions.

That affair has been negotiated secretly between M. Daubeterre and that merchant. It was not until M. de Moras quitted the Ministry of the Marine, that he delivered up the documents, of which we are going to give an account.

The first consists of the proposal of Sieur Darragay to furnish

1<sup>st</sup> 1,600 tons of flour, first and second qualities, in equal proportion,

200 tons of brandy,

200 tons of salt,

2,000 tons.

2<sup>nd</sup> To have armed on his account and at his expense, the necessary ships to convey the 2,000 tons, half to Isle Royale, half to Quebec.

The purchase money of these cargoes was estimated in the proposal at 480,000<sup>l</sup>, or thereabouts, for which has been drawn on the spot bills of exchange at different dates, as well as for the freight. Meanwhile it has been stipulated that Sieur Darragay should present the invoices of all the purchases, which would be paid him according to the prices mentioned therein, and 2 per cent commission.

It has been agreed that the freight should be paid him on the bills of lading, certified by two sworn stevedores, and that allowance would be reciprocally made for any greater or less quantity that may be found on the settlement of the 2,000 tons.

9<sup>th</sup> March, 1759.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1759.

My Lord,

Last year's campaign terminated on Lake St. Sacrament without any event of interest.

I can only, my Lord, renew what I had the honor to write you last fall relative to the movements I should have wished had been made to satisfy the desires and ardor of the troops of the Marine, Canadians and Indians, and to afford them an opportunity of signalizing their zeal anew. I had the honor to develop to you the advantages which would have resulted therefrom; they were so certain that I always regret their having been neglected.

I have caused the work at the fortifications of Carillon to be continued; had the defects of our intrenchments corrected; finally, I have foreseen and had everything done that could tend to the better defence of that frontier.

I caused a number of Indians of different nations to winter at Carillon, although their movements have not been very considerable, these Indians deriving almost nothing from their hunting except the comforts they have procured for the garrison of that fort, which has not failed to be of assistance to them.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> November, Sieur Outelas, a Cadet in the troops of the Marine, placed himself at the head of 60 Indians, to strike a blow between Fort Edward and Sarastoga, but on the day



of their departure, 3 soldiers of the regiment of Berry deserted, who were pursued in vain. M. Outelas, for whom fears were justly felt, as these deserters could inform the English of his march, returned, nevertheless, with two prisoners.

Another party of our Canadians and Indians went to reconnoitre old Fort Ann; did not fall in with any one. It afterwards went to the environs of Fort Edward; whatever desire it had to do well, it was obliged to be satisfied with one scalp and one prisoner; this party might have done better, but, finding itself within an acre of the fort, confined itself strictly to taking a prisoner, agreeably to my intentions.

A small party of our Indians returned at the same time with a Mohegan, whom it also took in the neighborhood of Fort Edward.

No hostile party made its appearance up to the tenth of this month, whilst two parties of our Indians were out, and the others were hunting. 70 English or Indians belonging to the enemy surprised our workmen, who, unfortunately, were not armed; they took 6 soldiers, one Canadian; killed 3 soldiers, one Abenakis; wounded two Abenakis, one Canadian and one soldier, who was scalped, and received two blows of a tomahawk in the skull, and had his thigh broken. The detachment sent by M. de Hebecourt from the fort, did not arrive until after the enemy had struck their blow, wherefore we took but one prisoner; we wounded several English and Mohawks, whom the enemy carried off, but, seeing themselves pursued, were obliged to turn their backs on their wounded, and to abandon the litters on which these were carried. That party had been detached from a body of 300 English who had remained at Rattlesnake [hill] and the Falls. Their principal object was to enable the Engineer to reconnoitre our intrenchments and even Fort Carillon, to try and burn the lower town and storehouses, for which purpose they had brought combustibles and fuzes.

I have not failed to tell M. de Hebecourt how much he was to blame in that affair.

1<sup>st</sup> Because had our workmen been armed, that hostile party would not have attacked them.

2<sup>nd</sup> Because our workmen would have been themselves enabled to give these English a smart chase.

M. d'Hebecourt has written to me that that Engineer and four men had passed and repassed outside the intrenchment, from one angle to the other, on the hill only, and that they had stopped at various places to examine the fort which appeared to the best advantage, on account of the snow.

It is astonishing that this engineer should, with only four men, have been able to make a reconnoissance of the intrenchments and fort; his curiosity would certainly have cost him very dear had M. d'hébecourt been as vigilant as he was negligent at that moment.

According to the report of all those prisoners,

The island where Robert Rogers' company is quartered, is in progress of being palisaded; that partizan had only 220 men with him; he was waiting for two of his companies who were at Orange.

The English have this year a post of 160 men at Fort Miller, or the Portage between Fort Edward and Sarastoga, where there is a saw-mill. This post is protected by upright stockades.

A battalion relieved at Fort Edward was designed to go and work at Louisbourg.

The troops who have besieged Louisbourg are partly in New England and partly at Louisbourg, where the English have made great exertions to repair the barracks and the fortifications.

Three men-of-war were wintering in the harbor of Louisbourg. (N<sup>o</sup>. According to intelligence from the River St. John, there are 4.)

The French garrison and the citizens who were unwilling to stay there have been transported to Old England.

In the months of November and December, two large French ships were conveyed to New-York; They are supposed to be men-of-war.

They have been told that the King of Prussia had lost 40,000 men.

They agree also that the Dutch had declared against the English, but that the Spaniards had not yet done so, though their ships are taken when freighted with munitions of war or provisions.

The English wish to come and attack us at Carillon early in the spring. There are a great many bateaux or barges at Orange.

Supplies of hay have been brought from Orange to Fort Edward, for the horses which are to come to that fort in great numbers early in April.

No troops have gone from New to Old England; on the contrary, 6,000 men are expected to form new crops and not to serve as recruits, whom the English procure in their Colonies.

The garrison of Fort Edward, which consisted of 600 men, has had an augmentation of 200.

The smiths of that fort are occupied in repairing the artillery.

General Abercrombie has recrossed the sea.

General Hamest<sup>1</sup> was at New-York.

No talk of peace; on the contrary, the English will absolutely have Canada, and are to attack it at various points.

They have concealed, last fall, a great many articles in the ditch of the intrenchment of old Fort George, which they have covered with the intrenchment itself.

The governors of the New England provinces have concluded their session, at which it was decided to call out the men fit for service from 15 to 60 years; the province of Boston alone furnishes 15,000 men.

As nothing is more dangerous than the desertion of the soldiers, I have adopted the arrangement which has appeared the best to prevent it; I saw the necessity of employing Indians. Two soldiers of Berry having fallen into this category, our Indians went in pursuit, overtook them, cut the head off one and obliged his comrade to carry it himself to the fort; the latter was immediately tried, and suffered the punishment due to his crime. This example was absolutely necessary; I hope it will have made an impression on the soldiers who might have a similar fancy.

I expect, my Lord, to have some English prisoners immediately; either from Fort Edward or from the vicinity of Orange, whether I have dispatched some small parties of our Canadian troops and Indians. The intelligence these prisoners will furnish me, cannot fail of being interesting, because being captured at the opening of the fine season, it is very probable that the plans, preparations and movements of the English will have at least transpired, if they have not become public.

I am always in the expectation that our Lake St. Sacrament frontier will be vigorously attacked very early in the spring by a very considerable force. I feel how important it is for us to anticipate our enemies, but I cannot prematurely dispatch the troops I have destined for that quarter, as they would have very soon consumed the provisions I am at present busy collecting to victual them. The English, knowing our situation, would naturally follow up

<sup>1</sup> Sic. — En.



their activity by slowness in order to give us time to consume our provisions; the success of their expedition would effectually depend on that, since hunger would place our troops under the necessity of retreating.

In these circumstances my policy is, to study the enemy's movements, to seize the moment of their march to dispatch the troops, Militia and Indians, that I am preparing to oppose them. I arrange all these things with that view, in order not to be surprised.

Nevertheless, if the succors you, my Lord, are dispatching for this Colony, begin to reach us, I shall hasten the departure of those forces, and will even increase them.

As for the rest, I have taken the precaution to place limits to the progress of our enemies, supposing they make any. I have had two Xebecs built, which will carry artillery, will be well armed and capable of disputing the enemy's passage on Lake Champlain.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> March, 1759.

My Lord,

M. de Ligneris has not ceased having French and Indian scouts to watch the English. M. de la Valtrie informs him that the English were building a small fort on the river Mananguailée, a little above Fort Duquesne.

He learned at the same time by some Delaware Indians, who are beginning to become familiar with the English, and go frequently to see them, that 2 @ 300 men were to remain at that fort during the winter.

That General Forbes had returned with his army to Loyal Hannon, where he had stationed a strong garrison to support that of Mananguailée.

That the remainder of his army was to be sent to winter quarters in different provinces.

That it was asserted that this General was to return this year to Europe.

It would not be difficult, my Lord, to drive the English from their fort on the Mananguailée or to take them, were there plenty of men and provisions, but M. de Ligneris is in want of both to such a degree that he will have considerable difficulty to pass the winter.

The Iroquois, Chaouanons and Loups of Kanaouagon, far from responding favorably to M. de Ligneris' invitation to go and attack the English, continue to solicit him to vacate Fort Machault and to retire to Presqu'isle, continually representing to him that he has too few men to resist the English who were assuredly to come and attack him this winter.

He obtained, however, from those Indians, [a promise] that they would go to the English only with a view to learn their plans against the French, to inform him thereof; they likewise promised him to summon them to withdraw very speedily to the other side of the mountains.

But there is reason to presume that the Indians would wish there were neither French nor English at the Beautiful river, and that they are heartily tired of the war.

What confirms me in this idea is, the Council the English held on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November at Cachekacheki.<sup>1</sup>

The English have had recourse to the most affecting and most pressing language; they requested the Indians to forget the past; to renew the alliance of their ancestors with them; to let them settle their differences with the French, and to recall their young men who are with the latter.

To enforce this proposition they told those Indians, that they had closed the Canada river, consequently the French could not give them any assistance; that the King of France had already twice sued for peace, which had been always refused by the English; they requested the Indians to communicate their words to the Nations who are in alliance with them.

The Delawares have answered the English anew, that being allies of many different Nations, a reply could not be given immediately to their speech; and that they should not become impatient if the answer was a long time coming, as their relations were at a distance.

Moreover, if the English were desirous that their speech should be listened to, they must retire to the other side of the mountains and leave the Indians their lands free; otherwise no alliance would be entered into with them.

At another council held with the same Indians at the Forks by the English, the latter consented to retire home, not to make any settlement on the Beautiful river, and that they would all depart within eight days.

M. de Ligneris placed no confidence in the promises which the English made the Indians.

In fact, their language changes very fast. The Canaouagon Indians told M. de Ligneris, on their return from the English, that the latter were to come with a considerable force and attack him in the month of February.

What gave rise to the suspicion that such was their design, was, the arrival of 120 men at their fort on the River Manangailée, where they were in immediate expectation of 300 more.

Were M. de Ligneris in a situation to make a movement to drive away the English, the Nations on the Beautiful river would not oppose it directly; if they saw that we were in a condition to dispense with their services, I doubt not many would join him, notwithstanding their conferences with the English.

The latter have been again summoned by those Indians to retire to their own country, but entirely forgetting their first language, the English have assured that they should not leave the Beautiful river; that it belonged to them from its source to its mouth.

That positive answer from the English has rendered M. de Ligneris only more vigilant in observing their movements, more especially as some Indians have reported to him that the English are building a great many bateaux at the fort up the Mananguailée and on the River Attiqué.<sup>2</sup>

These preparations having given offence to our Indians, they demanded an explanation thereof from the English, but the latter curtly answered, that they were preparing to go to Fort Marchault, that they would have 6,000 men at the end of March, to drive off the French.

M. de Ligneris has left nothing unsaid to persuade the Nations on the Beautiful river, that it was for their own interest to place limits to the ambition of the English; he has prevailed on the Loups to assemble again at Cachekacheki;<sup>1</sup> the latter have assured him they were

<sup>1</sup> Kuskuskees at the Forks of Beaver Creek, Beaver County, Penn. *Mitchell's and Pownall's Maps*. Compare Post's Journal. *Pennsylvania Archives*, III., 560. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 901.



taking that course only to have a better opportunity of striking the English, if he organized any expedition, and of more easily joining the French on the Beautiful river, supposing it were in spring, in sufficient numbers to drive the English thence.

I have written M. de Ligneris that the change of the English from extreme suavity to the greatest threats, must have naturally made the deepest impressions on the Indians of the Beautiful river, who must conclude therefrom that the principal object of the English is to deceive them, and that if they were not under the protection of the French, they would be very soon reduced to slavery, and probably to something worse; that therefore it is for their own interest to sovereignly despise all proposals of neutrality; to be inseparable from the French, and to be more ardent than ever to fight the English.

I recommend him also to impress strongly on those Indians the critical position they would be placed in, abandoned to themselves, had they no help to expect, except from the English, who would not treat them any better than they had treated the Abenakis.

As I am aware of the designs of the English against Niagara, I write M. de Ligneris that, supposing that place to be really besieged, M. Pouchot will retain under his orders 300 Canadians whom I had designed for the Beautiful river, and that, according as he will find it necessary, he will call to his assistance all the forces from Detroit and the other posts, whom I have ordered to rendezvous at Presqu'isle.

Under these circumstances, I recommended to him, in relation to the straits he should find himself reduced to, and in regard to his situation, to manœuvre so as to have the enemy continually before him. I observe to him that, if the Indians of the Beautiful river remain faithful to the French, and act in consequence, he will not fail to afford work to our enemies.

That, in other respects, he will fall back on the River au Bœuf and successively on Presqu'isle, paying attention to what position he will find himself in, to play with and to set snares for the enemy, according as they advance, to be, above all things, vigilant wherever he be, so that none of his bateaux fall into the hands of the English.

I likewise notify him that M. Pouchot will, with pleasure, embrace the opportunity of corresponding with him, and that, according as circumstances will be favorable, that is to say, if Niagara be not menaced, that he would reunite under his orders not only the forces and succors which will rendezvous at Presqu'isle, the 300 Canadians that I have destined for him, but in addition, all the forces and other assistance M. Pouchot will have it in his power to forward to him.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> March, 1759.

My Lord,

Although M. de Kerlerec,<sup>1</sup> Governor of Louisiana, informs you exactly of the situation of that Colony, nevertheless, I have the honor to render you an account of what he has stated to me in answer to what I had written him.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 281, note. — Ed.

I had signified to him to employ every means to have the English vigorously harassed on his side by the Nations of the country of the Alibamons; the favorable dispositions in which I left them, persuade me that they would be entirely disposed thereto. M. de Kerlerec writes me that he would have perfectly succeeded in getting them to carry out my intentions, but he had not had anything to give those nations for more than two years and a half; that he is still in the same state of indigence, with the exception of some trifling assistance he has been able to derive from even our enemies, by means of some conferences.

He informed me at the same time that the English have not left any thing untried to establish posts among the Abekas,<sup>1</sup> Alibamons, on the river of the Okonis<sup>2</sup> and at Okeitcha, a territory of the Kaouitas,<sup>3</sup> but that these last have always remained firm and strongly opposed it; 'tis easy to presume that the intention of the English was, without doubt, to seize successively the Fort of the Alibamons,<sup>4</sup> &c.

That all these proceedings have occasioned a great many Councils with the Indians, a great many messages to the Nations and considerable expense on our part, to procure the rejection of the English messages and the ratification of ours.

But he observes to me, and 'tis but too true, all that can last only a season; indeed, 'tis to be feared that those Indians (whose fidelity, notwithstanding, we cannot but applaud), will tire of seeing the continuance of our poverty and consequently of their necessities.

M. de Kerlerec informs me also that he has heard of the arrival among the Alibamons of four Chaouanons, whom I had engaged our Northern Indians to send as delegates to the Alibamons, to call on them to accept the hatchet against the English, and to warn them that if they did not, they would convert all those Nations into their enemies. That the Alibamons were embarrassed how to answer, knowing that it was impossible for us to supply their wants; that they confined themselves merely to giving their solemn promise that they would never suffer the English to do the smallest thing against us, but the moment it would be in our power to supply them with the resources which they derive from the English, they were now aware what they should have to do, and that they would be heard from.

You see, my Lord, that my foresight has proved utterly fruitless, for the sole reason that M. de Kerlerec is not able to second my views in treating those Nations as they deserve; a treatment they cannot dispense with, and that, being obliged to have recourse to the English for those supplies, it is of a natural consequence that we shall never be able to make those Indians move according to our desires, if we be not in a situation to relieve at least their most urgent wants.

M. de Kerlerec also writes me that the Chaktas persevere in the good dispositions they entertained when I handed them over to him, but that being in nearly the same necessity as the other Nations under his government, they begin to be forced by their wants to go and trade with the English, not finding among the French what they indispensably require.

He adds, that the Eastern portion, particularly the village of the Couchas,<sup>1</sup> of the Yellow canes (*Cannes jaunes*) and the Senachas use pretty bad language, but that the majority, who have every reason to remember the past, behave well.

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> In Georgia, the river Oconee forms with the Ocmulgee the river Alatomaha.

<sup>3</sup> The Cowetas (from Cohwita, the Uchee word for "man,") were a tribe of the Muskogee Nation now belonging to the Creek confederacy. Their territory extended from the Chattahoochee river nearly to the Savannah. Okeitcha, now Ogechee, was an Indian town at the head of the river of that name in Georgia. Compare *De l'Isle's Carte de la Louisiane* and *Mitchell's Map of North America*. — Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Now, Fort Jackson, Montgomery county, Georgia.



From all this, my Lord, M. de Kerlerec observes, that if the Colony confided to him, continue in the same dearth of everything, he can only fear a very grievous revolution among the Indian Nations. I doubt not but he had had the honor to submit to you his representations in this regard.

You will find it perhaps strange, my Lord, that, being myself in an incomparably greater want of everything than that under which M. de Kerlerec labors, I have had the honor to entertain you with his necessities. I do so through zeal and the desire I should have felt to employ every means to have an attack made on the enemy.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*Summary of the Plan of General Operations for the Campaign of 1759.*

[ By M. DE VAUDREUIL. ]

OHIO.

M. de Ligneris has had orders to remain at Fort Machault, on the Oyo ; 1<sup>st</sup> To support the Nations ; 2<sup>nd</sup> To annoy the English ; 3<sup>rd</sup> To force them to a diversion ; 4<sup>th</sup> To cover Lake Erié and force the enemy to march only with an army, which would entail considerable preparations, whence arise serious difficulties for victualing of all sorts in a country where the ground is capable of being defended inch by inch.

The scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Colony has determined me to send orders to the Illinois and Detroit to forward the Presqu'île all the men these two posts can furnish.

I had, early last autumn, designated the same place as the general rendezvous of the Canadians and farmers from the Illinois, Detroit, of all the French and different Southern Nations, in order to have them when required.

NIAGARA.

As those forces will proceed to the relief of Niagara, should the enemy wish to besiege it.

I have, in like manner, sent orders to Toronto, to collect the Mississagués and other Nations, to forward them to Niagara.

I have advised the commandant of this last fort of my apprehensions that the English would attack him before the arrival of the relief I design for him ; I have authorized him to call in the camp of observation from Presqu'île according as it will be assembled.

M. Pouchot agrees to leave La Présentation with the two corvettes as soon as they will be ready to sail ; he will be accompanied by the two pickets of Regulars, and will take along ammunition and provisions ; will pass near Chouaguen to reconnoitre whether the enemy are there, and will proceed to Niagara, where he is going to perfect the works and to assume the command. Sieur de Montigny will repair thither with a detachment of 300 Canadians of the government of Quebec, passing along the north with 30 bateaux, each of which will carry 3,000 pounds weight in flour, exclusive of their provisions.

## FRONTENAC.

M. de Corbière will have a detachment in the environs of Frontenac, composed of 30 soldiers of the Marine, 30 Canadians and some Indians to be continually out scouting, as well for the security of La Présentation against surprise, as to prevent our corvettes or convoys, which will convey freight to them, falling into any of the enemy's ambuscades.

## LA PRÉSENTATION.

The different advices I have received of the designs the English had formed, to come on the ice and attack La Présentation and burn our corvettes which are building at Point au baril, have determined me to send thither a detachment of nearly 200 men, including Colonial workmen and Indians, so as to be the better able to oppose their project and to accelerate the construction of our corvettes.

In order to profit by the first navigation, I have caused bateaux to winter above the batture of the Cedars, and have sent thither on the ice, whatever artillery, rigging, ammunition, provisions and goods circumstances permitted us to forward.

In consequence of fresh intelligence I have received that the English were moving on the Mohawk river, I have detached M. Pouchaut, an experienced, intelligent and best disposed officer, with Sieur Despinassy, an officer of artillery, to proceed to La Présentation on the ice and take the command there until his departure for Niagara. He ought to leave the Cedars on the 28<sup>th</sup> of this month, with about 200 men, most of them from the government of Quebec.

The pickets of Regulars are moving towards the Cedars, as well as the remainder of the 300 Canadians belonging to the Quebec government, 84 Canadians from the government of Montreal, who go to range the country, 163 to serve as van and rear guards, 31 seamen or gunners to complete the crews of the corvettes; they are to wait there until the ice will permit of their going to La Présentation.

If all these succors will succeed in reaching there, M. Pouchot will have, subject to his orders, Indians included, 16 @ 1700 fighting men who, protected by the corvettes and protecting them in return, can keep a numerous enemy for a long time employed, and even beat them.

Had it not been for the scarcity of provisions, I would have sent a greater number; but of all enemies, the most redoubtable is the famine to which we are exposed, and had I, to gratify the public and appease the terror which was disseminated among the people, determined on sending, during the winter, 14 @ 15 men, I should this day be reduced, through want of provisions, to abandon the lakes, which would be a great calamity for this Colony.

After the departure of all these detachments, M. Benoist will have remaining only 331 soldiers, 81 Militia, 32 workmen, 60 other persons, including officers, employés and servants, with 2 @ 300 Indians, who are in these parts. From the reports which Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pouchot and Benoist will render me of the positions, plan and Memoir I have required of them—from the informations I shall obtain of the movements of the English, I shall be able to employ part of the flour coming in daily from the tythes, from the toll for grinding, and from the savings of each farmer, in sending thither an augmentation of the forces, which will arrive even before M. Pouchot's departure.



## CARILLON.

I have intended that the battalions of La Reine and Berry which are in the Quebec government, the Colonial troops and 1,000 @ 1,200 Canadians, at least of this district, should proceed to Carillon as soon as the ice will permit them.

As soon as I shall learn that the English are moving towards Lake St. Sacrament, or understand that provisions are in the river, I shall immediately dispatch the battalions which are in the governments of Montreal and Three Rivers and the Colonial troops, leaving only the invalids at Quebec and Montreal.

By taking precaution to have bateaux at St. John and La Chine, I shall be at liberty to send 3 @ 4,000 farmers of this district and that of Three Rivers, who remain, either to Carillon, the head of the rapids and even to Quebec, the moment it will be necessary. In this way I shall be able to furnish aid when necessary, and to keep up a fire everywhere.

If I learn, meanwhile, before the arrival of the troops and Militia from the government of Quebec, that the enemy is on Lake<sup>1</sup> St. Lawrence, I shall immediately dispatch all I can from this government, in order to anticipate the enemy.

## QUEBEC.

I do not presume that the enemy will undertake coming to Quebec, but even should I be convinced of the fact, I would not alter my arrangement, especially as were I to abandon Carillon, the enemy would seize it and St. Frederic; once on the lake, I should be obliged to leave a considerable force at St. John to prevent an entrance there; whereas, preserving them until the moment the fleet will be in the river, I shall have time to send down to Quebec the greater part of our troops, whilst Carillon, Saint Frederic and the Xebecs will suffice in succession to stop the enemy, and afford us time to fight one or two battles; a single one gained, saves the Colony; the fleet departs, and we return to oppose the enemy's progress.

In regard to works outside of Quebec, the want of provisions does not allow me to think of them; they would require 4,000 men, to whom, having no flour to give them, I should be obliged to furnish 2 pounds of meat; this would cause a consumption of 10 @ 1,200 horned cattle for one month alone, a resource which I reserve to live on, in case we have the misfortune of having all our convoys cut off. I confine myself, then, to allowing all the victualing to be continued, to the closing of the city gates, to working at the enceinte, to the establishing of batteries, finally, to all that can be done without any extraordinary consumption of provisions, and to procuring for the farmer, as much as will be in my power, the means of accomplishing his sowing; without this, succors from France, however liberal they may be, could not provide for the subsistence of about 90,000 souls who are in this Colony.

With the same economical view, I propose, in like manner, to employ the Acadians in the transportation on Lake Champlain.

I expect the Indians from the Upper countries in the spring.

I have adopted the best measures to be informed of the moment the English will enter the river. I order the farmers of Rimousky, St. Barnabé and Bic, on the first certain intelligence they will receive thereof, without waiting for further orders, to convey their wives, children and cattle to Green Island. Some officers will leave Quebec with orders to have the provisions and forrage between that place and Point Lévis consumed, observing to advance only according

as the fleet progresses, always leaving a body of Canadians, Acadians and Indians, 8 or 10 leagues in their rear, to prevent any detachment presuming to land, and to afford time to vacate the settlement without confusion.

On arriving at point Lévis, should no provisions arrive from France, those cattle will be killed, or salted to serve as subsistence for the army, taking the precaution to draw up returns and give certificates to the owners, to pay them in part for said cattle, and to replace the balance.

All the women and children will cross the river and retire to the neighborhood of Three Rivers, where care will be taken for their subsistence.

The settlers at Isle aux Coudres, Les Eboulements and Malbaye will be careful to withdraw their women, children and cattle to St. Joachim, and convey thither the greatest quantity of provisions possible. The men will remain at Isle aux Coudres in order to destroy the forrage there; they will, as soon as the enemy will be in sight, and have reached the anchorage of La prairie, manœuvre the rafts of the island, and profit by the advantage created thereby, to cross to the North, where all, when reunited, will be able to harass the enemy should they be disposed to land, having always the Capes to fall back on, without fear of pursuit.

The English once anchored at Isle aux Coudres, the rafts are to be made use of, which will have been prepared along the Capes, as in the last war; orders were given to that effect last year; boats are to be employed carrying large cannon, or fire-ships which will be prepared at Quebec; if a squadron will have arrived, all those manœuvres are to be directed by naval officers.

The English, then, being at Isle aux Coudres, the settlers on the Island of Orleans, will occupy themselves in transporting to the North of the Island their women, children and cattle, in order to remove them to the North shore. A corps of the militia of the island will be formed to protect it from being ravaged by any detachments in the boats which might attempt to come and seize it, and they will always be able to retreat by the North of the island in case they are forced.

On the first news I shall receive of the enemy being in the river, I shall provide for the security of the frontiers of this government. I shall go down, in person, to Quebec, with all the farmers of the governments of Montreal and Three Rivers, and of that of Quebec, from St. Anne to that city; I shall next make them work at the intrenchments of Beauport until the troops and Militia I shall have ordered from Carillon, have joined me. Then, according as I shall have so many in troops, Militia, Indians and seamen, I shall make my arrangements either to oppose the enemy's landing between St. Anne and the Island of Orleans, or to wait for them at the passage of the River Montmorenci up to Quebec, and from Quebec to the River Carrouge.

The Marquis de Montcalm and Chevalier de Levis will then be at Quebec; I shall always feel great pleasure in communicating to them all the movements I shall have ordered, and even in making use of such reflections as place and circumstances will suggest to them.

Whatever efforts the English will make, I always flatter myself that his Majesty will cause powerful succors to reach us, and that the valor of the troops, the personal interests of the Colonists, and their attachment to the King, the number of Indians we shall have; that all these forces united together and animated by the same desire, will render the conquests of this Colony a work of very great difficulty, not to say of impossibility.



## RIVER ST. JOHN.

Despite of the insufficiency of provisions I find myself laboring under, I do not the less attend to the Acadians and Indians on the River St. John, at Miramichy, and in the environs of those two posts. I have given orders to M. de Boishebert to arrange everything for their removal into the heart of this Colony; if, however, our enemy's movements on the River St. Lawrence require me to vacate that district, then, all those Acadians and Indians united, will serve only to swell, considerably, our force at Quebec.

As for the rest, according as the projects and movements of our enemies will develop themselves, and circumstances will require some change in my arrangements, or I form new ones, I shall feel a pleasure in communicating them to the Marquis de Montcalm.

Done at Montcalm<sup>1</sup> the 1<sup>st</sup> of April, 1759.

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*M. Malartic to M. de Cremille.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 9<sup>th</sup> April, 1759.

Sir,

May I flatter myself that you will be pleased to permit me to have the honor of communicating to you the events which have transpired in the Colony since the end of autumn?

We obtained some new advantages on the Beautiful river, at the close of the month of October. The English repaired, in force, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November, to within three leagues of Fort Duquesne, which was abandoned after having marched out of, and burnt, it; the artillery has been sent to the Illinois, by descending the Beautiful river which empties into that of the Ouia,<sup>2</sup> the latter flowing into the Mississippi, which is ascended thirty leagues to reach the Fort of the Illinois; and the garrison retreated to Fort Machault, where it still remained on the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, according to intelligence received on the day before yesterday: it has orders to continue there. Should the English march thither, as is probable, it will fall back on Niagara, always vacating and burning the posts, not one of which is tenable. M. Pouchot, who is going to command at the latter fort, and has already arrived at La Présentation, will have, for the defence of that frontier, as considerable a body of troops as the scantiness of our means and of our resources will permit. Scarcity of provisions and the bad position of Fort Duquêne have compelled its abandonment. The consequences may become unfortunate, if the Indians pronounce in favor of the English. Although they hesitate, they appear still attached to us; 'tis to be hoped that they will remain at least neutral. M. de Ligneris, who commands at Fort Machault, writes that the English are constructing forts at Attiqué and Royal Hannon; that the Indians are become very familiar with them; he flatters himself, however, that he will induce them to strike, if he receive reinforcements capable of controlling them; the greatest part of them are on the way.

Various obstacles have prevented the reëstablishment of Fort Frontenac. During the winter two sloops have been built three leagues above La Présentation—a work which might have

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

<sup>2</sup> Now, the Wabash. — Ed.

been, and would have been essential to have, done in the month of September—in order to endeavor to retain possession of Lake Ontario, the loss of which is to be apprehended through the destruction of Frontenac and the reconstruction of Chouaguen, at which the English are, perhaps, already busy. They have a considerable force in that quarter, and threaten to come and burn our sloops and La Présentation. M. de Pouchot, who has set out on the ice to secure that post against a coup de main, writes that the sloops will be launched without delay, and that he is going to begin an intrenchment. Last week one hundred bateaux went to him with reinforcements, rigging and everything he may stand in need of; as soon as the sloops will be equipped and armed, he will embark with the troops destined for Niagara. He has two parties out in search of news of the enemy, whose designs are unknown to us.

Our enemies have not made their appearance at Carillon in the beginning of the winter, but came there last month to the number of 350, surprized 15 workmen who were in the woods, killed four and captured seven of them, after which they took a plan of the intrenchments and of the fort. Some Indians and volunteers went in pursuit, killed some of their men and took one prisoner, who says that troops are arriving daily at Fort Lydius, where immense preparations are making to come early and besiege Carillon; we on our part are expecting them there, and that they will attack us by the Beautiful river, Lake Onthorio and Quebec; we have but few troops to oppose them; such is our position. 'Tis to be hoped that the news from France will render it better, that we shall be as fortunate as in the last campaign, and that no mistake will be made similar to that of having allowed Fort Frontenac to be taken, which, with a little foresight, might easily have been preserved.

Distress has been nigh as severe this winter as the last. Although the arrival last summer of provisions has been immense, the administration and management have been so bad, that the supply is not abundant. Not knowing the fate of my letter, your employment of which does not give me any uneasiness, I cannot prudently inform you of what remains to be said. How many things to be related on this head, which I hope to have the honor of explaining to you *visâ voce*.

The winter has been one of the coldest; the river broke up some days ago and begins to be navigable; the ice has backed up to such an extraordinary degree and with such violence, as to throw down a house.

Our destination for the campaign about to open is not yet decided. Our generals, who unfortunately, do not always determine it, and are not consulted on the measures to be adopted, cannot yet learn where they will require us; I believe they would wish to be able to multiply us and send us everywhere. There will be work to do for everybody, apparently in more than one quarter. Nothing is wanting to the glory of the Marquis de Montcalm and the reputation of the troops, but the achieving of good business this year. Notwithstanding the critical state of the Colony, prudence and science on the part of the General, and good will on the part of the troops, are alone required; there is reason to expect that they will be forthcoming.

You will find my letter long, Sir; counting on the continuance of the indulgence with which you have frequently honored me, I have entered into all the details I thought you would be glad to be informed of. I greatly desire that they may have the good fortune of pleasing you, and that they will contribute to make me deserving of your protection, which constitutes all my ambition. I hope to have the honor of soliciting it personally this year. Though pretty well recovered from my wound, I require to go and take the baths, not being in a condition to do much on horseback or afoot. I propose demanding permission to leave at the end of the



campaign, which I should regret not making, and hope that you will be pleased to grant me your approbation.

I have the honor to be, with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MALARTIC.<sup>1</sup>

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*M. de Montcalm to M. de Cremille.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1759.

Sir,

I profit by the departure of a vessel which had been dispatched last December and prevented by the ice from proceeding any farther than the Isle aux Coudres.

Our last news announced that the English would force us to abandon Fort Duquesne. Captain de Ligneris, of the Colonists, who was in command there, after having ordered the place to be blown up, retired on the 23<sup>rd</sup> November, to a pretended fort called Fort Machault.

The English are negotiating with the Delawares and Chasanonons, whom they are endeavoring to attract to themselves; whatever people may say about it, 'tis to be feared they will succeed. The Five Nations, on which I, contrary to M. de Vaudreuil's opinion, never placed reliance, appear inclined to the English.

Men have been employed this winter in building two sloops at La Présentation, on Lake Ontario, to repair, as much as possible, the very serious error of the last campaign, the allowing Frontenac to be taken, and the navy we had on Lake Ontario to be burned. 'Twill be very good of the English if they allow us to launch those two vessels, without an effort on their part to burn them.

We have not had anything of interest this winter; some parties on both sides, in the neighborhood of Carillon, to obtain news respectively. Captain d'Hebecourt, of the regiment of La Reine, who has been entrusted with the command of them, has behaved with a great deal of intelligence and application. The accounts we receive of the enemy from all parts, incline us to presume that the new General (Amherst) wishes to take the field early, with a large force. The provincial assemblies met in December to demand of the particular governors their contingents of men and provisions.<sup>2</sup> They were held, the year before, in February. The deliberations were in favor of granting them. Our forces and means are different, but I dare be answerable to you for the good resolution of our troops, for the zeal of Chevalier de Levis and M. de Bourlamaque, and of our principal officers, to second me effectually. M. de Bourlamaque will be able to make the campaign. He is tolerably recovered from his very serious wound.

I cannot tell you precisely how we are off for provisions and warlike stores. Ordinarily, I learn the facts only from the public, which informs me that we are badly off for the one and the other, unless we receive powerful succors from Europe.

<sup>1</sup> This name is thus spelled throughout these Documents, except at p. 751, where it is "Macartie," which, most probably, is the correct name. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

This paragraph was  
in cipher.

The war has changed character in Canada. The vast forces of the English, our example determines them on continuous operations in a country where the Canadians thought they were making war, and were making, so to speak, hunting excursions. Our principles of war, considering our inferiority, ought to be, to contract our defensive, in order to preserve at least, the body of the Colony, and retard its loss; to combine with the system of European tactics the use to be made of the Indians. This is what I am always saying, but the prejudices or councils of quacks are followed. No matter, I serve the King and the State. I shall always express my opinion. I shall execute to the best of my ability; last year I did, indeed, dare to accept battle with an order in my pocket to avoid a general engagement. To retreat would be the ruin of the Colony; to lose the battle, would be to lose both it and myself likewise, who would have been met by the order issued to me. This last did not stop me. I can well sacrifice myself for the [public] good. M. de Vaudreuil, to whom I submitted, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of March, a Memoir on the campaign, has at length just communicated his plan to me. We do not agree on all points. I shall not the less exert myself, as I have always done, to be successful. I wish, with all my heart, that I may be deceived; that he may be able to sustain himself everywhere, that the English may not come to Quebec, or that the navigation of the River St. Lawrence, often difficult, may afford him time to take those precautions which have been neglected, and might, in my opinion, have been taken beforehand.

M. Bernies, Commissary at War, who has succeeded M. Doreil, and who appears to me qualified to acquit himself well of the duties of his station, will render you an account of the actual strength and condition of our battalions and of the soldiers, which I shall determine, on reflection, ought to be sent to the Invalides; but 'twill not be by this vessel, not being able to make the review of our battalions until they will enter on the campaign. He will address you, likewise, some representations on the important subject of the high price of provisions, the impossibility of supporting themselves, under which our officers labor, unless you have had the goodness to procure for them an augmentation of pay; and whatever augmentation you grant them, you will never be able to make them live in this country unless sufficient nourishment be allowed them, or at least they be paid in bills of exchange of the first class. I beg you to pay great attention to this Commissary's Memoir, which has passed under my eyes, in order to solicit the Minister of the Marine on the subject. If M. Doreil be in Paris, he will be able to enlighten you, should that Memoir contain anything doubtful or obscure, always observing that every article has doubled since his departure, and is now tripled.

Perhaps the Marine, on considering the expenses superficially, will think the troops of the Line cost an immense sum in Canada. I proceed to explain that to you. If excessive expenses are incurred, they are placed under the name of *Dépenses pour les troupes de terre*, although they regard us not, because in Canada the Intendant's ordinance is the only authority for everything, without being a *pièce probante*. It only remains for me, Sir, to request the continuation of your former kindnesses; you have flattered me with them at all times; the post you occupy enables you to make me sensible of their effects, and I believe I deserve them by my zeal for the service, my attachment to your person, and the respect with which I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALEM.



P. S. I annex to this despatch, Sir, an exact return of the English troops which are to be employed on this Continent. I beg of you to have the kindness to lay it before Marshal de Belle Isle; it is exact, as well as the interesting postscript I add in cipher, in support of that article.

According to news we have received, the English are building a fort at Chouaguen, and wish to construct one at the Bay of the Cayugas; this proves that the English want to be masters of Lake Ontario, and the fruit of the capture of Chouaguen will be lost by that of Frontenac, which the English effected last year. Should the English ever take Canada, the only means the King will have to secure to the Canadians the preservation of their rights and prevent them being transplanted, as has been the case with the Acadians, is to declare that Hanover and the Hanoverians, and the country of the King of England's allies, will be treated in every respect as the English treat Canada and the Canadians.

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*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 12 April, 1759.

This despatch was  
in cipher.

Canada will be taken this campaign, and assuredly during the next, if there be not some unforeseen good luck, a powerful diversion by sea against the English Colonies, or some gross blunders on the part of the enemy.

The English have 60,000 men, we at most from 10 to 11,000. Our government is good for nothing; money and provisions will fail. Through want of provisions, the English will begin first; the farms scarcely tilled, cattle lack; the Canadians are dispirited; no confidence in M. de Vaudreuil or in M. Bigot. M. de Vaudreuil is incapable of preparing a plan of operations. He has no activity; he lends his confidence to empirics rather than to the General sent by the King. M. Bigot appears occupied only in making a large fortune for himself, his adherents and sycophants. Cupidity has seized officers, store-keepers; the commissaries also who are about the River St. John, or the Ohio, or with the Indians in the Upper country, are amassing astonishing fortunes. It is nothing but forged certificates legally admitted. If the Indians had a fourth of what is supposed to be expended for them, the King would have all those in America; the English none.

This interest has an influence on the war. M. de Vaudreuil, with whom men are equal, led by a knavish secretary and interested associates, would confide a vast operation to his brother, or any other Colonial officer, the same as to Chevalier de Levis. The choice concerns those who divide the cake; therefore has there never been any desire to send M. de Bourlamaque, or M. de Senezergues, commandant of the battalion of La Sarre, to Fort Duquesne. I did propose it; the King had gained by it; but what superintendents in a country, whose humblest cadet, a sergeant, a gunner, return with twenty, thirty thousand *livres* in certificates, for goods issued for the Indians on account of his Majesty.

This expenditure, which has been paid at Quebec by the Treasurer of the Colony, amounts to twenty-four millions. The year before, the expenses amounted only to twelve or thirteen

millions. This year they will run up to thirty-six. Everybody appears to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the Colony is lost, which event many, perhaps, desire, as an impenetrable veil over their conduct. The craving after wealth has an influence on the war, and M. de Vaudreuil does not doubt it. Instead of reducing the expenses of Canada, people wish to retain all; how abandon positions which serve as a pretext to make private fortunes? Transportation is distributed to favorites. The agreement with the contractor is unknown to me as it is to the public. 'Tis reported that those who have invaded commerce participate in it. Has the King need of purchasing goods for the Indians? Instead of buying them directly, a favorite is notified, who purchases at any price whatever; then M. Bigot has them removed to the King's stores, allowing a profit of one hundred and even one hundred and fifty per cent, to those who it is desired to favor. Is artillery to be transported, gun-carriages, carts implements to be made? M. Mercier, commandant of the artillery, is the contractor under other people's names. Every thing is done badly and at a high price. This officer, who came out twenty years ago a simple soldier, will be soon worth about six or seven hundred thousand *livres*, perhaps a million, if these things continue. I have often respectfully spoken to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot of these expenses; each throws the blame on his colleague. The people alarmed at these expenses, fear a depreciation in the paper money of the country; the evil effect is, the Canadians who do not participate in those illicit profits, hate the Government. They repose confidence in the General of the French; accordingly, what consternation on a ridiculous rumor which circulated this winter that he had been poisoned.

We have been driven out of Fort Duquesne at the end of November. One might hope that such an operation would have been deferred by the English until April, but the enemy knew, by their Indians and our deserters, the too public order of M. de Vaudreuil, to evacuate. I have never had communication either of the instructions or news relating to the operations of the war, with which neither I nor Chevalier de Levis have been entrusted. If I have often proffered my advice, even in writing, it has been upon what I learned, the same as the public. Despite of all that will be written, the Indians of the Upper country are beginning to shake and to negotiate with the English. The Five Nations are ill disposed. M. de Vaudreuil alone has wished to persuade the court, that they had pronounced, and that such was his work. In managing in the best manner, neutrality might be expected; I have always written that this would be a great deal.

The loss of Fort Frontenac is a deadly blow, in consequence of the capture of our navy on Lake Ontario. Three months have been spent in deliberating, where new sloops should be constructed. We shall have two within twenty days, if the English do not come and burn them; our Iroquois Indians fear it. M. de Vaudreuil was told and reproached, in full council, that they had notified him three weeks before, respecting Fort Frontenac. They said to him: *You are asleep; where is our War Chief?* I was then at Quebec. At last Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn battalion, is going to command at Niagara; he ought to have been sent off last fall; he was capable and agreeable to the Indians. Such was promised me, but how resolve to dismiss a Canadian officer, however incapable and disagreeable to the Indians he might be?

All the preparations at Orange and Lydius announce that the English will come early to Carillon with a large force.

The enemy can come to Quebec, if we have not a fleet; and Quebec, once taken, the Colony is lost. Yet is there no precaution; I have written, I have spoken, as also have M. de Pont le Roy, the Engineer, an excellent man, and Sieur Pelegrin, captain of the Port of Quebec, a



good seaman, for his part; I have offered to introduce some order, an arrangement to prevent a false manœuvre; on the first alarm to repel it; we shall have time.

I know nothing of M. de Vaudreuil's projects, still less how many Canadians he will be able to bring into the field, or how we are off for provisions and ammunition. The public tell me, we are badly off both for the one and the other, and the same public always believe the department of provisions ill governed. I ought to consider myself fortunate, under the circumstances, not to be consulted; but devoted to his Majesty's service, I have given my advice in writing for the best, and we shall act with courage and zeal, Chevalier de Levis, M. de Bourlamaque and I, to retard the imminent loss of Canada. It is foreign to my character to blame M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot, depositaries of his Majesty's authority in Canada. I am even attached to M. Bigot, who is an amiable man and a near relative of M. de Pussieux and of Marshal d'Estrées,<sup>1</sup> who honor me with their friendship. But I must write the truth to my Minister, to the Statesman.

I have written it to M. de Moras; I do not write anything to the present Minister of the Marine. 'Tis for my Minister to make use of what I write to him for the good of the state, without compromising me. If the war continue, Canada will belong to the English, perhaps this very campaign, or the next. If there be peace, the Colony is lost, if the entire government be not changed. The maxims of the book entitled *L'ami de l'homme*,<sup>2</sup> must be followed: to disgrace those who will return from Colonies with wealth, and to reward those who will return from them with the staff and scrip with which they had gone forth.

The general census of Canada has been at last completed. Though it has not been communicated to me, I think I'm correct, that there are not more than 82,000 souls in the Colony; of these, twelve thousand, at most, are men capable of bearing arms; deducting from this number those employed in works, transports, bateaux, in the Upper countries, no more than seven thousand Canadians will ever be collected together, and then it must not be either seed time or harvest, otherwise, by calling all out, the ground would remain uncultivated; famine would follow. Our eight battalions will make three thousand two hundred men; the Colonials, at most, fifteen hundred men in the field. What is that against at least fifty thousand men which the English have!

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*M. de Montcalm to M. le Normand.*

Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> April, 1759.

Sir,

Since our last despatches, dated in November, the enemy have obliged M. de Ligneris, Captain of the Colonial troops, commanding at Fort Duquesne, to abandon it, after having

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS CESAR LETELLIER, Marshal d'Estrées, was born July 2d, 1695; he obtained in 1718, a regiment of Cavalry and served on the Spanish frontier; and afterwards in Bohemia and on the Rhine. In 1744, he was with the army in Flanders, and distinguished himself, the following year, at Fontenoy, and in 1746 at Rocoux, and in 1747 at Lafeldt. He rose to the rank of Marshal in 1756, and in 1757 was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army destined to operate in Germany. He died, without issue, in 1771. *Biographie Universelle*.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *L'Ami des Hommes*, by Victor Riquette, Marquis de Mirabeau, 2 vols., 4to, Avignon, 1756. This work made a great sensation in England, where it was highly appreciated, and was translated into Italian in 1784. *Biographie Universelle*.

blown it up. He has retired to a pretended fort, called Fort Machault. You will, perhaps, be surprised at this expression. Permit me to tell you, Sir, that if the expenses incurred for the forts in Canada be examined in the bureaux of the Marine, one ought to be persuaded that there exist forts capable of stopping the enemy for some time, considering the amount they cost to build. But this is only the result of the immense robberies committed by all those employed at them, and of the high price of labor, the consequence of misgovernment; 'twill be always so as long as you employ Engineers of the country. The priests of St. Sulpice will preach in vain against robbing the King; the thing will never be corrected so long as the chiefs will seem to authorize it. You have, at present, a virtuous man, capable and disinterested, the Engineer in Chief in Canada; therefore is he opposed and detested by those whose profits he endeavors to pare down. If you compare the work accomplished at Carillon last year since the 8<sup>th</sup> of July, when it was confided to the King's Engineers, with that done by M. de Lobinière, a country Engineer, and the expense, you would be surprised at the difference; but how do you expect that M. de Pontleroy, or any other in his place, can, with honesty, remain in this country? He must rob, or be ruined, for his pay and allowances amount only to one hundred Louis d'or. You will object to me, that these are the emoluments allowed to his office since the time of M. de Lery, senior, a great ignoramus in his profession (it needs only to look at his works), who robbed the King like the rest. But in those times, the bounds were not overleaped as now a-days when every man fancies himself very modest, if he have not made 100 thousand *francs* in one campaign or a special commission. The same is the case throughout.

Sieur Meresco,<sup>1</sup> Commandant of the artillery, the creature, confidential agent of the two men in office, the man whom M. Hocquart has seen arrive as a recruit, is now, continually a party, under borrowed names, in all transactions which concern the forges, the transportation of artillery and implements; he must be worth a hundred thousand *écus* at present, and will have much more. Has the King need of goods? Instead of purchasing them directly, they are bought by favorites who buy up what remains in the shops, and those goods are taken immediately from them @ 150 per cent profit. The Upper country posts, all details relating to the Indians, are now regarded by the officers, storekeepers, commissaries, as opportunities to gain immense sums, in one season, by means of all sorts of fraudulent or inflated certificates, which the King is equally made to pay. Obtaining provisions by contract has, I am sure, been represented at the bureau of the Marine, as a profitable affair for the King. 'Twere time Sieur de la Porte were at the head of the bureau. Sieur Cadet is only the *prête-nom* of an over-protected company; what leads me to presume, with the entire of Canada, that this agreement must be one about which there would be too much to say is, that it is unknown, and that it has never been communicated to me or to any person else. I have, nevertheless, several times had occasion to give invitations, in this regard, in discussing points which had reference to the subsistence of the troops. All these irregular expenses are the cause of 24 millions having been drawn, last year, in bills of exchange, and this year bills will be drawn for 36. My business is not to manage the finances; but I fear not to assert that a more exact and strict administration would have diminished all the expenses one-third, allowing still considerable facility and generosity on the part of the King, as well as fortunes which, by being transferred to France at the peace, will impoverish this Colony. You already have several of them which

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Mercier. — Ed.



have not waited for the moment of peace; our officers, who do not participate in these illicit profits, cannot live on their pay.

I shall have the honor of observing to you,

1<sup>o</sup> That provisions, absolutely necessary to life, cost eight times more than when the troops arrived in 1755, and that the farther we go, as long as the war will continue, the more will they increase, even though certain articles were in abundance; for the cause of this incredible dearness is less the scarcity, although that may contribute thereto, than what I am about to develop to you. The high prices proceed, 1<sup>st</sup> from the circumstance that, on the arrival of ships, some twenty individuals, who possess favor and credit, purchase everything, and thereby render commerce quasi exclusive.

2<sup>nd</sup> From rapid vast fortunes accustoming those who possess them to luxury and to not hesitating to pay too much for provisions, and to a contempt for money in consequence of the facility of regaining it.

3<sup>rd</sup> The farmer is frightened at beholding thirty millions of money in circulation in Intendant's orders and paper notes. People fear, I think, without foundation, that the government will commit a sort of bankruptcy or authorize a depreciation. This opinion induces them to sell and speculate at an extravagant scale and price, and this will be much worse if bills of exchange be issued this fall at five terms, as is reported. The King will be the greatest loser, because in this country, where he is purchaser and employer, his expenses will likewise increase. You will hardly believe one certain fact that, thirty-six *livres* in notes representing money in Canada, are paid for 24 *francs* in hard cash, and some farmers are beginning to offer double, because few people are willing to disburse their cash through fear of the paper. Any one able to draw bills of exchange on France for 25,000 *écus*, payable the 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1760, will find in the square of Quebec one hundred thousand *francs* in orders of the Intendant, and should the Intendant this fall issue bills of exchange only in five terms, 100,000<sup>f</sup> will be procured for 66 @ 67 thousand *livres*.

4<sup>th</sup> I have alleged that there was 30 millions of money in circulation in paper, cards or silver, and there will be 12 millions more at the close of 1759. I suppose that there are at most 100 thousand souls in Canada; in the Kingdom of France, I do not suppose more than 1,400 millions of money in circulation, and more than 18 millions of souls; therefore, the proportion of money to the number of heads is six times greater in Canada than in France; hence, provisions and labor there must be six times dearer.

I doubt not, but on a superficial examination of the accounts of the expenditure in the Colony, you will think the chapter of those which concern the Regular troops considerable, by what has come to my ears and of which I have, however, only semi-proofs; that, as the Intendant's ordinance is the only authority (*pièce probante*) for the chamber of accounts in Canada, items are often transferred from one chapter to another, and certain expenses are increased to conceal others, and I have heard that such in general is the way people act in respect to the chapter of the expenses entitled *Troupes de terre*. This is so much the more easy, as we have not an accountant in our corps who checks them. I am aware that some of our officers would rob as well as others; but the Intendant is obliged to admit that we consume less, that we rob less; more order and fewer pluralities in office, and I will say further to you, Sir, that there would have been fewer of them, had people been willing to adopt the forms with which I am acquainted, because they are in practice in our administration in Europe. But what are these trifling abuses in comparison to those which accompany the expenses for fortifications, Indians, provisions and transportation.

I believe I have demonstrated to you the impossibility of our officers living on their pay; therefore, what they will owe in the Colony will be immense. They are all straight with the treasurer. I do not say as much for myself, who owe him 10,000 *écus*; but individuals loan them with great facility, through a desire to realize and a contempt of the (Intendant's) ordinances; I foresaw it so clearly, that I had it declared on my arrival and published by the Intendant, whom I required to do it, that the corps were not responsible for any debt, and that I would not enforce the payment of any, after the prohibition to lend, which I had again renewed last year. You will ask me, what means are there to support the officers in Canada? After mature reflection, you have only three to prevent application being made to you every year for an augmentation which will be necessary and ruinous to the King:

1<sup>st</sup> To order that each officer be furnished in winter, the same as when he is in the field, with one ration in its primitive state (*en nature*) for him as well as for his servant; thereby you assure his subsistence in bread and meat, and the object is but a trifle for the King, because, having a bargain made with his contractor, 'tis as if he fed, during winter, an augmentation of 4 @ 500 men.

2<sup>nd</sup> To confirm the supplement of pay which necessity and my representations have forced the Intendant to grant us; this is so much the more necessary and just, as you have seen, Sir, that the pay of his Majesty's troops has been augmented last year in Europe; now, we ought to participate in the same advantage.

3<sup>rd</sup> To order the officer's pay to be paid us in bills of exchange of the first term; 'tis only the difference in the payment of six hundred and seventeen thousand *livres*, the amount of the officers' salaries, in one payment instead of three. Provisions would rise in vain; he who will have bills at the first term will feel this increase of prices less, in consequence of the value given to the sort of paper he will employ in the purchase. These means appear to me to be better for the King than large augmentations of pay which it would be necessary to renew annually, and the officer would be hardly better off in consequence. Besides, my proposition to pay us in bills of the first class, is so much the more just as we ought to be paid in cash at the general Treasurer's of the Colonies, according to my view. Sieur Bernier, Commissary at war, transmits you a Return of the actual prices of provisions, of the prices in 1758, 1755 and 1751, accompanied by brief Observations. It seemed well to me.

It is very foreign to my character and birth, to write anything that may reflect on the depositories of the King's authority in this Colony. I am even attached to M. Bigot, who is a hard worker, a man of talent, and closely related to M. de Puisieulx and Marshal d'Estrées, who long honored me with their friendship. I am also sure that if I had not a desire to be a model of a man and perhaps have, by my exact conduct, the air of a censor, I would not owe 10 thousand *écus*, the rather as, if I wished, I could just as well as another formulate the expenses I would have ordered, and the small amount of those I alone have been charged with, has always had the appearance of a critic in this Colony. This has not been my intention, but to do my duty. I have entered into some details in this letter only through the high esteem I entertain, with all France, for you, Sir, and because it will be handed you by Count de Baschy, who will request that it be exclusively yours. You will, perhaps, be surprised that I mention to you the pay of the officer only, and not that of the soldier. The latter, who has his subsistence assured, who is clothed, who earns money by working, who is furnished with two pairs of shoes and two shirts a year, is well, and feels not, like his officer, any increase in the rate of provisions and merchandise.



No event of interest has occurred during the winter; some small parties in the direction of Carillon, where M. D'hebecourt, a captain in the regiment of La Reine, commands, for the purpose of taking prisoners who may be able to furnish news of the enemy. From all we can learn, the new General (Amherst) proposes to take the field early. The provincial assemblies of the various English Colonies met in the month of December; they have granted all the contingents demanded of them to carry the war on vigorously this campaign. The enemy will have in this quarter 22 battalions of troops from Old England, light infantry and 25 @ 30 thousand militia. I dare be responsible to you for the zeal of the troops of the line, and of their principal officers.

Although I be little informed of M. de Vaudreuil's views, of our resources in provisions and warlike stores, I have communicated to him, in writing, my reflections on the ensuing campaign; he has communicated his views superficially to me; although we do not agree on all points, I shall not do the less effectual execution, seconded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Levis and Bourslamaque. I wish that some event equally fortunate with that of the eighth of July of last year, may preserve this Colony.

The nature of the war in this Colony has radically changed. In days of yore, the Canadians thought they made it; it consisted of excursions like hunting parties; now, of regular expeditions. Formerly the Indians formed the basis; now, the accessory; other views, other maxims are therefore necessary. I say so, but old prejudices continue.

The bad situation of the troops would require an answer before the end of the campaign, should you receive this vessel in sufficient season to dispatch another this year. I have always represented; I have entered less into the true means, hoping from year to year for the termination of this thorny mission either by peace or a favorable answer from the Minister of the Marine. I enter into no detail with M. de Massiac; it is only, Sir, with you.

I am, &c.,

(Signed), MONTCALM.

P. S. I have the honor, Sir, to annex hereunto an exact return of the troops the English have in this quarter, and a particular observation which I have considered it my duty to write you in cipher, employing that which M. de Moras sent me last year.

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*M. Bigot to M. Berryer.*

Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1759.

My Lord,

I have had the honor to advise you in my letter of the 23<sup>rd</sup> November last, that I perceived more certificates of expense were coming in, since the commencement of the payments, from all the posts and forts of the Colony, than to the like date the preceding year, and that I was expecting the bills of exchange to be drawn in 1759 would exceed the number drawn in 1758.

I am now convinced that the excess will amount to 7 @ 9 millions, and that consequently the bills of exchange will this year be 31 @ 33 millions. I judge so, 1<sup>st</sup>, from the excess of expenses already come in and paid above those I caused to be discharged in November and

December 1757 and the 3 first months of 1758, and from 2 or 3 millions which yet remain to be paid, as well for the purchase of goods last year in the posts of the Upper country as for those procured in Quebec and Montreal since the date of the last bills of exchange; 2<sup>nd</sup>, from the works and other extraordinary expenses authorized in the course of this winter and to be commenced as soon as the season will permit, which have not existed the preceding years; 3<sup>rd</sup>, from the expenses occasioned by the enemy's destroying Fort Frontenac, both for the reimbursing the contractor for the provisions taken in that fort, and for the new establishments and erection of buildings at which men are working since the fall. This last item will amount to 3 millions at least.

Of all the expenses incurring in the Colony, I am acquainted with only a part, viz': those in the interior between Camouraska and Montreal, such as expresses and voyages in that extent of country, unforeseen expenses, purchases of merchandise and certain works (*façons d'ouvrages*) at Quebec and Montreal, water and land carriage, construction of bateaux, pay of the land forces, salaries and other parts of the civil list, the allowance to the troops of the Line, and provisions and rations for the garrisons of the towns and the troops dispersed in the rural districts, casualties and others who are allowed rations; all these will amount together, at most, to only 9 @ 10 millions, according to the calculation I have had made thereof on the payments of 1758.

I am responsible for the expenditure of these sums, but I have no precise knowledge of the expenses incurred in the army or in the posts and forts; I meet them nevertheless, only on the certificates of the Commandants and other regular vouchers in good form. It does not thence follow that great frauds may not be committed; an Intendant could not introduce order therein except by suppressing the pretext for certain expenses, which cannot be done in war time.

The item of purchases of merchandise and other small expenses in the forts and posts is very great; the French there occasion in part that expense; they purchase twice and may be oftener, for Brandy and other trifles, the goods which the Commandant has issued to the Indians, and afterwards re-sell them to the King. These same Frenchmen put the Indians up to be continually craving, because they find their account therein, and to go up to a fort, especially one of the farthest off, is sufficient to realize a competency by this or other commerce. Were all the merchandises which are bought in Quebec and Montreal and the forts on the King's account, calculated, perhaps they would be found double what has entered in the Colony; this would happen from the purchases made in the forts; for those made at Quebec and Montreal are final, and once out of the stores never come back there any more.

The item of provisions in the forts, and of the consumption in the armies, is also very considerable in every respect, especially in what regards the Indians who always discover the secret of obtaining double and triple ration.

The King's stores are stripped of all sorts of goods; the last detachment for La Présentation have emptied them; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil informed me a few days ago, that he absolutely required a certain number of outfits and cloth for the Indians who would go down, and the movements previous to the arrival of the ships from France. I was informed that there were 100 bales of merchandise at La Chine which private persons were carrying to the Upper countries; I had them purchased. These bales will contain, with other effects I have had collected from divers merchants at Quebec, 80 @ 100 millions worth of merchandise at the prices in France, and will amount to at least 400 millions. How avoid expending an



infinite of millions with prices so excessive? You will be informed of all those prices and of the expenses incurred in 1758 by the memorandum in detail which I shall have the honor to address you by the last ships.

The war, besides, is now carried on in Canada in all respects as in Europe; the troops have their accommodations and a number of officers have as good cheer as in France, with the army. A part of the expenses which the King incurs in this war, is also to be attributed to that mode of carrying on the war.

The Marquis de Montcalm continues to complain of the bad treatment of the Officers of the Line; he says, they have not wherewith to live; tis true. Board is 300<sup>s</sup> a month, exclusive of wine; a Lieutenant cannot support himself at this rate. This General is impatiently waiting for a favorable answer from you to the demands he has made for a more liberal allowance and an order to distribute by battalion a sum in Bills of Exchange at sight.

As for myself, I have felt a pleasure in encroaching on my private funds in years of such scarcity; my emoluments do not authorize my keeping such a table as I keep; I daily invite the officers of the Regular and Colonial troops to it; I do so with the view of inducing them to support with more patience the severity of the country, and to promote union; this is more than ever necessary in the present circumstances; and it would require but a trifle to destroy it entirely, as these gentlemen are persuaded that their superiors are not on terms.

I have also procured for the people during the winter some amusements to divert them and make them forget the difficulty of living which they experience, and I have had the satisfaction of seeing that such has had its effect.

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*Commissary Bernier to M. de Cremille.*

Montreal, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 1759.

Sir,

A small vessel is leaving here; I place little confidence in it; nevertheless, I would have to reproach myself, should it arrive, with not having profited by this opportunity, as I propose doing by all those which will offer.

After M. Doreil's departure on the 11<sup>th</sup> November, I assumed all the details of the office of Commissary, wherein I have followed the order which I found already established. I have made the inspections on the return from the campaign, and am now occupied with those which are to precede the opening thereof.

These inspections can be made here only with closed doors, on the returns of the hospitals, the mortuary extracts of the Priests of the country parishes and on the returns of the Majors. The battalions are in cantonments during the six or seven winter months, and occupy a district of more than 100 leagues. During a great part of that season, traveling is impossible either by land or water, and when they march, 'tis only in divisions and detachments, when a company is rarely altogether.

'Tis true, that when the troops are collected into corps d'armée, the Marquis de Montcalm is in the habit of making the reviews thereof, which he is pleased to communicate to the Commissary at War, whereby he derives a complete proof of his collation.

The news of yesterday was limited to the loss, in the month of November, of Fort Duquesne, which the Commandant has been obliged to blow up on the approach of a strong body of English, and to retreat to a place called Fort Machault, and to the vast preparations of the English who were marching in January and February towards Oswego, to rebuild it or enter on other enterprises.

We have been employed during the winter, building three sloops at La Présentation, in order to control Lake Ontario, and three Xebecs to protect Lake Champlain. This little navy, which is the most assured means of closing those two openings into the interior of the Colony, is to be ready at the breaking up of the ice.

The winter has been the severest experienced for seven or eight years. The river before Quebec is entirely taken. The effective of our battalions is nearly the same as in the return sent by M. Doreil to the Court in the month of October. The winter is very healthy in this climate, and the soldier lives happy and quiet with the farmer, without any duty to perform for nearly seven months. I address the Minister a list of the prices of all the articles in this Colony, especially of the commodities of the greatest necessity. I have added some observations to show that no real scarcity has ever existed in this country, and that the excessive and general dearness of all articles proceeds from a different cause, which it does not belong to me to explain. I annex to this return a long and detailed letter, in order to place nakedly before the Minister's eyes the situation to which the officers from France are reduced, especially the superior officers, who are obliged to make a decent and suitable appearance. I do not conceal therein the consequences which such a situation had nigh produced, were it not for the authority and remarks of the Marquis de Montcalm, and which it will finally produce, if the Minister does not provide against it. These documents will reach you. I pray you, Sir, to be pleased to give them a favorable attention and to contribute to their having the effects we expect from them.

How sad is that situation for the King, who incurs all the expense, and for the officers who have only their pay, in a discredited currency, to subsist on. The officers of the Colony have lands; trade; participate in business, have posts and commands; should commodities become ten times dearer, their fortune would always be on a par with the value of articles; their luxury and consumption, the same.

In fine, Sir, matters have come to the pass that will never be credited. Everything has generally reached a price seven times greater than it was in 1756. Peru has never had so much silver in circulation, regard being had to the number of men; thence it follows that the pay of the officer lacks seven-eighths of what it ought to be to allow him to subsist decently; therefore, do they all live obscurely, crush themselves by debts, and fail in necessary physical strength. The superior officers and those of rank can no longer support their character, and are confounded in the class of paupers.

I say nothing of myself in particular; notwithstanding my annual allowance of 6,000 livres, I am in debt to the Treasurer. I have sold a part of my clothes brought from France; I have lived, and lived ignobly, and my present situation is not equal to that of a sub-lieutenant at Metz. As I am equal to the other officers in rank, I, according to their example, remain silent and suffer.

I conclude my Memoir by pointing out a means of remedying this evil, without it costing the King a half penny, for none of us asks money. Should the King triple our allowances, he would aggravate the evils of the Colony, and would not increase our happiness.



I doubt not, Sir, but many other pens will draw you a like picture. I am bound to report to the Minister. I have endeavored to do so with the greatest possible order ; as for the truth, I am not fearful of having exaggerated it.

Reserve for me the honor of your kindness and protection ; let me be included in the general favors. His would be a soul void of nature, who, in the present conjuncture, dares to make application for himself alone.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful attachment, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), BERNIER.



*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1759.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you duplicates of my despatches of the twelfth of April, by a vessel which is about to be sent off with intelligence of our situation.

We are always expecting ships and news from France.

The English are not in motion as yet. The information which their prisoners had communicated to us in February, appeared to indicate prompter movements. Some prisoners we took from them on the twenty-third of April, assure us that they are not to commence their march before three weeks, as they await final orders from court, and are desirous of making combined operations.

The two little vessels of sixteen guns, which were built this winter, to replace, in part, on Lake Ontario, the navy lost, through our fault, in the last campaign, have been lately launched and sailed immediately for Niagara, with the garrison composed of our troops and those of the Colony, all under the orders of Sieur Pouchot, Captain in the Bearn regiment, who had already been in command of that fort in 1756 and 1757.

M. de Bourlamaque, whose health is greatly restored, is on the march with a force of three thousand men, consisting of the battalion of La Reine, the two of Berry, the Colonial troops and Canadians. This corps will be reassembled and encamped on the heights of Carillon, between the fifteenth and twentieth of this month. The rest of the troops remain in their quarters ; they hold themselves in readiness to march on the first notice. I am waiting here, with Chevalier de Levis, to see to what point it will be necessary to proceed ; that will depend on the enemy's movements ; their superiority forces us to receive the law from them in regard to our movements.

An Englishman, named Robert Stobe, has just made his escape from Quebec ; he was a hostage for the capitulation of Fort Necessity in 1754 ; had been tried by Court martial in November, 1756, on an Order from the King, and condemned to be beheaded for illicit correspondence with the enemy. The execution of the sentence had been suspended, pursuant to his Majesty's intentions. He took some Englishmen along with him. This is his third escape. I do not know whether we shall be as successful as on the two former occasions in

recapturing so well informed a man. You will admit, my Lord, that, having escaped twice, less liberty might have been allowed him; but whatever may be said or represented, the custom has been to keep too many English prisoners in this Colony, to detain them for too long a time and to allow them too much liberty. We learn from the New England papers, that they act as spies, and nothing prevents them transmitting intelligence and aiding in the escape of some of their most determined among them.

I have nothing to add to my preceding despatch to the Court. I am, with respect,

My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.



*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1759.

My Lord,

The despatches received by the Marquis de Vaudreuil from the Minister of the Marine, similar to those with which you have honored me, have at length determined him, as soon as he perceived that I was leaving Montreal, to occupy himself with the defence of Quebec, which appears menaced by an early visit from the English. I reached here in thirty-six hours and since yesterday night have already given activity to many necessary arrangements. The Marquis de Vaudreuil is to arrive in a few days. Chevalier de Levis remains at Montreal awaiting ulterior orders and to keep up a needful correspondence with M. de Bourlamaque, who commands the Carillon forces, and with the Commandants of the various posts towards Lake Ontario. In respect to other matters I refer you to the despatches of the 12<sup>th</sup> April, 8<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> of May, which will reach you by this vessel.

With all possible gratitude for the kindnesses with which you have been pleased to honor me, and with the most profound respect, I remain, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

MONTCALM.



*M. de Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, 24<sup>th</sup> May, 1759, 7 o'clock in the morning.

My Lord,

You will receive by this vessel one of my letters dated yesterday, the 23<sup>rd</sup>, which I had the honor to write you at 7 o'clock in the evening. I was roused at midnight yesterday by couriers, who informed me of the arrival of 15 large ships of the line, which made their



appearance on the 19<sup>th</sup> at the anchorage of Bick island, sixty leagues from this place. 'Tis assuredly the van-guard of the English army destined to attack Quebec. I have spent the whole night with M. Bigot, whose zeal equals his intelligence, sending off couriers and orders relative to everything that appears to us necessary. I fear not to tell you, my Lord, that our arrangements here are somewhat tardy. The Marquis de Vaudreuil will arrive to-morrow, or after; perhaps we shall be fortunate enough in getting some time from the English. I think we should have need of some. The Intendant and I have always been of that opinion, this winter, and were desirous to hasten arrangements in this quarter, where I should wish to have been a month ago. Fortunately we have here two of the King's frigates, *La Pommone* of Brest and *La Tantalé* of Rochefort. We are persuaded that the two frigates which sailed from Dunkirk have fallen into the hands of the English fleet. We have also received 15 ships belonging to the fleet commanded by Captain Kanry. Whether strong or weak, we shall fight somewhere or other, and perhaps be fortunate.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant.

MONTCALM.

We have here two lighters or flyboats from Brest.

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*Abstract of Despatches from Canada.*

Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and Bigot had on the 3<sup>rd</sup> December last, dispatched a schooner from Quebec with intelligence of the situation of Canada in regard to the last harvest, which turned out one of the worst. This vessel having been caught in the river by the ice, had not been able to sail again until the end of April with despatches from the Colony, amongst which are several letters, the first whereof had already arrived.

Letter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of X<sup>ber</sup>, 1758.

M. Bigot enters into a detail of the drawing of bills of exchange from Canada, wherefrom it appears that those which have been drawn in 1758, have amounted to 24 millions, one portion whereof arises from the expenses incurred in the preceding years, which have not been known and paid until 1758, exclusive of 1 million which had not been included in 1757. M. Bigot sees no remedy to the immensity of those expenses, although he is sensible that France could not sustain them. He attributes particularly these excessive expenses to those incurred at the posts, where the officer makes use of every pretext possible to draw the largest amount, on pretence of maintaining the Indians. He complains that the war is carried on in Canada with as many conveniences as in Europe, and says, he is occupied only in satisfying the troops of the Line, who give him more trouble than all the others.

The harvest having been most indifferent, the farmers will not sell their wheat at any price whatever; and when all the wheat in the country, over and above the farmers' support, will be seized by authority, the Quebec farmers will each have scarcely half a pound of bread a day until the arrival of succors from France. There is, besides, no salt meat, and very little fish.

12<sup>th</sup> of April, 1759.

He represents the scarcity of provisions as beyond all expression ; the poor farmer has been reduced, since the month of May last, to  $\frac{1}{2}$  a pound of bread, for which he is obliged to pay at the rate of 3<sup>s</sup> the pound ; the rich is reduced to 4 ounces, for which he pays at the rate of 8<sup>s</sup> the pound, and he secretly buys flour as high as 40<sup>s</sup> the pound ; fresh meat the same price ; pork is 3<sup>u</sup> the pound ; brandy 25<sup>u</sup> the quart ; wine 1,200<sup>u</sup> the barrel, and all sorts of merchandise 6 @ 700 per cent advance. He adds that this would not be a great misfortune, were the material not to fail ; that, having been desirous last December to reduce the people of Quebec to 4 ounces of bread per diem, he saw himself compelled to return to the half pound, in consequence of the popular fermentation he perceived, which obliged him to have a levy of wheat made by the contractor in the governments of Quebec and Montreal ; he has in like manner caused to be carried off for the support of the garrisons and for the rations supplied by the King, all the oxen and horses to be found in the country, where the farms will remain uncultivated for the want of ploughing and sowing. The farmers meet with such high prices for their commodities, that they sell all they possess ; they are gorged with money and are dying of hunger.

Provisions for the subsistence of the farmers of Quebec will hold out only until the end of May, and for the army until the 10<sup>th</sup> of July ; this he has effected by means of the tythes of the parish priests in the government of Montreal. The arrival of succors from France is expected with the greatest impatience.

He insists on the demand he had made for 4,000 barrels of pork and as many of beans for the farmers, and 8,000 barrels of flour additional, in consequence of the great distress occasioned by the bad harvest. He entertains greater fears for Canada from the want of provisions than from the enemy. He will have 600 persons more to feed this year, namely, the farmers of the River St. John, of which the English have become masters. He has been obliged to send to these poor people by land and on men's backs 3 @ 400 quintals of provisions, with some clothing.

They are aware at Quebec that the English will attack Canada by 3 different points with 60 thousand men.

During last autumn and winter, he has had 250 flat bateaux constructed for the conveyance of men and provisions to Lake Champlain ; some have also been built at Montreal for Lake Ontario, and at the Niagara portage for Lake Erie, which, added to the fitting out of two cruisers and one transport built at La Présentation, occasions immense expense.

15<sup>th</sup> April.

This letter relates to the expenses and drawing of bills of exchange of the present year, which will amount to 30 @ 31 millions.

17<sup>th</sup> ditto.

He requests that the Contractor's correspondents may be afforded means to freight some vessels, or to have them freighted by authority on the King's account, to supply the portion of the provisions which will fall short of those to be sent him this spring, so that he may receive that equivalent, in consideration of the greater exhaustion of the Colony at the close of this year. He adds, that the Contractor could not fulfil his agreement, were it not for the hope of an early peace, and that he would have already become bankrupt, had he not



realized considerable gain from the merchandises he received in safety for 2 consecutive years, and especially from an English prize which has afforded him 1 million profit.

Finally, he reiterates his entreaties that the needful facilities may be afforded the Contractor for the conveyance of the provisions he demands, and for the transmission on the King's account, of the flour, pork and peas he needs for the relief of the farmers.

By letters received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, we are informed of the following particulars relative to his negotiations with the Indians during the winter.

There is every reason for believing that the Nations on the Beautiful river and in its vicinity have made their peace with the English, since the evacuation of Fort Duquesne by Captain de Lignères of the Colonial troops in the month of November of last year.

Sieur de Lignères having retired to Fort Machault, he has been solicited by the Indians to abandon it, who represent to him that it was not strong enough to resist the English.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the latter having built a fort above Fort Duquesne and making great preparations, the Indians have demanded of them the reasons thereof; who have answered that the Beautiful river belongs to them from its source to its mouth, and that they were going to Fort Machault to drive us thence.<sup>2</sup> This declaration creates great uneasiness among the Indians, who, at heart, have no greater love for the English than for the French, and it would not be difficult to determine them in our favor, had we presents to make, and succors to furnish, them.

Colonel Johnston continues haranguing them and making them presents to gain them over, especially the Five Nations. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was, in April, expecting intelligence of the success of this Colonel's negotiations.

Independent of the fort built by the English above Fort Duquesne, they have another above the village of the Chawanons, one at the River aux Canes, whence they propose to proceed to the Illinois, and a 3<sup>d</sup>, which they call Fort Lowdon, on the River des Cherakis,<sup>3</sup> whereby they are enabled to keep in check the Nations towards Louisiana. Half the Flathead Nation is entirely on their side and the other half wavers. The Cherokees have allowed themselves to be gained by the presents of the English; so that, above and below the Beautiful river, we need not flatter ourselves with finding any allies among the Indians.

On the other hand, M. de Kerlerec, Governor of Louisiana, is asking for aid of every description to restrain the other Indians in the interior of the Colony adjoining Carolina;<sup>4</sup> and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to whom that Governor has communicated the fermentation which exists among those Nations, represents that it is of the greatest consequence to send him those supplies. In fact 'twould be very advantageous for us to be able to gain over those Nations and to induce them to carry the war among the English of Carolina. This would be the true means of operating a diversion in Canada and obliging the English to divide the forces which they have in the latter quarter, and of apprehending nothing for the Illinois.

As for the rest, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has been informed by deserters and spies, that the English were to attack Canada by the Beautiful river, Niagara and La Présentation, by Fort Carillon, and by the river with a fleet from Europe, and by the River St. John.

Thereupon he has made the following arrangements: Sieur de Ligneris has remained with about 200 men at Fort Machault, which is not in a state to resist cannon; he is to fall back on Presqu'isle, if obliged. Captain Pouchot, of the Béarn battalion, has been sent first to La Présentation and thence to Niagara to command there, and he has been furnished with 300

<sup>1</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 948.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 949.

<sup>3</sup> Tennessee river.

<sup>4</sup> See *supra*, pp. 950, 951. — Ed.

Canadians, who had been designed for the Beautiful river, with orders to put himself in communication with Sieur Des Ligneris, to forward supplies to him, if Niagara be not attacked.

On the other hand, there are to be at La Présentation two corvettes of 10 12-pounders each with 25 soldiers and 25 Canadians, to discover what the enemy will possibly attempt on Lake Ontario, to prevent all surprise in the direction of La Présentation, and he has sent Lieutenant de Corbière, of the Colonials, with a detachment of 30 soldiers and 30 Canadians in canoes, also on a scouting expedition, to cover the corvettes, to notify them and the Commandants of Niagara and La Présentation, and to assure an asylum to the convoys.

In regard to Lake St. Sacrament, the Marquis de Vaudreuil has sent parties to discover the movements of the English, in order to make his arrangements accordingly; he expects to be vigorously attacked in that quarter; feels the importance of anticipating the enemy, whose movements he studies, in order to profit by the moment of their march to send off troops, militia and Indians; he arranges everything to that end, and should he receive succors from France betimes, will hasten the departure of his forces and will augment them; he has provided for placing limits to the enemy's progress, supposing they will make any; he has had two Xebecs built, which will carry artillery; they will be well armed and in a condition to dispute the passage through Lake Champlain.

As for the River St. John, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was engaged in the month of April in relieving the Acadians and Indians thereabouts, and as it will be most necessary to recall them into the heart of the Colony, he has dispatched Captain de Boishebert, this winter, to arrange and facilitate their migration. But these arrangements are not to be executed until the last moment, as it is essential to leave the farmers in that quarter as long as circumstances will permit. Consequently, he is to leave there a detachment of 50 Acadians under the command of an officer of the troops, so as not wholly to lose possession of that place.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil transmits, in cipher, a particular report of his arrangements on the river side, and for the interior of the Colony, which is annexed hereunto.

<sup>1</sup>The Marquis de Vaudreuil has written three private letters, in cipher, dated the 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> April.

He sends, with the first, copy of a letter from the Marquis de Montcalm on the operations of the next campaign,<sup>2</sup> with his answer and the plan of operations concluded on.<sup>3</sup> It appears, from M. de Vaudreuil's complaints, that too good an understanding does not exist between him and M. de Montcalm, and that the subaltern military foment considerably this division by their gossip.

By the second, the Marquis de Vaudreuil details everything he has to fear from the English in the different posts, the defensive arrangements he has made for them by falling back in succession, and the melancholy situation to which the Colony is reduced for want of provisions and goods of every description.

By the third, he asks that the Canadian contractors' correspondents be allowed the necessary facilities to replace, in the course of this year, such portion of provisions as he will not have received, in consideration of the exhausted condition of the Colony, where the harvest has been most indifferent, and no hope of a better this year, for want of seed, men and cattle.

7<sup>th</sup> June, 1759.

<sup>1</sup> This portion of this Document, to the end, has been also copied into *Paris Documents*, XIV., 45, erroneously under the year 1758, and is, therefore, omitted at p. 696, *supra*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Dated 20th March, 1759. See *supra*, 959.

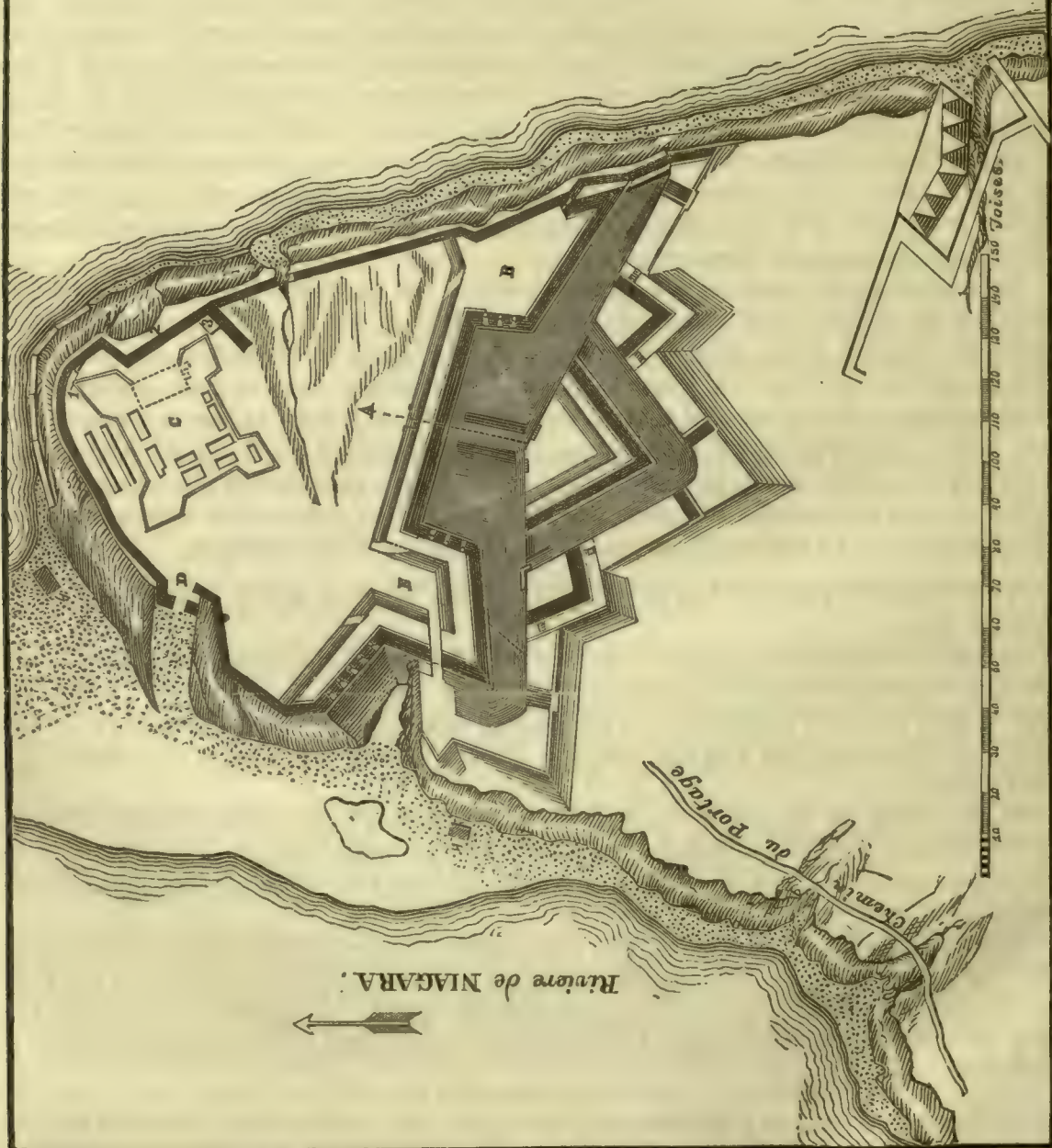
<sup>3</sup> Compare *supra*, p. 952.



- A. Galleries to communicate with the exterior works.  
 B. Lake Ontario Bastion.  
 C. Barracks, stores and vestiges of the old fort.  
 D. Niagara Gate.  
 E. Bastion at the Gate of the Five Nations.

## LAC ONTARIO .

1. Barbet battery of 5 guns.  
 2. Relief Gate.  
 3. Another Barbet battery of 5 guns.  
 4. Indian huts.



PLAN OF FORT NIAGARA — Built and defended by M. Pouchot.  
 [ From Pouchot's Memoires sur la dernière guerre. ]

*Journal of the Siege of Fort Niagara.*[Pouchot's *Memoires sur la dernière Guerre*, II., 42; III., 165.]

Fort Niagara is situate on the East point of the river of that name, which terminates in a triangle, whose base is the head of a horn work, 114 toises on its exterior side, all of earth, sodded interiorly and exteriorly; with a ditch eleven toises wide by nine feet deep, one half moon and two small lunettes or intrenched places of arms, with a covert-way and glacis proportioned to the works. The ditches have no revetment.

The fort (*place*) and half moon are palisaded on the berm. The other two sides are a simple intrenchment also in earth, sodded within and without, seven feet high inside and six feet thick on the summit of the parapet, with a fraise on the berm. These two sides of the intrenchments are on broken ground 40 feet in height. The river side would be accessible, although with difficulty. That of the lake is more perpendicular.

We must enter here into some details as to the condition of the fort at the time it was besieged. M. Pouchot had just completed the raising of the ramparts. The bastion batteries which were in barbet, were not yet finished; they were constructed of barrels filled with earth. On his arrival, he set men to work at oak blindages, 14 inches square and 15 feet long, with which he lined the rear of the large house on the lake side, the quarter most sheltered, in order to build an hospital there. Along the faces of the powder magazine he constructed, for the protection of the walls and to serve as casemates, a vast storehouse in pieces joined by a pinnacle at their summit, and in this house he placed the arms and armorers. 'Twill be remarked that such a work is excellent for field forts in wooded countries, and can easily serve for barracks and magazines. The shell falling only on an oblique plain, does it little injury, because such construction is very solid.

The garrison was composed of 149 men detached from the regiments of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Guienne and Bearn, under the orders of Captain Pouchot, of the Bearn regiment, Commandant; Captain de Villars of La Sarre; Captain de Cervies of Royal Rousillon; Lieutenant de Morambert of Guienne; Lieutenant Salvignac of Bearn; Lieutenant la Mitière of Languedoc; of 163 Colonials, under the orders of Captain de la Roche, of that service, Lieutenants Cornoyer and Larminac; of 133 Militia and 21 gunners, commanded by Lieutenant Bonnafoux of the Royal Corps. M. Pouchot increased this number to 100 drafted from the troops and from the most adroit of the militiamen; in all 486, and 39 employés, five of whom were women or children, who with two Douville ladies attended the hospital, sewed up gun cartridges and made earth bags.

7<sup>th</sup> July. Seven barges defiled from beneath the lofty perpendicular shores of the lake to reconnoitre the place. They were allowed to come together and to approach, but when 'twas remarked that they would not come any closer, some cannon were discharged at them, which soon drove them off. M. Pouchot immediately sent a boat to scout, which reported having seen at the mouth of the Little Swamp,<sup>1</sup> 15 @ 20 barges, each containing 20 men, who were at once considered the van-guard of the English army. He immediately sent off another scout, under the orders of the Lieutenant of the sloop, who reported having seen some barges and a

<sup>1</sup>The Little Swamp is a small bay within a league and a-half of Fort Niagara, capable of accommodating 2 @ 300 bateaux. The English landed there in 1759. *Pouchot*. — Ed.



camp on the shore, where there appeared to be a great many people and fires. Another scout, sent out two hours after, stated that he had discovered about 16 barges and a single tent, but a great many people were walking along the bank. The barges had all entered the little swamp, and the army was encamped in the woods.

M. Pouchot dispatched a courier immediately to M. Chabert, the Commandant of the fort at the Carrying place, with orders to fall back by the Chenondac,<sup>1</sup> in case he saw any traces of the enemy near his fort, lest he may be carried off. This courier also carried orders to bring down all the detachments, French and Indians, that may happen to be at Presqu'isle; also, orders to M. de Lignery at Fort Machault,<sup>2</sup> to fall back on Niagara with all the French and Indians he may have, enjoining on them to form a small van-guard to observe if the Little fort was abandoned, and in that case to pass by the Chenondac to Niagara, and leave merely a detachment to protect their bateaux and effects.

At noon he sent out the corvette *L'Iroquoise* with a month's provisions, to cruise off the Little Swamp. The wind was S. and S. W. She cannonaded the enemy's camp. In the course of the day, some scouts appeared near a copse, 2 @ 3 feet high, although M. Pouchot had, when he arrived, caused a portion of it to be cut down. Several Indians also appeared, who were looking for a shot. A few cannon balls made them retire.

At night, a Pouteouatamis and Sauter came from the fort at the Carrying place. M. Pouchot proposed to them to go out on a scout during the night, and gave them a Huron, who was in the fort, as a companion. They went along the perpendicular banks of the lake as far as the large wood at the end of the clearance, and returned by the centre of the clearance without having seen anything. An hour before day, the Pouteoutamis, who was very brave, returned thither alone. He left by the precipitous banks of the lake towards the angle which it forms in front of the place; met a canoe with three men in it, and fired on the middle one, who was wounded. The other two discharged their guns at him, without hitting him, and fled. He made the rounds of the clearance, uttering a great many bravadoes to the hostile Indians.

8<sup>th</sup> M. Pouchot sent him back in company with two Frenchmen, to M. Chabert with a letter. Being uneasy as to his situation, they dispatched one of their party to him, with word that they had seen the trails of some forty men in the woods. As these trails came from up the river, M. Pouchot feared some of the enemy had crossed over, which rendered him uneasy about those who were to come on that side; he therefore sent out to have those woods searched, but nothing was discovered within the space of a league.

The corvette was signalized at noon to send in her boat. The Lieutenant who came reports that the enemy had formed a camp on a small eminence at this side of the Little swamp, to guard the bateaux; that they appeared to be from 3 to 4 thousand men, and were very busy on the edge of the clearance towards the lake, and were making abatis at which 400 men appeared to be employed. M. Pouchot surmised that this might be the place where they were forming their depôt for the trench. The guns of the corvette annoyed them so much that they were obliged to quit their camp and get under cover. They fired some 12's at that vessel. M. Pouchot ordered the corvette to take up a position opposite the mouth of the Little swamp, to prevent convoys entering or bateaux going out to carry their artillery to the depôt, which was a league and a quarter from the swamp; this would protract their labors. He ordered the Captain of that craft, if overtaken by a squall, to reënter the river, and get close to the shoal which is under the fort. These precautions obliged the enemy to carry on all their operations by land, and protected the place which might be easily insulted from the lake and river sides.

<sup>1</sup> Chippewa creek.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 262. — Ed.

In the afternoon some hundreds of Indians, who came to fire at the fort, made their appearance in the copse of the clearance. They were driven off by artillery loaded with grape; some of them were killed. At sunset M. Pouchot sent to fetch a Frenchman and two Indians from the other side of the river. The former was the storekeeper's brother that had been sent to raise the Missisakis. He returned accompanied by only one. The rest had gone away on seeing the Little fort burnt, which they imagined had been done by the English. The other Indian was an Iroquois whom M. Chabert<sup>1</sup> had sent with a letter announcing that he would come the next day. He had removed to the River Chenondac all the property he could, 20 horses which belonged to him and some oxen he had had brought down on his own account from Detroit. He burned the fort of the Carrying place, as 'twas not tenable. His brother, Joncaire, had arrived on the previous evening, having been brought down by the Iroquois, the bearer of the letter. M. Pouchot made him a present.

About ten o'clock, a white flag was displayed in the clearance. M. Pouchot sent to reconnoitre it with precaution. A Captain of the Royal Americans was conducted to him with eyes blindfolded. He was led through the thickest and densest brushwood, and handed to the Commandant, after the bandage was removed from his eyes, a letter from Brigadier Prideaux, stating that as the King of England had invested him with the government of Niagara, M. Pouchot had to surrender the place to him; if not, he would oblige him to do so by superior force which accompanied him. M. Pouchot answered that he did not understand English; that he had no reply to give. Yet he perfectly understood the letter. The officer insisted on the great force he had. M. Pouchot replied that the King had confided that place to him; that he was in a position to defend it, and was in hopes that M. Prideaux would never enter it, and that before he became acquainted with them, he should at least assuredly gain their esteem. He had breakfast furnished to the young officer, and had him sent back with eyes blindfolded, to the place whence he had been brought.

In the afternoon La Force, the commander of the corvette, sent word to M. Pouchot that he saw no more barges nor dépôts on the strand, and but few people on the banks above. Thereupon M. Pouchot sent a sergeant in a bateau, who went up on the other side of the river, and reported having seen a great many people working at *La Belle Famille*,<sup>2</sup> from which circumstance 'twas inferred that they designed opening the trench that night. In the evening, some men in their shirt sleeves appeared on the confines of the clearance to the right of the place, who seemed desirous to open a trench. Three or four guns were discharged at them and they withdrew; which showed that it was not the place where they intended opening the trench.

The great quietness of the enemy that day, caused their operations to be distrusted. M. Pouchot, consequently, placed Captain Villars of La Sarre, in the half moon with 60 men; Lieutenant de Morambert and 30 men in the place d'armes, intrenched by the covert-way on the left; Lieutenant Cornoyer and 30 men in that of the right; Captain de Cervies, with 70 men occupied the salient angle of the covert-way of the lake bastion as far as the salient angle of the covert-way of the half moon; Lieutenant de Larminac and 40 men on the beach under

<sup>1</sup> He held the contract for transporting stores across the portage, and possessed much greater influence over the Indians of Western New-York than General Johnson. *Pouchot*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> This place is on the right bank of the river, about three furlongs above the fort. It was the best adapted to construct fascines. *Ibid*.



the high bank of the lake bastion, behind the palisade; Captain de la Roche with thirty men at the salient angle of the bastion of the covert-way of the Five Nations bastion; M. Chabert with 60 men on the *platon* beneath that salient in the rear of the palisade which ran into the river; 25 men were stationed at each bastion. These different posts furnished all the necessary sentinels. The 100 gunners were distributed among the batteries. There only remained M. Bonnafoux, the officer of Artillery, and Lieutenant de Salvignac of the Bearn regiment, who acted as Major. Such was the arrangement every night throughout the siege. In the day time the soldiers were occasionally relieved, in order that they should get some sleep, or employed in the different jobs which the operations of a siege demanded.

This night M. Pouchot sent out a scouting party of 30 volunteers, among whom were three or four Indians. They passed to the right, the centre and the left; fired at some hostile Indians who had crept as far as a cemetery 50 toises distant from the glacis. A Huron who had strayed from the detachment of the right, was wounded by one of our Indians whilst endeavoring to rejoin his detachment.

10<sup>th</sup> At daylight it rained, accompanied by fog, which shut out the field of operations until the day was advanced, when a parallel was discovered at more than 300 toises, which ran from about the centre of the front of the fortifications, slanting towards the left, and the lake. It commenced in somewhat low ground which ordinarily was overflowed, but was dry on account of the great drought, and thus greatly facilitated the opening of the trench, which, otherwise, the English would have been obliged to commence further off.

Both extremities of this parallel were battered with four pieces of cannon, though it rained heavily. The enemy appeared to work with a will. At night the guns were directed on the left portion, because 'twas thought that they intended advancing on that side. M. Chabert and his brother Joncaire arrived at noon with 70 persons, several women and Indians, three Iroquois; among the rest the chief Kaendaé. The Indians were pretty quiet.

11<sup>th</sup> This parallel was perceived in the morning somewhat advanced towards the left; it was briskly battered. They set about perfecting it in the day time, and were remarked throwing up batteries. They were harassed as much as possible by our artillery.

In the afternoon, M. Pouchot, being desirous to remove some stockades which were between the parallel and glacis, to form embrasures, detached some men in order to support those who were to bring back those pickets. They advanced, of their own accord, as far as the elevation at the head of the enemy's trench. They were followed by some sixty men who escaped from the covert way, and fired into the boyau of the trench. The enemy, who felt confidence on account of our small number, were tolerably off their guard, and abandoned that part. One man ran to advise M. Pouchot that no person was there. Knowing those fellows better, he ordered the man to go and tell M. de la Roche, who allowed himself to be drawn out, to retire with his troops. In that interval all the soldiers and Militia leaped over the palisades of the covert way in spite of the officers, to follow the rest. The garrison was on the point of being engaged with the entire English army, because their Indians, numbering at least 900, and all their troops, came, at the moment, to form themselves in order of battle at the head of the trench. By the officers' precautions we were fortunate enough not to go too far. The enemy were checked by a very brisk fire from the artillery, which prevented them charging our men. The English failed not, in the meantime, to lose some people, as they were under the necessity of remaining exposed. They had also to stand to their arms until night.

This affair gave rise to a very singular adventure. Kaendaé, the Iroquois chief, demanded permission to go and speak to the Indians of his Nation. M. Pouchot did not consider that he ought to refuse him, the rather as he hoped by means of this Indian to prevail on some Senecas at least to abandon the army. The Iroquois agreed to a parley at the edge of the clearance; the result was that the Five Nations would send two deputies to M. Pouchot to ascertain his opinion of them. They asked him for a pass endorsed by M. Joncaire whom they regarded as one of their chiefs. They were brought blindfolded into the Commandant's room, who recognized Tonniac's nephew who had left him 5 @ 6 days before the arrival of the English. These deputies said they knew not how they became mixed up with this war; that they were ashamed of it. M. Pouchot asked them what cause of war he had given them; that they ought to recollect they had given him the name of *Sutegariouaen*<sup>1</sup> and that he had never deceived them. He expressed his surprise at seeing any Iroquois in the English army, particularly several who had evinced a great deal of affection for him; that they could see, by the way he fought, that he should not spare his enemies, and that his heart was bleeding at the thought of it being possible for him to strike any others than those Whites with whom he was at war. He invited them not to meddle any more in the quarrel and assured them he should not think any more about it. He concluded by notifying them that all the Upper Nations were constantly coming to his aid. Should they find themselves then in the case of shedding their blood, he promised them to interpose his authority to get them to make peace. He gave them a large belt to carry this message to their Nation.

The Missisakis who were present, wished also to speak in their turn. They expressed their pleasure at hearing the Iroquois speak of accommodating matters; that their Nation, which was numerous, would be flattered thereby; invited them not to let go their father's hand any more; that for themselves their stand was taken; they would die with him, leaving to their Nation the duty of avenging their deaths.

The Pouteotamis said to them: "Uncles: The Master of Life hath assembled us altogether on this Island.<sup>2</sup> Who hath more sense than our ancestors? Were they not the first to extend the hand to the French? Why should we not be attached to them? We do not know the English. We are charmed at your intention to stand well with our father. This is the way for us not to let go each other's hands." These speeches were continued until nine o'clock at night when the deputies were led back blindfolded. They promised to return with an answer on the morrow.

This interview caused the firing to be suspended on both sides. The enemy took advantage thereof to open a boyau of about 40 toises which otherwise might perhaps not have been done. This was a lesson for M. Pouchot.

12<sup>th</sup> At day-break, a very large pile of earth was discovered within 200 toises, apparently prepared for a battery. 'Twas battered with 11 guns, which did great execution. No sap dared to be advanced outside it, as they were briskly peppered the moment they showed themselves. In the morning, Kaendaé again requested permission to go out and hold a council with the chiefs of his Nation. M. Pouchot had no objection, warning him that he would not listen to a suspension of any of his operations, as the Whites took advantage of these intervals to work. He added that, should his compatriots resolve to come and speak to him, they were to carry

<sup>1</sup> "The centre of good business;" from *garixxa*, an affair; *xasennon*, middle, and *s* the sign of the second person. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> America.



a small white flag, when they should not be fired on, but admitted, provided they were few in number.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Kaendaé returned with an Onondaga chief, called The Suspended Belt, and two Cayugas, who presented M. Pouchot with a large white Belt in answer to his, saying: We have heard thy message; it bore truth; our side is taken; we abandon the English army, and as a proof of it, are going to camp at *La Belle Famille*.<sup>1</sup> They thanked him for having given him such good council and for being pleased not to entertain any spite against them. They promised to be quiet in future. Kaendaé's council with the Iroquois had been held in the presence of Johnson, to whom that chief spoke boldly, reproaching him with having plunged his Nation into bad business. Johnson smiled, and took this reproach as a joke.

By another Belt, they asked that Kaendaé, the Iroquois women and children who were in fort, should leave it with Joncaire, whom they regarded as one of their people, so that no kettle (as they called the shells) should break their heads, especially Kaendaé's, who had charge of their transactions with the Indians of the other Nations, all of whose language he spoke.

M. Pouchot answered them, that the women and Kaendaé being present, were at liberty to answer and do as they liked. Kaendaé had assured M. de Chabert that he did not wish to leave us. He made no answer. M. Pouchot performed the ceremony, in presence of the deputies, of covering his body in advance, in case any mishap should overtake him. That ceremony consisted of placing before a person a Belt and outfit, such as is laid in his grave. His death cannot be avenged, as the man is satisfied. The women and children afterwards presented some Strings to M. Pouchot, to assure him they wished to remain with us, who were their fathers, and who had always pity on them.

These deputies also presented some Strings on the part of the *Loups*, or Moraiguns, who were in the Iroquois council, to induce the Ottawas and other Indians to withdraw to the head of the lake, and to leave the Whites to fight, as they themselves were going away. These two messages seemed to M. Pouchot to be inspired by the English, to disgust those Nations who were attached to us. M. Pouchot answered that he did not know those Nations who sent these Strings, and returned them. He said that, as regarded the Ottaouais and other Nations who were attached to us, they needed no council how to conduct themselves towards their father; that they were at home at Niagara, and he considered it very singular that people with whom they were not connected, should desire to induce them to quit their home. These Outaouais answered the deputies that they had come to die with their father, and told the Iroquois that they were delighted to learn they were leaving the English. M. Pouchot did not wish to return the message of the *Loups*, which he thought did not come from them.

The same deputies proposed to return at night. M. Pouchot refused; assuring them that all he wanted was, that they should remain quiet. He notified them that at night he did not know any one, he fired everywhere, but if they came in the day time, few in number, without any condition, that he would receive them. He sent them back each with a loaf, because he knew that the English army was eating only flour baked into cakes in the ashes.

To explain these negotiations, it must be observed that the English were employing the Indians at night to cover their workmen. Our fire from the covert way greatly annoyed them; they had lost ten of their men. M. Pouchot, who understood the nature of those people, was

<sup>1</sup> See note, *supra*, p. 977. — Ed.

not sorry to get rid of 900 men, whose insults he feared more than those of the English, on account of their numbers and the knowledge they possessed of the place. By retaining some of the chiefs, the women and several warriors of the strange Nations, should any mishap occur to them, these same Indians would answer for it to their Nations or to those that they might have offended. They were delighted then to find this excuse for remaining neutral whilst awaiting events. The English on their side, dared not deny the Indians those conferences. They were trying only to turn them to the best advantage.

The Indians being gone, M. Pouchot immediately sent eight volunteers, under M. Conoyer's orders, who went quite close to the battery and heard some pickets planted. Otherwise the trench was pretty quiet. On their return, the artillery opened pretty briskly on the battery, and the musketry, on the right and left where they were to defile. M. Pouchot ordered the corvette to go and reconnoitre Chouegen and to try and learn news of M. de la Corne and of Mont-Real. This corvette cannonaded the enemy's trench pretty successfully throughout the day and sailed at night.

13<sup>th</sup> At day light Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pouchot and Bonnafoux examined the enemy's works, who had only completed a shell battery of six mortars. It fired all day with little result. We did not fire much this day from our batteries, the enemy's works being too far advanced to be able to ruin them. At night we perceived a white flag and some Indians on the other side of the river. Kaendaé demanded permission to go in search of them, which was not refused. They were some Indians coming to a council; they asked to pass the night in the fort. This M. Pouchot would not consent to. The fire of our batteries and that of our musketry were pretty brisk, but not so much so as during the previous nights, because there was no further necessity of imposing on the Indians who were covering the workmen. These Indians had told Kaendaé that they had all gone to *La Belle Famille* and would remain neuter. They told him also that it was reported in the camp of the English that the latter had defeated M. de la Corne at Chouegen.

14<sup>th</sup> In the morning we discovered a work, of 40 @ 50 toises in prolongation of the trench, slanting towards the lake; its extremity was within 100 toises of the covert way. They immediately set about a mortar battery from which they fired in the afternoon. Kaendaé and Chatacouen asked leave to go and speak to their people. M. Pouchot hesitated about permitting them, but the hope of obtaining some news induced him to grant them leave. They visited the Iroquois and English camps; reported having seen about 1,800 men; one of their camps was at the Little swamp and another nearer the trench; they had perceived 10 mortars, two batteries and 15 guns, three of which were of large calibre. Johnson had persuaded the Indians to remain, by offering them the pillage of the place which they were to assault in two or three days; finally, they had but few provisions and were expecting a convoy. No more Indians were seen in the trench from this day. The Iroquois asked to go to the other side of the river, through fear of the shells, a hundred of which had been thrown during the day. M. Pouchot had them put across the river with their women, very glad to be rid of them. They had been to the Chenondac<sup>1</sup> to take the M. de Chabert's cows and oxen, saying, 'Twas better they should have them than others. They carried this meat to the English camp. The enemy have been employed perfecting their works. We have kept up a very brisk fire on the place at which we supposed they wanted to commence the continuation of their trench towards the lake.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 978. — Ed.



15<sup>th</sup> At day-break they appeared working at the battery. They have thrown, throughout the whole day, a great many shells with 10 mortars. We had several wounded by splinters. In the evening a deserter came in; he was a sort of Frenchman who was with some Iroquois of Kunoagon. He reported that the English army was composed of Halket's, the Royal American, Loudon's, the York and Jersey regiments, and 900 Iroquois or *Loups*; that they had formed three camps, one at the Little swamp, another near the lake, one in the middle of the woods, and the Indians at *La Belle Famille* he said the English were to put their guns, consisting of 15 pieces, in battery next day; and added, that they were short of provisions; that the Indians were complaining of being obliged to fast; that they were expecting a convoy from Chouegen where they had a considerable camp, from which M. de la Corne was repulsed when he attempted an attack on it.

16<sup>th</sup> Rain all day. Two barges appeared at a great distance in the lake; the 12-pounder could scarcely reach them. They wished to reconnoitre the place. The enemy opened a fire of musketry from their trenches. They had crowned the top of their trenches with saucissons in order to cover their sharp shooters.

17<sup>th</sup> The fog, which is pretty rare in this country, especially in summer, and rises only very late, prevented us observing that the enemy had made new works. They unmasked their artillery by a cannon shot from Montreal point at the opposite side of the river, which entered the Commandants chimney and rolled beside his bed on which he had just lain down. They had erected, at that place, a battery of two large guns and two howitzers. They unmasked, at the same time, two other batteries, one of five guns, the other of two large pieces and two howitzers. They were all served that day with great industry, and were answered in like manner. The battery on the opposite side of the river obliged the construction of *épaulements* and blindages, because that part of the place being covered only by an intrenchment, the shots took, in reverse, the bastions and other defences of the fort. During the night a very brisk fire of musketry was kept up on our side, and the enemy replied as briskly up to midnight, when they ceased. They threw shell and grenades, at intervals, throughout the entire night. M. de Morambert was slightly wounded.

18<sup>th</sup> In the morning there was no appearance of the enemy having advanced any works. They appeared busy repairing the damages caused by our batteries. A great smoke was noticed in the evening in their trench. One of our balls had set fire to one of their powder dépôts. General Prideaux<sup>1</sup> was killed on this day, in the trench. The fire was pretty brisk on both sides, and redoubled at night, with shot, shell and grenades, which gave us great annoyance. Several soldiers were wounded, and some killed. At night, believing that the enemy was to begin on his left to form a zigzag ahead, or to open a parallel, we kept up a very active fire.

19<sup>th</sup> The enemy were observed to have made about 30 toises of work in advance, parallel to the bank of the lake, by a double sap, whence they opened a zigzag boyau almost equal to the front between these two batteries. They merely perfected it through the day, and kept up a hot fire from cannon, mortars and howitzers. We answered them very briskly from our artillery.

In the afternoon the corvette made her appearance. She was laving at a great distance. At sundown M. Pouchot sent off seven men in a bark canoe, which run great risk of being sunk by the volleys of cannon from the enemy, one of whose balls carried away a paddle. As the enemy was expected to advance further, a very active fire was kept up from the covert way and corresponding works.

<sup>1</sup> See VII., 399, note. — Ed.



20<sup>th</sup> At daylight we noticed that the enemy had formed the other branch of the zigzag; that they passed from our right to the left, to the edge of the high precipice of the lake, quite near a ravine which lies 30 toises in advance of the left branch of the covert way. They kept up a very hot fire especially of their musketry, until midnight. Ours somewhat slackened towards daybreak, in consequence of the exhaustion of the troops and the bad condition of our arms. They perfected that trench the whole of this day and posted some sharp shooters in it, who greatly annoyed those who were tending the battery of the lake bastion, where several were killed and wounded. The canoe sent to the corvette came ashore this night. The vessel had brought despatches from Montreal and Quebec, where they were uneasy about us, but they knew not of our being besieged. They gave intelligence of the operations of the English at Quebec. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, M. Pouchot sent back the canoe with his despatches for Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm.

21<sup>st</sup> At daybreak we observed that the enemy had constructed the return of his zigzag from left to right, running towards the salient of the half moon, which they could not reach on account of the sharp fire we made throughout the entire night, to which they replied very briskly until about one o'clock in the morning. This work is about 70 toises long. It appeared this day that they wanted to erect a battery at the extremity of this boyau, towards the salient of the half moon. The enemy's fire was not as lively during this day as during the previous evening, because they were busy finishing their trenches and constructing their batteries. Their musketry nevertheless greatly annoyed our batteries.

About 7 o'clock in the evening, the enemy redoubled their fire from their last parallel. It has been very hot until past midnight. Several men were killed and wounded in the place. We answered very briskly by our fire from the works and covert-way, where three guns have been placed which fired each 50 rounds loaded with grape. A squall, which lasted but too short a time for us and would have flooded their trenches, interrupted this firing.

22<sup>nd</sup> At day-break we supposed the enemy had extended a parallel along a ditch which was at the extremity of the glacis; but they only perfected those works and their two batteries. That on the left, of 8 guns, was more advanced than that on the right. Their fire from the trench of their right, on the lake bastion, was very heavy, and from the left, on our works, which they seriously annoyed. They fired few shell.

Towards 9 o'clock in the morning they commenced to send us red hot shot from the battery placed on the opposite side of the river. The battery where their large guns were planted did the same. Owing to M. Pouchot's precautions in keeping barrels full of water in front of the buildings, and squads of carpenters ready with axes to repair to places exposed to the flames, the fire made no ravages although it had commenced at divers places, even in the storehouses; this was by no means astonishing, all those buildings being of wood. The enemy could never understand it. They directed their fire, which was very hot, against the battery of the lake bastion in order to prevent its playing. M. Bonnafox, the officer of artillery, was slightly wounded and ten men were killed or wounded. The cannon and howitzers dismounted three of the five guns which were on the same bastion; ruined the point of that bastion so that we could not descend on the berm. The shell ploughing into the ground and then exploding, tore away the newly laid sodding, and at each explosion made openings of 6 @ 8 feet. At night the enemy opened from their parallel a very hot fire on our works and discharged shot and grape at the breach and the attacked bastion. 'Twill be observed that our batteries on the bastions, which were at first formed of barrels filled with earth, having been ruined, they



had to be constructed of bags full of earth, which, being laid across each other, formed pretty efficient merlons, easily changed according to the direction of the fire. Unfortunately, these earth bags gave out, being soon torn, worn or burnt in the service. Wadding for the cannon also failed, as well as hay, the supply made by M. Pouchot being exhausted. The beds were stripped of their paillasses, the straw of which, at first, afterwards, the linen, was used.

In the night of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, the enemy pushed their trench forward as far as the *hauteur* of the salient of the covert way of the half moon, and kept up all night a hot fire of grape and shot against the breach, as well as of musketry, and threw a great many shell. He was answered from the place, but our arms were in so bad a condition, that scarcely one out of ten was serviceable, and in the following morning not a hundred were of any use, notwithstanding all the repairs daily made on them. Seven smiths or armorers were continually employed to repair them. Servants and the wounded were kept washing them; the women attended the sick and wounded, or were busy sewing cartridges or bags for earth. This day M. Pouchot was under the necessity of leaving only a small post of soldiers in the branch of the covert way of the attacked bastion, as the Canadians did not wish to remain there any longer, on account of the briskness of the enemy's fire. Efforts were made to repair the breach and the palisades of the berm below, but with little success, notwithstanding the willingness of the soldier to work there. At 10 o'clock in the morning, a white flag appeared on the road from *La Belle Famille* to the Carrying place. M. Pouchot responded by a like flag. 'Twas four Indians sent by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aubry and de Lignery. They were brought in; they handed two letters, one dated the 17<sup>th</sup> and the other 22<sup>nd</sup> July, in the former of which, from Presqu'isle, was acknowledged the receipt of those from M. Pouchot of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> stating that they had immediately set out from Fort Machault; that they felt able to engage the enemy with success and to oblige them to raise the siege. In these same letters, they asked M. Pouchot's advice as to the best course to adopt to relieve him. These Indians told M. Pouchot that they had passed through the camp of the enemy's Indians, with whom they had held a council in Johnson's presence; that they had presented the Iroquois with five Belts on the part of the Nations who were accompanying M. de Lignery, requesting them to retire; otherwise, they should strike them the same as the English. The latter assured them that they would not meddle with the quarrel. By the same channel we learned that there were about 600 French and 1,000 Indians,<sup>1</sup> who, when passing the little rapid at the outlet of Lake Erie, resembled a floating island, so black was the river with bateaux and canoes.

M. Pouchot immediately answered these letters, after having deliberated with all the officers of the garrison, in order to profit by their opinions. We shall repeat here that M. Pouchot had in his letter of the 10<sup>th</sup>, notified M. de Lignery that the enemy may be 4 @ 5 thousand, exclusive of Indians; that if he did not feel able to attack them, he ought to pass by the Chenondac in order to arrive at Niagara by the other side of the river, because he would be able to drive off the English who were on that side to the number of only 2,000, and could only with great difficulty be reinforced. He would come from there safely to him, because after defeating that force, bateaux would be sent to bring them to the fort.

M. Pouchot doubted not that the English would read his answer on the return of the Indians; but he was satisfied if it could only reach its destination. He requested M. de Lignery to

<sup>1</sup> This number includes 300 soldiers and Militia brought by M. Aubry from the Illinois, with 600 Indians whom he had on his route, persuaded to accompany him. After a very fatiguing voyage, he arrived at Fort Machault, where he joined M. de Lignery, who had collected the Ohio Indians at the fort at Presqu'isle, whence they set out with M. Aubry. *Pouchot*. — Ed.



call to mind what he had already written him; told him that the enemy were in three divisions; one at the Little swamp guarding their bateaux, another about the centre of the wood near their trench dépôt, and the third convenient to *La Belle Famille*; that there may be at present about 3,900 Indians; that if they felt themselves strong enough to attack any of these divisions, this was at present the best course to pursue, because the enemy, being very near the place, dare not strip its trench. He added, that if they succeeded in defeating one of those posts, 'twas presumable the siege would be raised; that they ought to have scouts ahead, whose reports would enable them to decide on the best course to adopt.

M. Pouchot made four copies of this letter and handed one of them to each of the Indians; one of whom was an Onondaga, the second a Delaware, and the third a Chaouanon, so as to avoid jealousy, and in case the English should retain any to save one, which turned out to be the case.

After having refreshed themselves, those Indians departed with the same ceremony. About two o'clock in the afternoon the Onondaga came back stating that he had lost his wampum, which is tantamount to a European losing his jewels; that he had returned in quest of it, and had entrusted his letter to another Indian. M. Pouchot, thereupon, considered this Indian rather as a spy than a friend, and accordingly distrusted him. The result showed that he was mistaken.

The enemy kept up, the whole day, a tremendous fire, during which their artillery was served in the best style, utterly demolishing the battery on the flag bastion; only two feet of the upper part of the entire length of its parapet remaining. 'Twill be remarked that the evening previous, we had been obliged to construct our embrasures with bundles of peltry for want of other material, and to use blankets and shirts from the stores for wadding for the cannon. Efforts were made to place two guns in battery on the left side of the curtain, in order to diminish the enemy's fire.

The Canadians could no longer be persuaded to continue firing into the enemy's embrasures, which would have greatly deranged them. The fire was too hot. Those who were stationed in any quarter, sat down for protection, and went immediately to sleep, notwithstanding all that the officers and sergeants could do to prevail on them to stand to their posts and work. The rest of the garrison, in spite of all possible willingness, was not less harassed. Nobody had been in bed since the 6<sup>th</sup>, being obliged to be either in the works or employed at divers indispensable operations. So few people were remaining, that there was neither time or convenience for sleeping.

At night the enemy's fire slackened considerably, especially that of the artillery; they fired only two pieces loaded with ball and grape at the breach, to prevent its being repaired. This diminution was owing, M. Pouchot suspected, either to their desire to raise the siege in order to go and meet a reinforcement, or to arrangements for some serious attack. The greatest possible precaution was taken. We had a great many wounded this night and some killed in our works, which 'twas desirable to repair.

24<sup>th</sup> We heard some firing in the direction of *La Belle Famille*. 'Twas some of M. de Lignery's Indian scouts, who fell in with an English guard that was placed over 22 bateaux which they carried overland to cross the river in, and to communicate with the detachment at the Montreal point. A dozen of them were killed and their heads cut off and stuck on the top of some pickets. This event drew down others. It induced the Indians to ask Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aubry and de Lignery to wait until the Iroquois had been requested to oblige us to make



peace with the English. M. de Lignery dissuaded them from it and wished them to follow him, being on the point of attacking. They refused to do so; some thirty only of the most determined accompanied M. Marin.

M. Pouchot hearing an extraordinary fire of musketry, repaired immediately with M. Bonnafoux to the Five Nations' bastion. He perceived some English who were flying pretty precipitately to their main guards, some troops who were defiling from the centre camp to the border of the clearance, to join them at the entrance of the ground at *La Belle Famille*, where we saw somewhat in reverse an intrenchment of trees. Two guns were directed against it which were discharged two or three times. At this time M. Pouchot noticed some Indians here and there with a white flag. He supposed at first that it might be a piece of bravado on the part of some Iroquois, or a ruse to draw out a sortie. He ordered two guns to be fired between the English and them, to disperse them, or if they were friends, to signify to them that some enemies were yonder, and to prevent them advancing, because seeing them so few, he feared they would fall into an ambuscade. He warned M. Bonnafoux of it. It produced no other effect than the display of a large white flag. A troop was seen at the same time defiling into a path 7 @ 8 feet wide, with great confidence in very close column in front. It appeared that on perceiving the enemy, very close to which it found itself, that the troop endeavored to place itself in close order of battle without ranks or files. On its right appeared some thirty Indians, fronting the enemy's left flank. This battalion commenced firing one or two volleys when approaching the latter, who appeared making a forward movement beyond their abatis; but having been received with a third volley, retreated pretty precipitately. The battalion then moved forward to enter the abatis, but were checked by a volley from the enemy when it knelt to fire into the intrenchment. In this interval, a considerable quantity of rain fell, which wet their arms. Whilst one half this battalion was firing, the other half appeared retreating somewhat precipitately; the enemy having fired two volleys at those who stood. Very few remained. Some fifty appeared to be firing whilst retreating often kneeling on the ground. Thereupon the English issued from their intrenchment, almost in files, charging with fixed bayonets; but from the little musketry we heard, we judged that the entire battalion had retired. 'Twas in our eyes so trifling, that we concluded in the rain, it might be M. Marin or some other officer, who had come to reconnoitre the enemy and had pushed them to that place.

Whilst this affair was passing, a sergeant who was in the covert-way, judging from the silence in the trench, that it was abandoned, asked of M. Pouchot permission to make a sortie. Although of opinion that the trench was, on the contrary, well reinforced, he (in order to foster emulation among the soldiers and to gratify them), called out 150 volunteers, which was all they mustered, except the officers and sergeants, and ordered M. de Villars to place himself at their head, recommending him to leave the covert-way only with the greatest precaution, and when he should give the signal, but to make a great deal of noise. He enjoined on him to place people on the palisades, as this would not fail to draw the enemy out and enable us to judge of their situation. In fact, the moment the English saw people astride of the palisades, the entire trench seemed immediately to swarm with men stript to the waist and with companies of grenadiers at the head of the trenches. Some cannon balls were sent at them, which made them get under cover, and our sortie did not take place.

On the arrival of the reinforcement, the Onondaga who had returned, having recognized M. de Lignery's troops, requested M. Pouchot's permission to go out and fight with them, which



was granted. He passed freely through the enemy's army, which doubtless paid no attention to him, and joined our troops about noon. He returned towards two o'clock, and recounted the whole of our disaster, which he could scarcely credit, imagining that the English had put the thing in his head. He told us that all had taken to flight; that Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aubry, de Lignery, de Montigny, and de Repentigny were prisoners, and wounded, and that all the other officers and soldiers had been killed.<sup>1</sup> We hoped this man was not telling the truth.

When M. Pouchot perceived this retreat, he ordered all the batteries that were still effective, to redouble their fire, so as to keep the enemy in check; they returned it to us with great spirit, which again caused the loss of many of our men. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy beat the rappel in his trench, from which an officer came out to parley, who was brought into the fort. He brought a letter from Johnson, who was in command of the army since Prideaux's death.

Johnson said, in his letter, that confidence may be placed in whatever Major Hervey,<sup>2</sup> Lord Bristol's son, might state in his name. The latter gave the names of all the Canadian officers who were taken prisoners. Although M. Pouchot was advised, beforehand, by the Indian, in order to protect himself against any reproach, he pretended ignorance and incredulity, until those officers should be shown to some one of the garrison. Captain de Cervies, of the Royal Rousillon, went to the camp; he saw M. de Lignery wounded, and the others in an arbor, near Colonel Johnson's tent. He could scarcely speak to them, and came to report to M. Pouchot.

This news, which had at first been retailed by the Indian, and now confirmed by this officer, had so depressed the courage of the garrison, that M. Pouchot and the other officers had all the trouble in the world to restrain the soldiers and Militia in their posts which they were abandoning on every side, as if all was over. If the enemy could see this disorder, he might assuredly have taken advantage of it. The German recruits, of whom we had a great many in the Colonial troops, and who had arrived this year in Canada, were the most mutinous.

M. Pouchot assembled all the officers of the garrison to deliberate on the situation of the fort, and to adopt the most proper course. He left M. Bonnafox to describe its condition as the most capable judge thereof. He began at the covert-way, and 'twas agreed that the enemy, considering their proximity, could not fail to be masters of it within two days, either by sap or assault. We had only 110 men to guard the covert-way from the bank in front of the lake bastion to the salient angle of the half moon, and 25 men in the place d'armes of the right, who were guarding as far as the salient of the covert-way of the Five Nations' bastion. There was an interval of more than 8 @ 10 feet between the men who lined the front attacked. The arms were in so bad a state, that there were not more than 140 muskets fit for service; most of them were without bayonets. The Colonials and Canadians, having none, wood-cutters' knives had been fixed to the end of a stick to serve instead, and these they carried with them

<sup>1</sup> It appears that our men fell into an ambush, laid for them by Johnson. *Pouchot*.

<sup>2</sup> General WILLIAM HERVEY, fourth son of Baron Hervey, of Ickworth, grandson of the 1st, and brother of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th, Earls of Bristol, and of the celebrated Bishop of Derry, was born May, 1732; he entered the army as Ensign of the 44th regiment; joined the expedition under Braddock, and was promoted to a lieutenancy 4th July, 1755; on 27th December, 1756, obtained a company, and served, with his regiment, at Ticonderoga, in 1758; he was appointed Major of Brigade 5th May, 1759, and as such served at Niagara, and accompanied Amherst down the St. Lawrence to Montreal in 1760. He was elected to Parliament, for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds, in 1763, and on the 6th of August, 1766, was appointed captain in the 1st Foot Guards, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army; and served in that corps until 13th June, 1774, when he exchanged with Major Leland, and went on half pay of the 98th foot. On 29th August, 1777, he became Colonel by brevet; Major-General 20th November, 1782; Lieutenant-General 12th October, 1793, and General in the army 1st January, 1798. He died, unmarried, 15th January, 1815. *Philippart's Royal Military Calendar*, I. 45; *Army Lists*; *Debrett*. — Ed.



to their posts. Of 54 thousand weight of powder, which had been in store, 24 had been consumed. Only very few 4 and 6-pound balls remained; those of 12 were all gone. There was no hope, therefore, of a vigorous defence. The ditches were without any scarp; the earth having crumbled down, the slopes got to be so gentle that a person could run up and down them. To avoid this inconvenience, a palisade had, indeed, been set up at the bottom of the ditch, but the enemy being liberty to descend there everywhere, could kill the entire garrison between the palisade and the covert-way, because by getting mixed up with it, the flanking guns could not protect the men. Besides, there remained, at this time, no more than sixty men in the place, exclusive of gunners. The palisades opposite the breach were all broken, and it was very easy to go down into the breach which occupied two-thirds of the face of the bastion in the ditch. We had *hors de service* or lost, 10 men of La Sarre, 9 of Béarn, 8 of Royal Rousillon, 13 of Guienne, 43 of the Colonials, 26 Militia, in all 109 men, killed or wounded, and 37 sick.<sup>1</sup> Independent of these losses, our small force and the superiority of the enemy, the place could be very easily insulted from the river and the high banks of the lake.

All these considerations induced the officers of the garrison to request M. Pouchot to consent to a capitulation. Up to that time he had not said anything. He requested those gentlemen to examine well whether any resource remained. They represented to him the exhaustion of the garrison, which had not lain down for 19 days, and had been continually under arms or at the works; that the delay of one day, and of even eight days, were that possible, could not save the place and would result only in the useless loss of still more brave fellows, the rather as no help was to be expected from any quarter.

M. Pouchot, sensible of the truth of these reflections, called in the English officer and demanded a capitulation, on condition that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, and be conveyed to Montreal with its property and that of the King, at his Britannic Majesty's expense, in the shortest possible space of time. Negotiations continued the entire night, as M. Pouchot was not willing to recede from his propositions. Colonel Johnson sent him word frankly, that he was not master of those conditions, otherwise he would grant them. At daybreak, M. Pouchot wished to send back the officer, on the ground that being about to be a prisoner, he would risk the event. Thereupon the entire garrison demanded to capitulate. The Germans, who constituted the majority, mutinied, which the English officer unfortunately observed, and therefore became more firm. M. Pouchot was then obliged to be satisfied with the following Articles:

#### ARTICLE I.

The garrison shall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, and match lighted at both ends, and a small piece of cannon, to embark upon such vessels as the commanders of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall furnish, to convey them to New-York by the shortest route and in the shortest time.

#### ARTICLE II.

The garrison shall lay down their arms when they embark, but shall keep their baggage.

#### ARTICLE III.

The officers shall keep both their arms and their baggage.

<sup>1</sup> The garrison being composed of only 486 men, as already stated, there remained then 340 capable of bearing arms. Why then have the English accounts (*Entick*, IV., 139) stated that it numbered 607 effectives when it marched out *Pouchot*. — Ed.

## ARTICLE IV.

The French ladies, with their children, and other women, as well as the chaplain, shall be sent to Montreal, and the commander of his Britannic Majesty's troops shall furnish them with vessels and subsistence necessary for their voyage to the first French post, and this is to be executed as soon as possible; those women who choose to follow their husbands are at liberty to do it. Granted, except with regard to those women who are his Britannic Majesty's subjects.

## ARTICLE V.

The sick and wounded, who are obliged to remain in the fort, shall have liberty to depart, with everything that belongs to them, and shall be conducted in safety, as soon as they are able to support the fatigues of a voyage, to the place destined for the rest of the garrison; in the meantime, they are to be allowed a guard for their security against Indians, and shall be attended and fed at his Britannic Majesty's expense.

## ARTICLE VI.

The Commanding officer, all the other officers and private men who are in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, shall quit the fort without being subject to any act of reprisals whatsoever.

## ARTICLE VII.

An inventory shall be made of all the military stores in the magazine, which, with the artillery, shall be delivered up, bona fide, as well as all other effects, which are the property of his Most Christian Majesty, and which are found in the magazine at the time of the capitulation. The vessels and boats are included in this article.

## ARTICLE VIII.

The soldiers shall not be plundered nor separated from their officers.

## ARTICLE IX.

The garrison shall be conducted under a proper escort to the place destined for their reception; the General shall expressly recommend to this escort to hinder the Indians from insulting any persons belonging to the garrison, and shall prevent their being pillaged by them when they quit their arms for embarkation; and the same care is to be taken on every part of the route where Indians may be met with.

## ARTICLE X.

An exact list shall be made of the names and surnames of the soldiers belonging to the different troops, as well Regulars as Militia, and all others who are employed in his Most Christian Majesty's service; and all those who are so employed, in whatever capacity, shall retain their baggage, and shall be treated in the same manner as the rest of the garrison.

## ARTICLE XI.

All the Indians, of whatsoever Nation they may be, who are found in the garrison, shall be protected from insult, and be allowed to go where they please. Granted; but it will be advisable for them to depart as privately as possible.



The articles being accepted, the General of his Britannic Majesty's forces shall be put in possession of a gate of the fort, but this cannot be done until to-morrow. To-morrow at seven o'clock in the morning.

(Signed):

Pouchot, Captain in the regiment of Bearn, Commanding officer.

Vilar, Captain in the regiment of La Sarre.

Servier, Captain in the regiment of Royal Rouissillon.

Oliver de la Roche Verney, Captain of the Marine.

Bounnaffous, officer in the Royal Artillery.

Cournoyer, Lieutenant of the Marine.

Soluignac, officer in the regiment of Bearn.

Le Chevalier de L'Arminac, Lieutenant of the Marine.

Joncaire, Captain of the Marine.

Morambert, Lieutenant.

Chabert Joncaire, in the regiment of Guienne.

POUCHOT, Captain in the regiment of Bearn.

W<sup>m</sup> JOHNSON.

Niagara, 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1759.

26<sup>th</sup> In the afternoon the garrison marched out of the fort to descend to the beach, with musket on the shoulder, drums beating and two pieces of large cannon at the head of the column. As soon as the troops had reached the bateaux in which they were to embark, they laid down their muskets and immediately pushed off, although the lake was very rough.

We could not see the officers who were prisoners. Johnson had given his word that he would ransom from the Indians those they had taken; for, seeing our men taking to flight, they pursued and captured a great many. On this occasion a tragical event occurred. Cadet Moncourt, of the Colonials, had formed an attachment with an Indian, to whom he became bound in friendship. This Indian, who belonged to the English army, seeing his friend a prisoner, expressed a great deal of sorrow at his situation, and said to him: "Brother, I am in despair at seeing you dead; but take heart; I'll prevent their torturing you;" and killed him with a blow of a tomahawk, thinking thereby to save him from the tortures to which prisoners among themselves are subjected.

The rest of the troops who escaped from the field, retired to an island above the fort of the Carrying place, where Rocheblave had been left with about 150 men to guard the canoes and bateaux, whence they proceeded to Detroit, together with the garrisons of Presqu'isle and Fort Machault, under the orders of M. Belestre, who could not take a part in the action, as he was sick. Of 400 men, more than 250 were killed, almost all Colonials, who were very brave, and had done good service in these parts. A great many French from the Illinois were either killed or taken. All the prisoners were conveyed to New-York, the same as the garrison of Niagara.

*Narrative of the Siege of Quebec, published by the French.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Since the English have commenced hostilities in Canada, the different arrangements they have made to render themselves masters thereof are well known, as well as the immense force they have collected in the upper part of the continent to attack our establishments in that quarter and those they were preparing to send up the River St. Lawrence to lay siege to Quebec at the same time.

We learned on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> of May last, by divers reports of the Captains, of a small fleet of merchantmen which had sailed from Bourdeaux under the convoy of M. Kanon; by 3 ships which sailed from Rochefort commanded by M. de Vauchin<sup>1</sup> and by M. Sauvage a captain of a frigate which sailed from Brest, that an English squadron was coming up the river after them. Advice had already been received of the spring expedition the enemy was meditating, through two Acadian prisoners in New England whence they had made their escape. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, was then at Montreal, where he had been occupied for a long time exclusively with all the means practicable to place the frontier posts in a state of defence. He had sent 1,500 men to Niagara under the command of Captain Pouchot of the Bearn regiment, who had that fort fortified and he had transmitted orders to M. de Ligneris, Captain of the Colony in command at the Beautiful river, to fall back on Niagara with about three thousand men that he ought to have. Chevalier de la Corne another Colonial Captain, was likewise detached with 1500 men to guard the upper end of the rapids near La Présentation on Lake Ontario. M. de Bourlamarque, a Brigadier of Infantry, was entrusted with the defence of Carillon with 500 men who were to be sustained by 1,200 others that were at Fort St. John at the outlet of Lake Champlain, under the orders of M. Rigault de Vaudreuil, exclusive of the Indians commanded by M. de la Corne de Chapte. The Marquis de Vaudreuil having thus made all his arrangements for the Upper part of Canada, and determined the operations for the defence of Montreal which he confided to M. de Levy, Major-General (*Maréchal de Camp*), sent his orders to the Marquis de Montcalm at Quebec, to accelerate all the arrangements he had a long time before concluded on, to oppose the powerful efforts of the enemy. Three days afterwards he repaired in person to the Capital.

Whilst he was engaged with M. Bigot, the Intendant of the Colony, in distributing the feeble resources of the country and in making sure of the subsistence in all the governments, in accordance with the plan of arrangement concluded on by that Intendant, who on his side was occupied with the management of the provisions, the means of procuring them and establishing dépôts useful and certain under all events, those parts of the town which remained open were closed by stockades; new batteries were erected on the Palace wharves and on the construction at Cul de Sac. Cannon was also placed on the top of the hill leading from the Lower to the Upper town, and a small [camp] was formed of the 5 battalions of troops of the line which happened to be convenient, of about 200 men of the Colonial troops and of the Militia and other Canadian farmers who assembled with so much activity and zeal that a corps was immediately organized of 11 @ 12 thousand men which was stationed at Beauport to oppose any landing and be there in a position to aid the town. An intrenchment was erected at the same time from the Falls of Montmorenci to Quebec; communicating forts were

<sup>1</sup> Sic. Qu., Vauchin. — Ed.



added throughout, and a troop of cavalry of 150 men, organized under the command of M. de la Rochebaucourt. M. de Fiedmont,<sup>1</sup> Captain of Artillery, furnished the plan of 12 large wooden canoes on which a twelve-pounder was to be mounted, and the construction was completed with that of 4 bomb-ketches which carried an 18-pounder, besides a floating battery worked by sails and carrying 12 pieces of cannon, two of which were 24's. A quantity of rafts were constructed loaded with fireworks, to set fire to the enemy's ships, independent of the fire ships; at the mouth of the Little river, were grounded two dismasted vessels on which again were erected batteries to oppose a landing.

In the night of the 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of May, the beacons announcing the enemy, were lighted at Point Levy and the guns of the town repeated the signal. On the same day Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aules and Pleine, Canadians, posted at St. Barnabée to observe what was passing in the river, sent word to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that they had seen 14 English men-of-war and transports. This was, in fact, the enemy's van under the command of Admiral Burel<sup>2</sup> destined to intercept the succors we were expecting from France. On receiving this news, vigilance was redoubled at Isle aux Coudres and along the South shore below Quebec, from which the women and children and cattle were removed into the more distant concessions, and Captain de Léry, of the Colonials, intrusted with these operations, was also directed to order the farmers capable of bearing arms, to hold themselves in readiness to repair to Quebec on receiving notice to that effect from the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Some days after, the arrival was confirmed. Some troops landed and formed a camp there. That island had been evacuated by the farmers, whose property the enemy did not injure, walking about very quietly and in the fullest security, which emboldened some Canadians, settled at St. Paul's bay, who crossed over, lay in ambush in the woods, and took three prisoners, among whom was Admiral Burel's grandson. The Indians sent thither under the command of M. de Niverville, dared not do the like, no matter what invitation that officer extended to them, for fear of being surrounded. The English, on their side, were taking advantage of every movement, and lost no time in sending barges to sound and lay down buoys in the channel of the Traverse, through which they passed some of their ships at once. 'Twas then that we learned that the enemy received additional reinforcements and had already collected about 30 vessels of every description.

M. de Courtemanche set out for the Island of Orleans with a detachment of 600 men, Canadians and Indians; the latter had some bark canoes belonging to their comrades, which attacked 7 English barges, and the firing was very brisk on both sides, without the loss of a

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* The name is M. Iacan de Piedmont in *Collections Quebec Literary and Historical Society*, 1838, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Vice-Admiral PHILIP DURELL was commissioned Captain in the Royal Navy 6th February, 1742. In 1743 he commanded the *Eltham*, 40, in the attack on Porto Cavallo, Venezuela; in 1744, was attached to Sir John Norris' fleet on the Home station, and subsequently to the Leeward island fleet under Sir Peter Warren, and in April, 1745, the *Eltham*, Captain Durell, joined the fleet which was to reduce Cape Breton. In 1747 he commanded the *Chester*, 50, and was attached to Commodore Fox's squadron which chased Admiral Bois de la Mothe's fleet; in August, of the same year, he commanded the *Gloucester*, 50, in the fleet under Hawke which attacked the French Admiral Létendur; in 1748, he served again under Hawke; in 1755, he commanded the *Terrible*, 74; and in 1756, the *Trident*, 64, in the expedition under the unfortunate Byng. Early in 1758, Commodore Durell was dispatched to Halifax in the *Princess Amelia*, 80, to expedite the embarkation of the army against Louisbourg; and on the reduction of that place was promoted to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue, and left in command of the North American station. In February, 1759, he became Rear-Admiral of the Red, and accompanied the expedition against Quebec, still in command of the *Princess Amelia*. For his conduct on that occasion, he received the thanks of Parliament, and in 1762 was promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the Blue. After the peace he was not in commission until 1766, when he was sent in the *Launceston*, 44, to relieve Lord Colville in the command of the North American station at Halifax. He died in this command soon after his arrival. *Beatson*. — Ed.



single man on our part. We carried off one of these barges, on board of which were 8 Englishmen who were taken to Quebec, and reported that the landing party consisted of 1,500 men.

On the following morning, M. le Mercier, commandant of the artillery, went to the Island of Orleans with some field pieces of the calibre of eights, with which he discharged red hot shot at the enemy anchored at St. Francis, but neither his shot nor that which the English returned had any effect.

From the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> of June. A courier sent by M. Aubert, came to announce that the remainder of the English fleet, amounting to about 15 sail, was at St. Barnabé. This last division, joined to the first, formed then a fleet of 160 vessels. A few days after, some anchored at Isle aux Coudres, others immediately passed the Traverse, and positive intelligence was received that M. de Saunders commanded it, and that General Wolf was coming at the head of a landing force of 10 thousand men. No other information could be obtained from prisoners and deserters.

27<sup>th</sup> June. At 6 o'clock in the morning three men-of-war appeared within sight of Quebec, and anchored there to facilitate the operation of a frigate which came to take soundings along the Island of Orleans, after which the whole three disappeared, and the wind from the northeast having freshened considerably, in the afternoon, some of the enemy's transports were cast ashore. On the same day were seen from the village of Beaumont, 120 or 130 sail along the Island of Orleans, but among these were few men-of-war and merely some frigates, to cover the landing which was effected at noon on that island. The enemy formed in good order and encamped on the heights of St. Laurent to the number of eight thousand men, according to the judgment of M. de Courtemanche, who was obliged to cross to Beaupré in order to effect his retreat, as he was not able to oppose such a force with his small detachment. There was question of burning that fleet, if possible, and an attempt was made to do so in the course of the night between the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>, by sending six fire ships against it, which did not effect any good; some were pushed beyond the current and stranded, the others caught fire too soon, and burned even in sight of Quebec. A man named Dubois, captain of one of these fire ships, and his mate, perished in the flames. Only one of these vessels approached the fleet, whose armed boats turned it aside although on fire. Rafts would have immediately taken its place, had not the strong northeast wind which was blowing, driven them ashore near the Falls of Montmorency, where they were wrecked.

30<sup>th</sup> Learned that the enemy had landed at Beaumont, a parish below Point Levy; that they had killed a man there and taken one or two prisoners, and that the officers and farmers who were still in that parish, had been obliged to retreat precipitately into the woods. It was ascertained also, the same morning, that the enemy were advancing by land even to Point Levy. They had anchored 15 ships there to facilitate another descent which they effected in the afternoon. Thereupon Sieur Charest, a farmer and Captain of Militia, asked permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to proceed with some people to that point, of which he is the Seigneur, to oppose the enemy's operations. He set out about 2 o'clock in the afternoon with 15 men, who were joined by other farmers of the Point, where the English had already posted 1,500 men around the church. Sieur de Charest had then 60, who fired until evening and killed 40 or 50 men on the English, without having one wounded. About 4 o'clock, the Marquis de Vaudreuil sent him some Indians, whom it was impossible to unite with that party. They scattered through the woods and took one prisoner, who announced a general descent on the following night. Whereupon 'twas resolved not to send any more men to Point Levy,



and to recall *Sieur Charest*, who returned to Quebec at 10 o'clock at night, and left behind him some stragglers who still kept firing at the enemy the entire night.

Under the impression that the English would make the general descent at Beauport, and that 'twas there the fate of the Colony was to be decided, the Marquises de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm and *M. Bigot*, the Intendant, proceeded that night, with the principal military officers and others, to the camp that had been formed at Beauport. The command of the town was left to *M. de Ramezay*, the King's Lieutenant, with a garrison of 1,500 Regulars, Militia and the crews of the ships destined to serve the batteries.

The Beauport camp was fixed a quarter of a league above the falls of Montmorency, and *M. de Levy*, *Maréchal de Camp*, commanded it. Headquarters were established at La Canardière, whence the Marquises de Vaudreuil and Montcalm transmitted their orders to all the posts.

1<sup>st</sup> of July. *M. de Levy* arrived at Quebec which he reached through the woods. He came out by the Arlaca road, a little above Point Levy. At 10 o'clock, 2 frigates advanced into the basin where they anchored, and were fired at from bomb-ketches which had approached to drive them away.

On the same day, *Sieur Charest* was sent back to Point Levy to ascertain if the English had landed any artillery there, but could not approach sufficiently close to find out.

2<sup>nd</sup> The same Militia officer was again at that point at 4 o'clock in the morning; he returned at noon, and said that the enemy's camp covered nine *arpens* of ground in width by 12 in depth, below the church, and that no artillery was to be seen there as yet, although he approached pretty close. A proclamation was brought in the same day, which General Wolf had caused to be affixed to the door of the church of Beaumont; 'twill be found at the end of this Narrative. In the afternoon of that day, a detachment of the enemy, about 600 strong, made its appearance on the heights which crown the shore in front of the castle of Quebec; the cannon of the town fired on it, and about 7 o'clock in the evening, that troop defiled to the camp which the English had formed near the church of Point Levy.

The sight of that camp and the mounted cannon which were already discernable from the Beauport shore, excited such a sensation among the Canadian farmers, whose bravery is so well known, that they met together, in a large number, on the 3rd, and demanded permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to send 4 or 5 thousand men to the South shore, to attack the English camp; but this manœuvre was disapproved by the Marquis de Montcalm, who had assumed, with the Governor-General, the defence of Canada, on the Quebec side.

4<sup>th</sup> *M. de Niverville*, a Colonial officer, was detached, with about 200 Canadians and Indians, to encamp at Sillery, one league above Quebec, and at noon the enemy sent a boat, with a white flag, to bear a letter to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, wherein the Admiral demanded intelligence of the three Englishmen taken at Isle aux Coudres, and advised him that he should send in some Acadian women, taken in the river. *M. le Mercier* was directed to convey the answer, and the day following the Acadians were sent in, who reported that the enemy had landed some mortars at Point Levy, and that they had a landing force of only ten thousand men. They were seen, daily, promenading, with assurance, around the houses at Point Levy, although the farmers who had retired into the woods harassed them continually, and killed some every day, whenever they strayed from the detachment.

6<sup>th</sup> A barge came, in the morning, to sound the channel North of the Orleans church, opposite coming the camp occupied by *M. de Levy*, who had assumed the command thereof, since his

down from Montreal. That General detached some Indians in canoes, who pursued them as far as the Island of Orleans, where they forced 200 Scotch Highlanders to retreat, with the loss of 10 men. They also left two of their men there and reëmbarked in their canoes, after having killed an Englishman whom they had taken, because they were closely pursued by a strong detachment which had come to the assistance of the Highlanders, so that two of those Indians, not being able to reëmbark as soon as the rest, threw themselves into the water and swam to the camp.

The floating battery which had been anchored opposite, fired, about 5 o'clock in the evening, some shot at the frigate which had come into the basin and was supported by the fire from the ships, but they did not do much harm to that battery, whence six bomb-ketches and canoes of M. de Fiedmont's pattern, approached to cannonade the frigates, but were briskly answered from the guns of the ships, and, although the English have pretended that they did not suffer from our fire, the frigates dropped down a little towards the Island of Orleans.

On the following night, a French prisoner escaped from the ships by swimming, and made pretty nearly the same report as the Acadian women, except that he announced that the English were expecting a reinforcement of six thousand men, in default of which they were proposing to substitute four thousand sailors, and that they had resolved on an attack within three days.

8<sup>th</sup> The enemy erected batteries on the south side, opposite the Castle of Quebec, and worked at the same time at a redoubt a little above, to cover themselves. Some shell and shot were fired at these workmen, who appeared to suffer, but did not abandon their occupation, and, at the same time, and for several hours, the ships cannonaded M. de Levy's camp considerably. The galiots also bombarded that quarter, and, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, 30 barges or boats repaired to two vessels which were anchored pretty near the shore at Ange Gardien, which created the impression that that place had been selected for a descent. The galiots commenced the bombardment again at 8 o'clock at night until the next day. They threw several shells into the camp; only one man, however, was very slightly wounded.

9<sup>th</sup> M. de Levy broke up his camp and retired into the intrenchments below, near the beach. In the afternoon the enemy continued bombarding, to cover a descent effected at Ange Gardien and lower down. At the breaking of that day, their camp at Point Levy and the Island of Orleans was noticed to be greatly diminished, which created an apprehension that they had made a considerable descent at Côte de Beaupré. A hundred Canadians and Indians were detached on a scout, who went down beyond the falls of Montmorency, where they were surprised by the enemy's van-guard, supported by a large boat, on which the Indians imprudently fired several volleys. They pretended to have killed 150 men, and that they had only 15 killed or wounded. Two Canadians and the interpreter of those Indians were killed. The enemy had already posted about five thousand men, with two pieces of cannon on the heights of Ange Gardien, pretty near the Falls of Montmorency.

On the afternoon of the same day a mortar was conveyed to Beauport, and the ships were bombarded and obliged to sheer off out of range.

10<sup>th</sup> The batteries of the town reopened their fire on the workmen employed at Lauzon, and on the batteries begun by the English on the 8<sup>th</sup>. Shells were also thrown at them which appeared to be well aimed and fell in their midst. A man deserted from them that day who crossed over to Quebec and reported that 6 14-inch mortars and 8 32-pounders would be ready that night or, at latest, the next morning, to fire on the town; that 6,000 or 6,500 men



had landed at Beaupré ; that no more than 1,000 were remaining at the camp at Point Levy and the batteries connected therewith ; and, finally, that the officers were reporting throughout the army that they had lost only 45 men in the affair of the previous evening near the Falls of Montmorency, notwithstanding the Indians brought in the following morning 60 scalps taken during that action.

11<sup>th</sup> A second French prisoner escaped from the English army. It is five days since he left the Island of Orleans. Deserters reported that they were fortifying their camp on the heights of Ange Gardien with men and batteries. Throughout the whole of this day the enemy was seen transporting artillery to the battery which was to cannonade the town in front. Shell and shot were discharged on the teamsters and workmen. They must certainly have lost a great number of people this day, and a prisoner since reported that one shell alone had killed 17 men. The Canadians, always full of ardor and uneasy at seeing the progress of the enemy's works, renewed their representations to the Marquis de Vaudreuil for permission to form a strong detachment, with which they proposed to cross to Point Levy and destroy the enemy's works. The General, who was acquainted with the intrepidity of the farmers, consented, notwithstanding the remonstrances which reached him from other quarters, and promised to send that detachment under the orders of Major Dumas of the Colonial troops.

In the night of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, four Sauter Indians penetrated to the enemy's camp at Ange Gardien and killed two men ; but one of themselves was wounded. Some movements occurred thereupon among the van-guard of the English which approached towards those we had posted, under the command of Captain de Repentigny, of the Colonials, on the hill near the Falls of Montmorency to guard the pass, who thereupon fired at, and thus stopped, them. He killed 60 of their men and lost only two Canadians.

12<sup>th</sup> M. Dumas, who commanded the detachment designed to proceed to Point Levy, conducted it to Cap Rouge, above Quebec, to be prepared to cross during the night to the South shore and to surprise the enemy next morning at break of day. This detachment was composed of 150 Regulars commanded by Captain Dugla, of the regiment of Languedoc, of some soldiers of the Colony, of about 300 Canadians from the camp at Beauport and of a great part of the Militia of the town who volunteered, so that M. Dumas left with nearly 1,200 men. He would have had a larger number had all those who earnestly entreated been allowed to go. Even some of the Magistrates readily offered to accompany the detachment.

On the same day the English were seen working at an intrenchment on the heights of Point Levy, but they were not visible except from the hill of the destroyed citadel, because of the wood between them and the town. Some ships wanting to get closer to each other in the basin about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the bomb-ketches cannonaded, the ships returned the fire, but nothing of interest resulted. At nine o'clock the English unmasked the gun and mortar batteries they had erected against the town on the South shore ; they united their fire with that of the gunboats, and in the course of that first night, the town received upwards of 200 shell which inflicted considerable damage.

13<sup>th</sup> M. Dumas brought back the detachment he had conducted to the South shore, because in the darkness of the preceding night some mistakes had been committed by the sentinels, which led to such serious errors that the Canadians fired too precipitately and having discovered themselves, his project aborted.

14<sup>th</sup> The English discharged several rounds of artillery from the camp at Ange Gardien on that of M. de Levy, and at 5 o'clock in the evening recommenced their bombardment, which



had slackened since the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup> and it has since continued without intermission and with very great vigor, up to the 17<sup>th</sup> September. On the morning of the same day, four bomb-ketches advanced on some boats which were conveying troops and ammunition from the ships to the camp at Ange Gardien, but 15 barges attacked them and were obliged to retreat. The bomb-ketches were in their turn forced to the same manœuvre by the fire from the ships and camp.

16<sup>th</sup> A shell set fire to a house on the hill leading from the Lower to the Upper town, and nine houses were burnt in this first conflagration.

17<sup>th</sup> Some Indians with three Canadians who had advanced near the enemy at Ange Gardien, led 100 English into an ambush, by making the three Canadians only approach the camp, who pretended to fly, and engaged with the small detachment of the enemy which they saw coming out, and the Indians perceiving it within range, fired a volley, killed several English and took three prisoners. M. de Levy was terribly exercised this night by the mortars and batteries erected on the borders of the Falls of Montmorency. He had only 58 men killed, however.

18<sup>th</sup> A man-of-war with three ships and two bateaux passed in the night in front of the town, and anchored half a league above. They sent afterwards to set fire to a fire-raft which was in the Ance des foulons, and endeavored to break up by cannon-shot the rafts that were seen in that cove, lying on the beach, but did not succeed. M. Dumas marched immediately with 500 men to oppose the landing which was to be apprehended at that place. That detachment was reinforced next morning and on the following day. The greater part of the cavalry also proceeded thither; finally, about 900 men were assembled there. M. Dumas divided them by platoons in all the coves from Quebec as far as Cap Rouge, in which the enemy could land.

19<sup>th</sup> Captain Deboishebert, of the Colony, who was bringing back 100 men from Acadia, reported that about 30 vessels were still in the river, and from that time no further intelligence could be had of what reinforcements the enemy received, but they have acknowledged since, that during the course of the campaign, they had got 300 vessels into the river, 22 of which were large men-of-war, several frigates and four bomb-ketches. On the same day, a mortar and some 18-pounders were conveyed to Samos,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a league from the town; batteries were erected there, which fired before night on the man-of-war that had come to anchor opposite L'Ance du foulon, which was forced to sheer off.

21<sup>st</sup> At day-break the English landed 400 men at Point aux trembles, 7 leagues above Quebec, who rummaged the houses, from which they took nearly 200 women prisoners, the majority of whom had gone thither from Quebec for safety. Some men also were found there. They have since said, that the object of this descent was to obtain information as to the real condition of Canada, either from the farmers' papers or by intercepting some letters, but that the fire which some Indians had opened on them had determined them to secure the women, who, in other respects, were treated politely and sent back the next day to Quebec under a flag. Two Canadians were killed, however, on occasion of that descent; two others were wounded; and it has not been ascertained how many English were killed. They admitted but three killed, one of whom was a Captain of Grenadiers.

22<sup>nd</sup> The bombardment was very brisk throughout the night, and a shell caused a fire in the vicinity of the Cathedral, which was burnt, together with 16 private houses.

23<sup>rd</sup> A flag brought some effects belonging to the ladies taken at Point aux trembles, and two frigates attempted at day-break to pass opposite the town, but the fire from the batteries made them turn back and resume their anchorage.



25<sup>th</sup> The vessels anchored below Quebec sent some barges to attack the bomb-ketches which had been stationed along shore at that side, and took two of them that the crew had abandoned; the remainder were saved by the intrepidity of fifteen Canadians, who freed them by the fire of their musketry, and killed seven of the English.

26<sup>th</sup> This morning a patrol of the enemy approached the Falls of Montmorency and was attacked by M. de Repentigny, at the head of 200 men, whilst the Indians were trying to harass it, but an entire column came to the aid of that patrol, turned and surrounded M. de Repentigny's men. He, however, effected his retreat in very good order; he had only 12 men killed or wounded, and the Indians assure that the enemy had lost more than 150. On the same day, Sieur Lesris, an officer of Militia, who had been on a scout on the Point Levy side, fell in with a detachment of 7 Englishmen; killed four of them, and captured the other three prisoners, although he himself was severely wounded; he had only one man killed. These prisoners stated that the English had entered St. Henry, one of the parishes in the concessions of Point Levy; had captured the Priest of that point, who had retired to St. Henry, 54 men capable of bearing arms, 64 women and 169 children, whom they had conveyed on board a ship, after having removed a large number of cattle.

27<sup>th</sup> Sieur Courval, a Canadian, who had given these last years proofs of bravery, and was in command of one of the ships of Sieur Kanyon's convoy, conducted in the course of the night, 72 rafts freighted with fireworks, against the enemy's fleet; he performed that duty like a brave man, but its success did not correspond with his zeal, although he did not set fire to the rafts until within musket range of the first ship, for only three transports were burnt, as the barges had very adroitly grappled the rafts, and Sieur Courval being hotly pursued, owed his safety only to the assistance which the bomb-boats afforded him.

29<sup>th</sup> Sieur Charest, who had passed some days before at Point Levy, brought back a new proclamation which General Wolf had had affixed to the door of the church at St. Henry. It will be found at the end of this narrative. It was intended to intimidate the farmers and threatened them with calamities which they have only too well experienced since; for up to the day Quebec capitulated, the enemy directed their efforts to lay waste the surrounding country, and have each day burned houses or barns at Côte de Beaupré, and in that neighborhood, on the Island of Orleans and on the south shore. The ravages they have committed in the rural districts are immense; but it is singular that, carrying everywhere fire and destruction, they should have spared the churches of those parts, and almost nothing else.

31<sup>st</sup> At 10 o'clock in the morning, two men-of-war ran ashore, with all sails set, above M. de Levy's camp, which they cannonaded very briskly, whilst 50 pieces of ordnance ranged along the Falls of Montmorency, thundered at it also. We had, however, only 30 men killed or wounded by cannon shot or grenades. The enemy wished, under cover of that fire, to favor a new descent for which they had a quantity of bateaux and barges alongside their ships. They came off about five o'clock in the evening and made towards the two vessels that had stranded in the morning, and landed 2,000 men who marched immediately, in order of battle, against M. de Levy's camp. At the same moment another body of 5,000 forded below the Falls of Montmorency. The first platoon reached the 1<sup>st</sup> of our redoubts below M. de Levy's intrenchments, who was preparing to receive them, when the Marquis de Montcalm directed him to allow the enemy to advance, in order, as he said, to kill the more of them. But the Canadians could not wait for more than the first line; they were carried away by the desire to attack the enemy; the Montreal Militia especially were advancing at the same time that

they were demanding permission to do so, and under M. de Levy's orders charged that troop with so much bravery that it retired precipitately and beat a retreat. One part reëmbarked in the barges, and the other joined the second platoon of 5 thousand men which had remained in the order of battle and spectators of the action at the crossing of the Falls of Montmorency, whence they retired to the camp. The crews of the stranded ships set them on fire and returned to the fleet in their boats. It has been ascertained that the enemy lost, that day, 700 men killed or wounded, all of whom they removed except 68 dead bodies, which were abandoned at the foot of that redoubt with some wounded, who were removed to the general hospital. Among the latter was a Captain of the Royal American regiment, who died of his wounds some days after.<sup>1</sup>

August 1<sup>st</sup> The Marquis de Montcalm sent men to visit the hulls of the burnt ships, who found some artillery in good condition on board, and removed a portion of the tools of every description fit for working at intrenchments.

2<sup>nd</sup> There was a few hours' suspension of hostilities to ask for the clothes belonging to the Captain of the Royal Americans, who was a prisoner.

4<sup>th</sup> The English demanded another to send those effects and the

5<sup>th</sup> There was a third to communicate the Marquis de Vaudreuil's answers to two letters which he had received from Admiral Saunder and General Wolff. That of the former was very courteous, but the General dwelt severely on the pretended cruelties committed by the Indians and urged the Marquis strongly not to employ those Savages, as he termed them, in the present war. Many of the English embraced this opportunity to visit Quebec and some of the French also visited the enemy.

6<sup>th</sup> There was an alarm through the night in the town, on occasion of some barges which the sentinels had seen defiling, and it was confirmed about mid-day by a courier from Cap Rouge who reported that a great many of them were along the South shore a league and a half from Quebec. This movement caused reinforcements to be sent to the guards posted at that quarter, which had been reduced since the return of M. Dumas, who had been replaced by M. de Bougainville.

7<sup>th</sup> Intelligence was received that the ships which had passed before the town, had gone with several barges as far as Point aux trembles.

8<sup>th</sup> The barges

[*The remainder of this Document is wanting.*]

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*Canada Campaign from the 1st of June to the 15th September, 1759.<sup>2</sup>*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Despite of opinions on all sides, there was perfect security throughout the winter in Canada for Quebec on account of the dangers of the River St. Lawrence.

<sup>1</sup> Captain DAVID OUCHTERLONY was commissioned Lieutenant in the 60th foot on the 7th February, 1756. He was afterwards promoted to a company. He died of his wounds on the 23rd August, 1759. *Knox*, II., 31. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> See *post*, p. 1009, note.



20<sup>th</sup> May. News from Quebec of an English fleet in the river; general alarm; farmers ordered to abandon their houses between Quebec and St. Barnabée; the women to retire into the woods; the men to hasten to the Capital.

30<sup>th</sup> May. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil, de Montcalm and de Levis with five battalions and all the Militia of the Colony formed a junction at Quebec; these, joined to the sailors and inhabitants of the town, composed about 15,000 men.

Since the first of May, M. de Bourlamaque marched with three battalions and the Militia, to Carillon with orders to blow up that post and Fort St. Frederic on the approach of the English army, to retire to Isle aux Noix near St. John and intrench himself there; which was done in the fore part of August.

At the same time some pickets and Militia were sent to Niagara with M. Pouchot who was to take the command of that fort. About the middle of July, it was besieged and taken by the English after they had defeated the reinforcement brought by M. de Lignery. The English general was killed.

Throughout the whole of June the English fleet arrived in succession with the land forces who took up a position at Isle aux Coudres, the Island of Orleans and at Point Levy, without any opposition, although Indians and Canadians had been sent to all those places to harass them, but returned always without firing a shot.

Throughout the same month councils on councils were held at Quebec. It was resolved to arm eight vessels as fire ships, to build gun-boats; the latter were of some advantage.

Again, at the same time, it was resolved to encamp the entire army at Beauport, to fortify the shore by redoubts and intrenchments, and to abandon the defence of the town to the sailors, who were to man the guns, consisting of more than 2,000 cannon, and to the citizens, who were formed into companies to mount guard.

Between the tenth and eleventh of July, at night, the English army, which before had been seen encamped partly on the Island of Orleans, partly at Point Levis, landed below the Falls of Montmorency, where they fortified a camp with several redoubts, in which they placed 50 cannon and a number of mortars; with these they kept up a fire, day and night, on the left wing of our army, which they obliged to break up camp, and where nothing was afterwards stationed but strong guards.

In the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> they unmasked a battery at Point Levy, and some days after several others of heavy guns and mortars, which did not cease firing on the town, day nor night, until the capitulation; that is to say, for 64 days.

The month of July was but one continual cannonade from the enemy's batteries on our camp and on the town, and there were several fires at different times which consumed nearly 200 houses.

31<sup>st</sup> July. The enemy stationed two ships in front of the Falls which kept up a cannonading from noon until 4 o'clock, when the enemy formed into column, attacked our redoubts, carried the first, but were forced by the second which commanded it, to retire with the loss of 4 or 500 men, and their General wounded.

During that time and throughout the month of August, the enemy, under cover of the night, sent above Quebec at different times, as many as 20 ships of all sizes, whereby our force was divided through fear of a landing above Quebec; and protected by those ships, burnt the baggage of the troops at Dechambeau, 14 leagues above Quebec, and seriously impeded the arrival of the provisions which were coming from Montreal. All the merchantmen and the

King's frigate were sent three leagues farther up. M. de Vainlair<sup>1</sup> captain of fire ships, who commanded them, proposed very useful plans, which were not heeded. Provisions began to fall short; we were about to be conquered by famine. *All those who had specie [hoarded] were invited to give it for Bills of Exchange at sight on the Intendant's bankers; with that, wheat was obtained from the farmers; beef was never wanting, the enemy had some of ours at discretion, but this the farmers could not hide as they did their wheat.*

On the first of September the English set fire to all the settlements below Montmorency and on the Island of Orleans and burned at the same time their camp which they evacuated on the third, and had their army conveyed back to Point Levy; one would have supposed they were thinking of going away, but on the night of the eighth and ninth, they sent some more ships above Quebec, on board which they put in the day time three or four thousand men. M. de Bougainville who guarded that side, was reinforced by the élite of the troops and had nearly four thousand men between Quebec and Cap Rouge (three leagues). Confidence prevailed by reason of the nature of the bank which was very lofty, precipitous and wooded. The design of the enemy was, it was supposed, to go and lay waste the settlements previous to retreating. At the foot of the rampart in a place called *L'ance des meres*, the acclivity was bare of wood, but appeared so difficult and high, that 'twas thought useless to construct a redoubt there, and a mere guard of 30 or 40 men was stationed there merely to give an alarm.

It was at that spot that the enemy landed at four o'clock on the morning of the 13<sup>th</sup>, surprised the guard asleep, gained the heights to the number of more than four thousand and there formed in order of battle before eight o'clock. The entire camp of Beauport arrived there at the same hour. The Marquis de Montcalm formed three columns, attacked, and the fate of Quebec was decided by nine o'clock. On the side of the enemy, the General was killed, his second dangerously wounded; on ours, the second General killed on the field and the Marquis de Montcalm mortally wounded so that he survived only 12 hours. This misfortune precipitated a general flight and desertion; no one was willing to recognize any longer either authority or commander. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, carried away by the torrent, waited only for the night to withdraw, abandoning all the baggage and the town with only three days' provisions.

The loss on our part was 5 or 600 killed or wounded; nearly as many on the side of the English. The town capitulated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September and the garrison not prisoners, had all the honors of war.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* But quere, Vauclain! M. de VAUCLAIN, Lieutenant in the navy, commanded the naval forces. He was a descendant of one Vauclain of Yvetaux, who had been preceptor of Louis the thirteenth; his family was rich and opulent, yet he had never commanded anything but merchantmen, but had so distinguished himself that the minister had cast his eyes on him in preference to all others to confer on him a particular command, and engaged him to proceed to Canada where he commanded the frigate *Atalante*. *Memoires sur le Canada in Collections of Quebec Literary and Historical Society, 1888, pp. 138, 181. — Ed.*



*M. de Vaudreuil's Instructions to M. de Ramezay.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Copy of the Memoir to serve as Instruction to M. de Ramezay, Commandant at Quebec, sent by the Marquis de Vaudreuil on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September at nine o'clock at night.

The position which the enemy occupies above Quebec, notwithstanding the powerful efforts we have just made to dislodge him, becoming every moment still more inaccessible, in consequence of the intrenchments he has erected, joined to the check we have received and to the want of provisions which fail us entirely, places us in the absolute necessity of making our retreat, no other alternative being left to maintain ourselves in the Colony.

We advise M<sup>r</sup> de Ramezay, that he is not to wait for the enemy carrying the town by assault; therefore, as soon as he shall fail of provisions, he is to hoist the white flag and send the most capable and intelligent officer of his garrison to propose its capitulation agreeably to the subjoined articles, which we support by our observations in the margin.

## ARTICLE FIRST.

To demand the honors of war for his garrison, and that it shall be sent back to the army in safety by the shortest route [To this article has been added] with arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them.

## OBSERVATIONS.

*Note.* This is not the time to insist; you must consent to be prisoners of war, in order to be conveyed, officers, soldiers and sailors, to France, on condition of not serving there until exchanged.

## TERMS GRANTED.

The garrison of the town, composed of the land forces, Marines and sailors, shall march out of the town with arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, with two pieces of French cannon, and twelve rounds for each piece, and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, to be landed at the first port in France.

## ARTICLE SECOND.

That the inhabitants shall be preserved in the possession of their houses, goods, effects and privileges.

Should the enemy make any difficulty in consenting, let there be added to the first article:—until the possession of Canada be determined by a Treaty of Peace; and give him to understand that this is for the interest of his B. M.

Granted, on laying down their arms.

## ARTICLE THREE.

That the inhabitants shall not be molested for having borne arms in the defence of the town, for as much as they were compelled thereto, and

In case his Majesty should desire to keep it, if the General demands the disarming of the inhabitants, and that they shall promise not

Granted.

ARTICLES.	OBSERVATIONS.	TERMS GRANTED.
the inhabitants of the Colonies of both Crowns equally serve as Militia.	to serve any more against his B. M., to consent thereto.	
ARTICLE FOUR.		
That the effects of the absent officers and inhabitants shall not be touched.	Ought to be granted.	Granted.
ARTICLE FIVE.		
That the inhabitants shall not be removed nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition be settled by a definite treaty between his most C. M. and his B. M.	Ought to be granted.	Granted.
ARTICLE SIX.		
That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion shall be maintained; that safeguards shall be granted to the houses of the clergy, friars and nuns, particularly to his Lordship, the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec freely, and with that decency which his state and the sacred offices of the C. A. and R. religion require, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between his most C. M. and his B. M.	Prove that it is for his B. M.'s interest, in case Canada should remain his, and that in Europe, in all the conquests the different Sovereigns make, they alter the exercise of religion only in so far as those conquests remain theirs.	Free exercise of the Roman religion is granted; safeguards are granted to all religious performances <sup>1</sup> as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and decently, the functions of his office whenever they shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between his B. M. and his most C. M.
ARTICLE SEVEN.		
That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out.	Should the enemy refuse the inventory, the article is not to be disputed.	Granted.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* — Ed.



## ARTICLE EIGHT.

That the sick and wounded, the commissaries, chaplains, physicians, surgeons, apothecaries and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6<sup>th</sup> of February, 1759, settled between their most C. and B. M.'s.

## OBSERVATIONS.

A necessary article, and to be insisted on, even though the garrison surrender themselves prisoners of war.

## TERMS GRANTED.

Granted.

## ARTICLE NINE.

That, before the delivering up the gate and entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safeguards upon the churches, convents and principal habitations.

Granted.

## ARTICLE TEN.

That the King's Lieutenant, commanding in the town of Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, of the surrender of the place, as also that that General may send advice thereof to the French Ministry.

Granted

## ARTICLE ELEVEN.

That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being subject to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations.

The English General will, perhaps, consider this article useless; he must be told modestly that it is a fitting precaution to obviate all difficulties; as for the rest, if he object, it is not an article to insist on.

Granted.

Done at our Head Quarters,  
the 13<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

The present treaty has been made and executed in duplicate between us, at the Camp before Quebec, the 18<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed), CHAS. SAUNDERS. (Signed), GEO. TOWNSHEND.  
(Signed), DE RAMEZAY.

*Minute of the Council of War previous to the Surrender of Quebec.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Minute of the Council of War, on the surrender of Quebec, with the signatures and opinions of the members. 15 September, 1759.

This day, the fifteenth of the month of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, M. de Ramezay, Lieutenant for the King in the Government of Quebec, having judged necessary to assemble the Council of war of the principal officers composing his garrison, to deliberate on the means of defending the place of Quebec, bombarded and cannonaded since the twelfth of July last, and invested on the thirteenth of September, after the loss of a battle and the retreat of the army which protected the place; and after having caused to be read the orders of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor-General, it has been verified that this place, little capable of defence, being enclosed partly by a mere palisade, might, with its artillery and warlike stores, hold out, some time, against the efforts of the enemy, if provisions were in sufficient abundance, but the returns produced by the Contractor-General's clerk, and the exact investigations made at the houses of the different private inhabitants of the town, have proved that there are remaining, of all sorts of provisions, only about fifteen or sixteen thousand rations, said rations being reduced one-half, and even to one-fourth, to feed more than six thousand people, whereof two thousand six hundred are women or children, one thousand @ twelve hundred men, in the hospitals, servants or prisoners of war, and two thousand two hundred fighting men, soldiers, Militia or sailors.

After this exposé, M. de Ramezay, President in his quality of Lieutenant for the King in the place, has required Mess<sup>rs</sup> C. de Bernet, Lieutenant-Colonel of Infantry, Chev. Doms Lestangelles, D'aureillan, D'aubrespy, St. Vincent, Parfourne, Bigot, Marcel, Captain of Infantry, Cinge, Pellégrin, Captain of the port, Joannés, Captain-Adjutant of the Regiment of Languedoc, Major of the place, to give their opinions, in writing, in order to decide on the course to be pursued in the present conjuncture, who have voted as follows:

The exposé of the Council of War, and the reasons which have obliged it to be assembled, being considered, I see no other course to be adopted than to endeavor to obtain from the enemy the best capitulation possible. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), PELLEGRIN.

The total want of provisions and the hopelessness of any succor, being considered, my opinion is to surrender the place, and to leave as honorably as we shall be able. Quebec, the 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), D'AILLEBOUT, Captain.



The investment of the place being made; the enemy's batteries on the eve of opening, without any hope of relief, the army which covered us, fallen back, as we can judge by the Marquis de Vaudreuil's Memoir of Instruction to M. de Ramezay, threatened with famine in two days, I am of opinion that it is time to arrange with the enemy to obtain honorable conditions, which would be refused were he aware of the want of provisions to which we are reduced. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), LUSIGNAN, Jun<sup>r</sup>.

To reduce the ration and push the defence of the place to the last extremity. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), FIEDMONT.

After M. de Ramezay's exposé, the sole article of provisions determines me to the opinion, that it is scarcely possible to expect any greater extremity; to endeavor [to obtain] from the enemy the most honorable capitulation possible, such is my advice. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), MARCEL.

The extremity to which the place is reduced for provisions being considered, my opinion is, to demand a capitulation. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), BIGOT.

The reasons above submitted and proved being considered, and after having reduced the garrison of this place to the lowest ration, my advice is to capitulate. 15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed), PARFOURNE.

Having considered the exposé by which we are assembled, the return of the provisions, the quantity of mouths in this place, invested on all sides, I conclude that it is very proper to obtain from our enemies a capitulation as advantageous as possible. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed) ST. VINCENT,

The exposé and the small amount of provisions being considered, I consent to capitulate in the most honorable manner possible. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed) D'AUBRESPY.

The extreme scarcity of provisions which exists, the impossibility of receiving any, and the very bad, dilapidated fortifications, oblige me to vote that there be obtained as soon as possible a capitulation honorable to the King's arms and in which the Regular troops shall be at liberty to join their corps. 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed) D'AUREILLAN.

The small amount of provisions in the place being considered, we ought to endeavor to make an honorable capitulation. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed) DE L'ESTANGCELLES.

On the report that has been snbmitted [to] the Council of war, the scarcity of provisions that prevails, my opinion is to make proposals. 15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed) Chev. DORUS.

Considering the scarcity of provisions which entirely fail us, I am of opinion to capitulate, on condition of obtaining from the English General the most honorable capitulation. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

(Signed), Chev. DE BERNET.

Considering the return of the provisions, which proves that there cannot be more than six or seven days' supply in the place, on reducing the ration to one-fourth, and obliging even the women and children to go out, which could postpone the surrender of the place but a few days, my opinion is, that after having sent from the town a picked detachment of six hundred men, more or less, to join and reinforce the army, the remainder, taken by preference from the Militia of the town and government of Quebec, should capitulate in order to obtain, according to M. de Vaudreuil's instruction, the most honorable conditions. 15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed), JOANNÉS.

Considering the instructions I have received from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the scarcity of provisions, proved by the returns to me furnished, and the searches I have had made, I conclude to endeavor to obtain from the enemy the most honorable capitulation. Quebec, 15<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, 1759.

(Signed), RAMEZAY.

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*M. Bernier to the Duke de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris ]

Quebec, 19<sup>th</sup> September, 1759.

My Lord,

I have the honor to address you, inclosed, the triplicates of my despatches of the spring, which it has been impossible to transmit sooner in consequence of the interruption of all communication between this country and France. I hope they will prove to you my exactitude and zeal for the service. They will depict to you our situation at the time, but everything has again changed unfortunately since that time. You will have learned it, however, from other sources, without my entering into the detail thereof, in the despatch I have now the honor to write you.

The historical summary<sup>1</sup> of our campaign, fortunate in its inception, deplorable in its results, is all that I am permitted to draw up, by the want of time and the immense labor imposed on me in a town unexpectedly captured, and whose garrison is to be embarked in twenty-four hours from its capitulation. What prudence does not perhaps allow me to write, Chevalier de Bernet, and many other officers who are going back to France, will be able to inform you of.

It is impossible for me to furnish, at this moment, the present situation of the Regular troops; they are more weakened by what has fallen into the enemy's hands than by what they might have suffered from sickness.

<sup>1</sup> See Document, *supra*, p. 1001. — Ed.



As for the rest, I cannot be too much satisfied at the facilities afforded me by the English Generals in the duties of my office, and especially relative to the last cartel.

Eventually, when the disorder into which we have fallen, will be dispelled, I shall have the honor to render you an exact account of everything that will relate to my office.

I annex hereunto a return of the killed and wounded on the day of the thirteenth, as exact as it has been possible for me to procure it, having had no communication with our army, which leaves us in ignorance as yet of what was remaining on its side.

I have drawn up the return of the Regular troops taken in the town, which consists of five pickets, making, in all, seventeen officers and 174 soldiers, wherein I have specified the last returns I have drawn up at their respective regiments, and according to which they will have to be paid their allowances in France. I have handed a statement thereof to Chevalier de Bernets, as time does not permit me to make many copies of it, which I shall send by and by.

Chevalier de Bernets, who has distinguished himself in the defence of the place, and on whom the greatest labor has devolved in consequence of the sickness of the titular Commandant, will tell you, my Lord, better than I could write it, the situation in which we are left.

M. Marcel, Aid-de-Camp to the Marquis de Montcalm, honored with the confidence of his General, will be well able to supply what the former may omit.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

BERNIER.

P. S. Having been able to obtain, in time, a copy of the inspection I made of the Regular troops that have embarked, I have the honor to address it to you, exclusive of that handed to M. de Bernets, to serve at the landing of said troops.

---

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Head Quarters, St. Augustin,  
4 leagues from Quebec, 21<sup>st</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1759.

My Lord,

I have the honor to report to you that on the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> @ 13<sup>th</sup> of this month, General Wolf having completed the landing of his army at *l'anse des meres*, carried the heights in the rear of Quebec. The Marquis de Montcalm, who was the first informed of the circumstance, supposed no doubt, that it was only a detachment. That General, carried away by his zeal and great vivacity, dispatched the pickets of the different regiments, a part of the battalions and Canadians, and advanced himself without communicating his arrangements to me.

Immediately on hearing of this movement, my Lord, I feared the action would be brought on before the junction of the corps under the command of M. de Bougainville, composed of the élite of our troops; I ordered the advance of the remainder of our forces, with the exception

of the posts of the line of Beauport and set out immediately to place myself at the head of the army.

The Marquis de Montcalm unfortunately attacked before I had joined him ; he perceived his defeat the same moment, and so great was the disorder among the troops that, forced to retire himself, he was then mortally wounded.

When I arrived, my Lord, on the field of battle, the flight was so general, that I could not stop a soldier. I rallied about 1,000 Canadians, who by their bold front, arrested the enemy in his pursuit.

M. de Ramezai, who was in command at Quebec, surrendered the place on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this month, on the conditions set forth in the capitulation, copy whereof is hereunto annexed. I expected a more protracted resistance, having adopted the surest measures to convey provisions and men into that town. M. de Ramezai was advised of the fact.

I recalled Chev<sup>r</sup> de Levis, after the Marquis de Montcalm was wounded, and immediately upon his arrival, marched with the army confident of relieving Quebec.

I hope, my Lord, that you will please to express to the King the poignant regret I have felt at this occurrence in a moment so unexpected. I beg you to assure his Majesty that I have adopted the best measures not only to preserve his provinces, but even to repair our losses, if circumstances permit.

Chev<sup>r</sup> de Levis reunites the qualities of the excellent General ; I shall agree with him on all points.

I postpone to another time, my Lord, entering into details respecting our position.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and most obedient servant.

Articles of Capitulation demanded of his Excellency the General of his Britannic Majesty's troops, by Mr. de Ramsay, the King's Lieutenant, commanding the upper and lower towns of Quebec, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Lewis.

#### ART. 1st.

Mr. de Ramsay demands the honors of war for his garrison, and that it shall be sent back to the army in safety, and by the shortest route, with arms, baggage, six pieces of brass cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds for each of them.

#### ART. 2.

That the inhabitants shall be preserved in the possession of their houses, goods, effects and privileges.

The Capitulation demanded on the other side, has been granted by his Excellency, General Townshend, brigadier of the armies of his Britannic Majesty in the manner and on the conditions expressed below.

#### 1.

The garrison of the town composed of land forces, Marines and sailors, shall march out of the town with arms and baggage, drums beating, matches lighted, with two pieces of French cannon, and twelve rounds for each piece ; and shall be embarked as conveniently as possible, to be landed at the first port in France.

#### 2.

Granted: Upon their laying down their arms.



## ART. 3.

That the inhabitants shall not be molested for having carried arms in the defence of the town, forasmuch as they were compelled to it, and the inhabitants of the Colonies of both Crowns, equally serve as militia.

Granted.

3.

## ART. 4.

That the effects of the absent officers and citizens shall not be touched.

Granted.

4.

## ART. 5.

That the inhabitants shall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houses, until their condition shall be settled by their Britannic and most Christian Majesties.

Granted.

5.

## ART. 6.

That the exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion shall be maintained; that safe-guards shall be granted to the houses of the Clergy, and to the monasteries and convents, particularly to his Lordship the Bishop of Quebec, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his diocese, desires to reside in it constantly, to exercise his episcopal authority in the town of Quebec, freely and with that decency which his state and the sacred offices of the Roman religion require, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall be decided by a treaty between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.

The free exercise of the Roman religion is granted, likewise safe-guards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper, until the possession of Canada shall have been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Majesties.

6.

## ART. 7.

That the artillery and warlike stores shall be faithfully given up, and that an inventory of them shall be made out.

Granted.

7.

## ART. 8.

That the sick and wounded, the Commissaries, Chaplains, Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and other people employed in the service of the hospitals, shall be treated conformably to the cartel of the 6th of February, 1759, settled between their most Christian and Britannic Majesties.

Granted.

8.

## ART. 9.

9.

That before the delivering up the gate and the entrance of the town to the English troops, their General will be pleased to send some soldiers to be posted as safe-guards upon the churches, convents, and principal habitations.

Granted.

## ART. 10.

10.

That the King's Lieutenant, commanding the town of Quebec, shall be permitted to send information to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General, of the surrender of the place, as also that that General may send advice thereof to the French Ministry.

Granted.

## ART. 11.

11.

That the present capitulation shall be executed according to its form and tenor, without being subject to non-execution under pretence of reprisals, or for the non-execution of any preceding capitulations.

Granted.

The present Treaty has been made and executed in duplicate by and between us, at the Camp before Quebec, this 18th day of September, 1759. Signed and Sealed.

Signed to the Minute:   CHA'S SAUNDERS.  
GEO: TOWNSHEND.  
DE RAMEZAY.

*Chevalier de Montreuil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Camp at Pointe aux tremble, 22<sup>nd</sup> 7<sup>hr</sup>, 1759.

My Lord,

The check we have had the misfortune to experience on the thirteenth of this month on the heights of Quebec, has been occasioned by the surprisal of a post between *l'anse des Mers* and that of the *Foulon*, distant one-eighth of a league to the north above Quebec. A body of about 4,500 English had time to form on the plain before the arrival of our little army encamped at Beauport, from which were detached, the moment the enemy had conveyed several ships above Quebec, five companies of grenadiers, five pickets of troops of the Line of fifty men each, one hundred volunteer soldiers taken from the five battalions, five hundred picked Canadians, and about six hundred selected at random, to be under the orders of M. de Bougainville, who was to observe the enemy's movements above Quebec, where they had sent twenty-two sail, one of which was a fifty gun ship, and several frigates. The *corps d'élite*, the



greater portion of which was at Cap Rouge, two leagues and a half from the spot at which the enemy landed, was notified too late, and arrived at the St. Foix road in presence of the enemy only two hours after the loss of the battle, which commenced at ten o'clock. Had the Marquis de Montcalm postponed one instant marching against the enemy, they could not have been attacked in consequence of the favorable position which they were going to take up, having even begun some intrenchments in their rear. M. de Bougainville's detachment could have had more than time sufficient to come to our relief, had he been notified early, as was to be expected, from the arrangement of his posts from Quebec to Cap Rouge, where he then was in person. The Marquis de Montcalm, not seeing him arrive, could not but think he had not been notified at all, and determined to attack, seeing his destruction certain, if he waited any longer, and the impossibility of dislodging the enemy, should they once become masters of the height called the *Côte d'Abraham*, half a gunshot from Quebec. People will not fail to inform you, as well as the Minister of the Marine, verbally or in writing, that he was too precipitate in attacking; that he ought to wait for M. de Bougainville's reinforcement, and dispute the ground by a running fire. All these means would not have prevented the enemy establishing themselves on *Coste d'Abraham* the moment they would have had time. Although I regarded the Marquis de Montcalm too enlightened to presume on giving him any advice, I, nevertheless, took the liberty to tell him, before he had given the order of battle, that he was not in a condition to attack the enemy, considering the small number of his army. *Note.* That exclusive of the two thousand men detached with M. de Bougainville, eight hundred had been sent to the Upper country, one hundred of whom were soldiers picked from the five battalions present at the affair of the 13<sup>th</sup> of this month. Please permit me, my Lord, to express to you the deep sorrow I feel at this unfortunate event, and the loss of the Marquis de Montcalm. I shall serve with the same zeal and application under Chevalier de Levis' orders. I flatter myself I shall find in him the same kindness the former entertained for me, and I dare make oath before you, that a few days before his death he did me the honor to tell me, that he would request you to be pleased to grant me the rank of Brigadier in preference to all others in this army. You have excited in me the hope, my Lord, by the letter you wrote last year to the Marquis de Montcalm about me, that I should have the good fortune to be invested with that rank in a short time. Honor me, at present, I pray you, with your protection and kindness.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chev. DE MONTREUIL.

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*M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Quebec, October 9<sup>th</sup>, 1759.

My Lord,

Incessantly occupied since the arrival of the English before Quebec, to the day of its surrender, I have not been able to keep an exact journal of what has occurred, therefore, I

shall not send any detail respecting it. I only propose having the honor of rendering you an account of what caused the capitulation concluded on the 18<sup>th</sup> ultimo, by M. de Ramezay, who commanded there, after having held a council of war, at which all the officers of the garrison gave their opinions in writing.

I have also had the honor to inform you in my preceding letter that, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of the same month, we had lost a battle almost under the walls of the town, and several officers of the different battalions who were in that action, among others the Marquis de Montcalm and Brigadier Sennezergue; that the remainder of the army which had escaped, was to fall back on the town, instead of which it took to flight in disorder and confusion, and abandoned that unfortunate town to itself, without any defences or provisions, and without a sufficient number of men capable of defending it, as you have been able to judge, my Lord, by the detail thereof I had the honor impartially to communicate to you. But, as my letter might have been intercepted, permit me to repeat to you the detail.

After the battle of the 13<sup>th</sup>, the Marquis de Vaudreuil sent word to the Commandant to hold out, as he was about to send him some relief of every description. This Commandant was accordingly induced to postpone the capitulation, but seeing that he waited nine<sup>1</sup> days in vain, he finally determined to capitulate with the unanimous consent of those who composed the Council of War, and on the reiterated demands of all the officers who had a perfect knowledge of the resistance so poor a place was capable of, with so much the more reason, as to feed 800 men employed at the Upper and Lower town batteries, 5 @ 600 fighting men, the majority of whom were worn out and unwilling, and 2,676 persons, women and children, according to the information I took in my quality of Lieutenant-General of Police in the town; it had only 18 barrels of flour, 23 of Indian corn and 25 of rice, a little pork and some other refreshments, so that there was, at most, only provision for one day and a half, even by reducing the ration. In this extremity, and in order not to expose the garrison and the people to a general assault, and thereby to the fury of the avenger, according to the laws of war, the Commandant judged that hesitation was no longer excusable. He then concluded the most honorable capitulation that was ever made.

As I have already described in one of my preceding letters, I shall not again dwell, my Lord, on the defect of the fortifications of that place open on all sides, it being enclosed at different points only by a simple palisade.

In such a position, can it be said with justice that the Commandant was in too great a hurry, and might have waited? No, without doubt, unless to expose his garrison and the people to be put to the sword, which would indubitably have been the case.

Never was rout more complete than that of our army. Posterity will scarcely credit it.

The center of the column is still the King's, and there is no appearance, as the season is too far advanced, that the enemy can penetrate either by the rapids or by Isle aux Noix. We cannot have any news from those parts, the communication being stopped.

As the inhabitants of Quebec and those of the neighboring parishes, cannot be removed to France according to the terms of Article 5 of the capitulation, they have not been able to dispense with taking an oath not to bear arms against the King of England, nor with promising not to communicate any intelligence to the French to the prejudice of his service. Under these circumstances, they have wished me to remain in the town to judge according to our laws

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* — Ed.



and constitutions, the disputes that may arise between them. I concluded on doing so with the consent of the English Generals, until next year, when I shall repair to France, unless a treaty between the two crowns restore this unfortunate town to the King.

I have adopted this course, my Lord, only with the view of being useful to the King and the poor inhabitants of the town and adjoining parishes, who are suffering and groaning from want of provisions and money to buy any, in consequence of the non-circulation of the ordonnance money.

You have, up to this date, honored me with your kindness, which is extremely necessary to me now that I am ruined by the loss of my situation and the little furniture and effects I possessed, whereby I am reduced to the most extreme indigence, having no funds in France.

It is very saddening for me, my Lord, after 44 years service, with as much zeal as disinterestedness, to see myself and my family on the brink of dying of hunger, if you have not the goodness to continue your protection to me, in order to obtain for me from the King some gratuity and an office that might support me.

I am, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

DAINE.

*Operations of the Army under M. de Montcalm before Quebec.*

Extract of a journal kept at the army commanded by the late Lieutenant-General de Montcalm.

Canada expected, since the fall of Louisbourg, to be attacked this year simultaneously on all sides. Quebec, the only barrier of this Colony on the river side, being, from the nature of its fortifications, incapable of sustaining a siege, attention was directed, since the beginning of the winter, to putting it at least beyond the danger of a *coup de main*. The Minister's orders, which came by the first vessels announcing the enemy's designs against this place, urged M. de Vaudreuil to omit nothing to put it in a state of defence. Nevertheless, the work still languished, but the arrival in the river of a fleet of 13 sail, the intelligence of which was received on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May, roused men from their languor. M. de Montcalm was already at Quebec, whither M. de Vaudreuil went in a few days after. Several councils were held, at which the defect of the fortifications of the place appeared a new not to admit of the slightest hope of being able to hold out. It was merely resolved :

To close the town either by walls or palisades on the side of the river, where 'twas absolutely open.

To increase the batteries of the Lower town, the communications between which and the Upper, would be intersected and defended by artillery, and to furnish the ramparts with cannon both on the land and river sides.

To form new batteries at the Palace ship yard, for the purpose both of defending the mouth of the River St. Charles and flanking the quarter commonly called the *Canoterie*.

To line the right bank of that river with intrenchments from its mouth to the General Hospital; to sink two ships in it on which batteries would be erected; finally, to throw an estrade there in order to prevent any surprisal the enemy might attempt in that direction, with a view to occupying the heights commanding the town.

To line the crested bank from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency with intrenchments, at certain distances whereof should be erected redoubts and redans furnished with batteries, the fire of which might cross each other at different points; and also to take some precautions at *L'ance des mers* and Sillery, although that quarter was deemed inaccessible.

To construct a pontoon of a hexagon figure, capable of bearing 12 guns of large calibre, and 6 gunboats, each carrying a 24-pounder; to place four 8-pounders on a *gubarre*, and arrange 8 flat bateaux so as to receive each a gun of the same calibre: all these vessels were intended as a defence during the night, both to the approaches of the town and the intrenchments, and were themselves to send bark canoes ahead, which patrolling throughout the night would be able to give notice of the slightest movement on the part of the enemy.

Such was the plan I proposed in the Memoir the late Marquis de Montcalm demanded of me on the operations relative to the Marine. It was not followed at first, but was fallen back on towards the middle of the campaign.

To convert eight vessels into fire ships and construct 120 rafts loaded with combustible matter, to be let loose on the enemy's fleet when within reach.

*These rafts were launched towards the end of July. The current was mistaken and they produced no effect.*<sup>1</sup>

Finally, to send the remainder of our ships as far as Three Rivers and even Montreal, and to store there the greatest part of our provisions, one month's supply of which only should be kept in the place for the army.

*M. de Montcalm wished, in the beginning, that only fifteen days' supply should be retained; as he did not dare flatter himself with being able to stay the first effort of the enemy, he spoke of abandoning that place at the very moment he was making the fate of all Canada dependent on it, as may be seen by Article 6 of the capitulation, the draft of which he then furnished.*

The army consisted of 5 battalions of land troops, (about 1,600 men); about 600 Colonials, 10,400 Canadians and sailors distributed throughout the batteries, 918 Indians of different nations, and a troop of cavalry composed of 200 volunteers taken from the different corps and to be posted promptly wherever the enemy should show themselves, to be attached to the General's suite and to convey orders: in all 13,718 fighting men.

*The formation of this corps gave rise, in the beginning, to a great many jokes; M. de Montcalm did not originate it. It has since been universally admitted that vast service was derived from it.*

*So strong an army was not anticipated, because it was not expected that there would be so large a number of Canadians; the intention was to muster only the men capable of sustaining the fatigues of the war; but such an emulation prevailed among that people, that old men of 80, and children of 12 @ 13 were seen coming to the camp, who would never consent to take advantage of the exemption granted to their age. Never were subjects more deserving the bounty of their Sovereign; on account either of their constancy at labor, or their patience under the difficulties and wretchedness which, in that country, have been extreme; in the army they were subject to all the corvées.*

<sup>1</sup> Those parts of this Document printed in *Italic* are in a different sort of manuscript from the other portions, as if a commentary of the author, or of another person, distinct from the Journal. They are put in *Italic* letter merely to mark this distinction in the writing, which cannot be well shown in print otherwise. — Ed.



M. de Montcalm wished to have the Militia incorporated into the battalions, and M. de Vaudreuil consented. All were then subjected to regular service.

No means imaginable were omitted to procure the greatest promptness in the execution of the different arrangements.

Meanwhile the enemy's fleet, favored by a Northeast wind, which has constantly prevailed whilst they needed it, was advancing and becoming daily more numerous in the river.

The vanguard, (13 sail, big and little), found itself at anchor in the beginning of June, under the Isle aux Coudres; the English did not land there however until 3 days after; at first they feared to encounter ambushes there, but finally finding it had been absolutely abandoned, they scattered themselves over the island without any precaution, which the inhabitants of St. Paul's bay remarking from the tops of their mountains, sent word accordingly, and thereupon 'twas resolved to dispatch M. de Niverville, a Colonial officer, thither with a detachment of Canadians and Indians, to endeavor to take some prisoners. He proceeded thither, but the sight of the English frightened the Indians who refused to attack, and the expedition had to be abandoned. Among the Canadians was a young man named Desrivieres, who, indignant at the cowardice of his companions, declared to them that, not wishing to participate in the disgrace of having abandoned, without cause, a project the execution of which was so easy, he was going to undertake it single handed; thereupon some farmers belonging to the island, who were in the same detachment, offered to accompany him; they set off, to the number of 10, and soon returned with three young midshipmen whom they had captured.

We learned from these young men nothing more than we already knew of the projects England was forming against Canada; they told us nothing respecting either their strength or operations that has not been since verified; they told us that the fleet was bringing 30 thousand men, including troops and seamen, and that was exact, but it appeared to us by their deposition, that Admiral Durel, who commanded that first division, was uneasy for the remainder of the fleet; they added, that at the moment they were taken, more than 600 persons were on the beach unarmed, whom the smallest detachment could have destroyed; that they had remained three days on board, without daring to land, and had not concluded on sending their canoes ashore until by their observations they were fully convinced that no person remained on the Island; that as for the rest, the Admiral had given the strictest orders to leave everything in the state it may be found, and threatened with the severest punishment those who should commit any disorder.

June 8<sup>th</sup>. Eight ships came up as far as Cape Torment, sent to sound the Traverse of the Island of Orleans, where all the marks laid down to designate the channel had been destroyed; experiencing no opposition in their operations, they were on the 14<sup>th</sup> able to come to an anchor in front of St. Francis, whither they immediately dispatched two boats; they expected to find that place also abandoned, but were mistaken; we had a pretty considerable party of Canadians and Indians, but the impatience of the latter on seeing the English (which is ordinarily the case) did not permit us to derive all the advantage we might gain and expect from the confidence with which those barges made their appearance at the landing. M. de Courtemanche, a Colonial officer, who commanded the corps, had given orders to his troop to allow the English to land and even not to oppose their reëmbarkation, hoping to induce them thereby to return the next day in still greater numbers and still greater security; this ruse might succeed, but the Indians having yelled even before the boats had touched the beach, the latter shoved back after having been exposed to some musket shots, which wounded nobody.

16<sup>th</sup> M. Lemercier, Commandant of the artillery, obtained an order from M. de Vaudreuil to have 4 guns conveyed to the Island of Orleans, with which he fired some vollies at the vessels. The latter replied, and that artillery was brought back to town. This will not be the only occasion, 'twill be perceived, where time has been lost.

Some English barges which had advanced to reconnoitre one of the coves of that island, having been discovered by some Indians, were sharply pursued, and one of them overtaken and carried off; 8 men were found on board; these prisoners confirmed what the 3 midshipmen had stated, and added only that the ships were to rendezvous before the town.

*The only service rendered by the artillery, which had been conveyed to the Island of Orleans, was to check those barges, whose object was to cut out a schooner armed as a fire-ship, which had been sent thither.*

26<sup>th</sup> At night the greater part of the fleet was anchored at the Island of Orleans.

27<sup>th</sup> One ship and two frigates advanced this morning to reconnoitre the town. Mr. Wolf was on board, and we have since learned that as soon as he had taken an exact reconnoissance of the town and our intrenchments, which had been already completed, he did not conceal from some of his principal officers of the army who accompanied him, that he did not flatter himself with success. These three vessels retired in the afternoon, and that same night, in spite of a N. E. wind that was blowing pretty stiff, Mr. Wolf caused a landing to be effected near St. Laurent, where he encountered no resistance. M. Courtemanche's detachment then consisted of 800 men, Canadians and Indians; he was ordered to rejoin the army. Some days before, all the families and cattle belonging to the farmers were removed from the island.

The entire fleet having finally come together, 'twas thought proper to bring the fire-ships into operation before the enemy should be masters of both banks of the river, as it was not intended to contest the ground at Point Levy with them; orders were accordingly issued to prepare for starting, and at nightfall, they set sail with a light breeze from the S. W. to the number of 7 only; the 8<sup>th</sup> had been burnt in the harbor through the imprudence of the men who were preparing it, and the vessel which was to take its place was not yet ready. But two causes militated against the success of this expedition; these fire-ships were not chained two by two, as had been agreed on, and the pilots had the cowardice to set fire to, and abandon them more than a league and a half from the fleet; how indignant soever those in the army were at the conduct of the commanders of those fire-ships, yet, M. de Vaudreuil was unwilling to say anything disagreeable to them, and employed them that very moment at different batteries. This experiment cost the King about a million, and the life of Sieur Dubois de la Mitière, a young man of promise, who commanded one of these fire-ships; his mate met the same fate.

*The Memoir I communicated to the Marquis de Montcalm contained also my opinion on the employment of fire-ships; after discussing the advantage that might be derived from them, I explained, according to the knowledge I may have obtained of the craft and what I have often heard intelligent seamen say, both the precautions to be taken in the preparation of those vessels and the conduct to be observed, to enable them to accomplish the object proposed. I had, above all, insisted on the necessity of chaining them 2 to 2, and I believe that all intelligent seamen will agree that it was hardly possible to derive advantage from them in a stream, the rapidity of which is known to the whole world. My Memoir was read at the Council.*

29<sup>th</sup> At night the English landed at Beaumont point, on the south shore. M. de Lery, a Colonial officer, who was reconnoitring there with a detachment, thought he should be surprised: He had merely time to escape, after having lost some of his men.



30<sup>th</sup> In the morning the enemy following the bank of the river made their appearance at Point Levy to the number of 3 thousand men: A detachment of Indians whom we had sent to that quarter kept up a fire on them the whole night, under cover of the woods; killed two of their men and took one prisoner, according to whose deposition we were to be attacked the next night. That disconcerted the plan which had been formed, to convey a large body of troops across the river to drive the enemy from that quarter before securing a position there, and reduced us to adopt all possible precautions to give them a warm reception on landing.

1<sup>st</sup> July. It happened at the break of day, by some misunderstanding, the origin of which could not be discovered, that the Militia of the right fired, without any cause, a general discharge of musketry; we thought ourselves attacked in that quarter; the whole army flew to arms and rushed thither.

Nothing else of interest occurred throughout that day; our Indians and some Canadians exchanged shots at Point Levy with the enemy's light infantry, and brought us at night a proclamation of Mr. Wolf, which they had found posted on a church door. I append hereunto a copy of it. The object this General proposed thereby is very palpable; his character is also perfectly perceptible therein. As for the rest, there were at Point Levy only about 3,500 men, who pitched their camp at the foot of the church. The rest of the army was on the Island of Orleans.

2<sup>nd</sup> The enemy reconnoitered the entire extent of the right of the river, which faces the town, and employed the following days in tracing the different works they wished to erect there. As for us, always apprehending an attack on our intrenchments, we kept within the bounds of a most strict defensive. Murmurs meanwhile were heard in the army at this inactivity. 'Twas remarked, that it was so much the more easy to annoy the enemy in his works, that supposing even an attack should be repelled, a secure retreat was always to be found in the woods in the rear, where the Canadian and Indian, 'tis known, possess so great an advantage over the Regulars. To this reasoning, it was answered, that being scarcely able to flatter ourselves that we should be strong enough with all our forces (the army was then assembled) to prevent the English landing at Beauport, it would be imprudent, by weakening that quarter, to expose ourselves to open a passage there to the enemy, to whom we should find ourselves, that very instant, obliged to abandon Quebec. The intelligent reader will weigh the pro and con, but certain it is, that the enemy never intended attacking us in front at our camp at Beauport. We have had the misfortune not to be able to perceive the advantage of the position we had taken there; it did not escape Mr. Wolf, who knew how to appreciate the effect which ought to result from the fire of our different batteries, and that of our musketry composed of Canadians, not one of whom, all the world knows, but is a hunter.

*M. de Montcalm, according to the talk of some Colonial officers who had navigated, was a long time persuaded that the English had a landing force of 20 thousand men. In vain I endeavored to disabuse him by the plainest demonstrations, referring to the number and size of the vessels which composed the fleet; he did not alter his opinion until he saw my calculation verified by the depositions of divers prisoners and deserters.*

6<sup>th</sup> We learned by intelligence received from Carillon, La Présentation and Niagara, that these three forts were threatened. 'Twas then regretted that this last had been too much weakened, the force of which might have been increased about 1,000 men, who were sent to the Beautiful river, without any reasonable view of utility to the King's service.

7<sup>th</sup> Our boats exchanged shots with the frigates that were approaching Beauport.

8<sup>th</sup> The batteries which the enemy was erecting opposite the town were, it was noticed, considerably advanced; some volleys of shot and some shells were discharged at them from the place, but M. de Montcalm, considering on the one hand that this fire retarded the enemy's labors but little, and on the other hand, that the state of our magazines required that we should economise our powder, made M. de Vaudreuil consent to order the fire against that quarter to cease.

*This silence excited murmurs, but M. Lemercier the Commandant of the artillery, demonstrated its necessity by submitting a statement of the powder.*

Towards the evening of the same day, some forty barges full of troops, supported by a frigate, advanced towards the Falls of Montmorency, whilst a 60 gun ship was cannonading the intrenchments on our left, and a ketch was throwing shell.

This movement created the belief that the enemy might intend landing at Ange Gardien, but, the conviction that the River of the Falls was nowhere fordable, making it to be regarded as very indifferent whether the enemy would proceed thither, no precaution was taken to offer any opposition there, and no attention even was paid to the representations some farmers of Ange Gardien made on this subject, who offered to go thither, assuring, from the knowledge they had of the locality, that with one hundred men the English could be prevented ascending the hill, which in fact does not fail of being sufficiently steep and wooded.

Finally, about 9 o'clock, the enemy landed some men who, having reported that part to be entirely abandoned, were followed by the detachment the barges were conveying, which, during the remainder of the night, were busy passing troops from the Island of Orleans to the Falls, so that next morning, at the break of day, Mr. Wolff was there at the head of three @ 4 thousand men. Then all illusion disappeared. The post of the Falls was no longer considered contemptible, when, on beholding the enemy there, it was admitted that it commanded most advantageously the entire left of our camp, and people were at the same time convinced that the river on which it rested was, as the farmers had announced, fordable at divers places. Chevalier de Levy, who was in command at that quarter, perceived the error our false security had just led us to commit, and undertook to repair it by endeavoring to force the enemy to abandon that post. He marched thither with 600 men, preceded by some Indians; reported to M. de Vaudreuil the course he was taking, and asked that Governor at the same time for orders as to his ulterior operations; no time was lost in giving him an answer, whereupon he thought it his duty to bring his troops to a halt.

M. de Vaudreuil told him positively not to run any risk, and that he was preparing to go in person to the spot. He did not arrive there, however, until two hours after.

*Head quarters were at the centre, and afterwards a league from the left.*

Meanwhile, the Indians, who continued to advance, soon encountered in the woods, after passing the river, a detachment of about 500 men, whom they obliged to fall back on the main army, which they did not fear to attack. They dared not, however, go too far, on observing that they were not supported. They returned, worn out by fatigue, after having killed or wounded a hundred of the enemy, and brought back 36 scalps as a proof of their success. It had been our policy to have had them press very far. We have since been informed by a sergeant who deserted from the enemy's army, that the English had landed in disorder, to which the dread of being every moment attacked by the Indians, did not a little contribute.

Things being in this state, M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to defer the arrangements for a more considerable attack; he contented himself with summoning a Council of War, the result



of which was, that we must remain in our intrenchments; neither the real position of the enemy nor his strength was known, it was alleged; the truth is that M. de Montcalm was not of the opinion to attack, and having, previous to the Council, privately spoken to the heads of the corps, it may be said that he had in some sort disposed them to represent matters as impracticable. M. Bigot was the only one who voted for the attack, and it may be said, in support of his opinion against the pretended inconvenience of exposing ourselves to the loss of everything, by hazarding an almost general engagement with troops reported to be already intrenched.

1<sup>st</sup> That the enemy was in a very disadvantageous position, inasmuch as the ground 'twas occupying was absolutely commanded by the woods whence we were to make the attack.

2<sup>nd</sup> That supposing we should have been repulsed, these same woods would have always assisted our retreat, since they must not only be traversed to reach the fords of the river, but moreover, being very thick and backed by lofty mountains, would certainly not have been liable to be turned.

3<sup>rd</sup> That the subject of subsistence also merited serious attention. The country was already suffering from a serious scarcity; it was therefore so much the more essential to make every effort to endeavor to oblige the enemy to raise the siege of Quebec; for, admitting even that he could not carry that place by assault, we, by dragging things to any length, were always exposed to the danger of being forced by the failure of provisions, to open its gates, and consequently those of the entire Colony, to him. Everybody is aware that nothing is more casual than the crops of this country, and those of this year must have been as abundant as they have been (contrary to the usual course of things), to allow us to escape the rigors of famine; besides, we did not require all our forces to attack Mr. Wolf in the disadvantageous post he was occupying; I will add, that never was more ardor visible than was manifested on this occasion by the soldier, the Canadian and Indian, and I owe several of the officers of the different corps the justice to say, that they appeared to despair on seeing such happy arrangements neglected.

10<sup>th</sup> The enemy was observed to be fortifying himself at the post he took up the previous evening, where already two field pieces and batteries were in course of erection, destined to batter in reverse the intrenchments which Chevalier de Levy was guarding, whereby that General officer was obliged to change the position of his camp, which continued on the other hand, to be annoyed by the fire from the ship and bomb-ketch. Some shells thrown from a mortar which had been brought from the town, soon obliged those vessels to remove to the offing.

11<sup>th</sup> From both sides of the River of the Falls a pretty brisk fire was kept up between our Indians and the enemy's light troops. There were some killed and wounded on both sides; the loss however was much greater on the side of the English.

The enemy's works at Point Levy appearing to be pushed on with very great vigor, the uneasiness of the town augmented and excited some murmurs on the part of the people, because, said they, the enemy was permitted peaceably to erect gun and mortar batteries by which they expected to be crushed. Although several officers pretended, and M. de Montcalm was persuaded himself that those batteries were at too great a distance to do serious injury to the town, yet to avoid discouraging the towns people, M. Dumas, Major-General of the Colonial troops, who volunteered, was permitted to organize a corps of one thousand men, to cross with it to the south shore, in order to endeavor to dislodge the enemy from that quarter and to ruin

their works. Men of all ranks, even to the mere scholar, volunteered in crowds for this detachment, which in consequence numbered 1,400 men, including the Indians; M. de Montcalm added to it some fifty volunteers from the Regulars.

To all who saw in this, the attack, only of a mob of Militia, without discipline, on Regular troops in their intrenchments, this expedition will appear imprudent, but 'twill cease to be so considered when it is known that those intrenchments were commanded by woods whence they could be fired on, and that those militia unacquainted with the handling of arms, excell incomparably the regular troops in the affairs which are decided purely by musketry. However that may be, M. Dumas set out at 10 o'clock at night; but having been obliged to go up as far as Sillery, he could not cross the river earlier than the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> @ 13<sup>th</sup>. Then was to be seen all the extravagances a panic is capable of producing. Scarcely did they set foot on the right bank of the river, when they imagined themselves surrounded by the enemy; three times did M. Dumas endeavor to rally his men and three times did his soldiers, mistaking each other for enemies, fire on and fling one another from the top of the bank to the bottom in order to regain their canoes. A retreat became absolutely necessary. The failure of this expedition called forth a great many remarks. Without wishing to endeavor to make known the true causes thereof, I shall simply say, that according to the report of M. Dumas and some other officers of his detachment, the Regulars, the Canadians and even the simple scholars who composed the party, had nothing to reproach each other with; they all equally gave way to their fright. The Indians alone, who formed the van-guard, behaved well, and found everything in disorder, when they returned from their scout with information that the enemy were not making any movement; as for the rest, it may, without fear of hazarding anything, be said, that this misadventure caused us the loss of one of the most favorable opportunities to strike a blow on the enemy, which the singular uneasiness we have since learned they were continually in, might have rendered of so much the greater advantage, as, not only were they unable to make a very vigorous resistance in a position that is commanded, where they had as yet only some imperfect intrenchments, but 5 large mortars and three 32-pounders with which they fired very briskly on the town that very night, might have been rendered unserviceable.

14<sup>th</sup> The enemy commenced firing some guns from the batteries they were erecting at the Falls, whereby some of our men were killed and some wounded; they also sent some strong detachments to examine the fords; we thought with the intention of trying to cross at that side. M. de Montcalm accordingly determined to alter his arrangements somewhat; he stripped his centre a little, to post at the head of the fords some strong detachments which intrenched themselves there, and he had Chevalier de Levis' lines reinforced towards the river, where epaulements were erected against the enemy's batteries. As these different works could not but be very considerable, they fatigued our men very much; 6 guns more of a small calibre were brought from town to that quarter to annoy the enemy in his works, but 'twas no longer time, his artillery being greatly superior to ours, which had to be removed.

16<sup>th</sup> The enemy throwing into the town a great many shell and fire pots, some fell on a house filled with hay, which was not attended to in sufficient season. The fire progressed and the conflagration communicated to 8 neighboring houses, which were completely burnt. The Point Levy batteries opened on the town to increase the disorder, but we did not delay silencing them by the superiority of our fire.



The enemy's works appeared rapidly advancing at the Falls, where some mortars were already in position, from which they threw shell that did not fail to annoy our troops in their camp. Here we undertook to set up a mortar, but this work languished so much for want of arms that it became useless before it could be completed. It was abandoned.

On the same day we received news from Niagara and Carillon, from which we learned that the English were already laying siege to the former fort and that M. de Bourlamaque, despairing of being able to maintain the latter, notwithstanding the new works he had just added to his fortifications, was preparing to fall back on Isle aux Noix so soon as the enemy, who, he knew were marching, should make their appearance to attack him. He was afraid of being turned by St. Frederic, and 'tis pretended that he had received positive orders to retreat; 'tis impossible to avoid one reflection thereupon. If it had been resolved, before the opening of the campaign, to abandon Carillon, why exhaust the troops with fatigue and the King with expense, to increase the defences of that fort? M. Bourlamaque had, besides, appeared in all his letters previous to that moment, of the opinion that he was able to make a vigorous resistance there

17<sup>th</sup> A small detachment of our Indians having crossed the River of the Falls, took some prisoners, three of whom they brought us, according to whose report we could scarcely determine Mr. Wolf's real intentions; we merely discovered, from the detail they gave us of his forces and movements, that, having only 9 @ 10 thousand Regulars at most, and estimating our army at 15 to 18 thousand, not only did that General not dare to attack us in front, but he was still under a continual apprehension of being attacked himself; they added, that it was generally reported in their army that the General was not sanguine about taking Quebec until he would be joined by General Amherst, whom he was expecting with the greatest impatience, and that, fearful of running short of provisions, the soldier's rations had been reduced to 7 ounces of biscuit and an equal quantity of salt meat. The depositions made by the different prisoners or deserters are pretty uniform as to that reduction.

The same prisoners told us, moreover, that an old man and some women of the North shore were daily carrying refreshments to the English camp, and had also pointed out to General Wolf the fords in the River of the Falls. 'Tis easy to be inferred, from this intercourse, that the enemy was in no wise harassed.

*M. de Vaudreuil was fully of the opinion, according to the Canadian custom, to send some detachments to annoy the enemy. M. de Montcalm was always afraid of weakening himself.*

Some farmers who had been taken by the English, and had been set at liberty, after having received much attention from them and from Mr. Wolf himself, returned to us to-day from the enemy's camp. The above behavior was relative to the contents of the proclamation.

17<sup>th</sup> On the same day the Indians, having requested leave to march in detachment, were permitted to do so; they set out to the number of 5 @ 600, to lie in ambush behind the camp occupied by the enemy at the Falls. This expedition met with no success.

An English sailor who had been taken prisoner, on being interrogated as to what was thought of our fire-ships in the fleet, told us that great alarm had been felt as to their effects, but much surprise was created by the manner they had been conducted, especially at the precipitancy with which they had been set on fire.

A 60 gun-ship, with 5 frigates or transports, passed in front of the town in the night of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>, on their way to anchor at Sillerie. There was not a doubt, but they intended either to cut off our supplies, as they might have been informed that we had stored the greater part

of them in our frigates, or to attempt a landing near Sillerie; two guns were posted there, and M. Dumas was immediately dispatched thither with 600 men, with orders to follow on the river side the movements of those vessels, but he was unable to prevent the burning of our last fire ship, the fitting out of which was being completed in *L'anse des mers*; the English likewise attempted to destroy the rafts we were having prepared there, but were repulsed.

20<sup>th</sup> One of General Toushend's servants came to us from the enemy's camp, who assured us that there were at the Falls only about three thousand men; this, agreeing with our observations, M. de Montcalm recalled some troops from the left to reinforce the centre. The enemy harassed our left considerably by the continual fire of shot and shell from the batteries at this camp at the Falls.

21<sup>st</sup> We learned that 4 000 of the enemy's grenadiers had landed at Point aux trembles. M. Dumas received orders to march thither, and a portion of the cavalry was added to his detachment; but the enemy had reëmbarked, their object having been to obtain exact intelligence of what was passing in the country; they contented themselves with seizing all the women whom they found in that village, about one hundred only of whom, however, they carried away; among these were some ladies belonging to the town, who had taken refuge there; the enemy were harassed and pursued by some Indians, who ran and killed and wounded some of their men; General Volff had received the idea of this expedition from Stobo,<sup>1</sup> an English officer, who had been taken as a hostage for the affair of Fort Necessity; convicted of having, notwithstanding his character, kept up some correspondence with the English Generals prejudicial to our service, he had been condemned to be hanged, but the Court having ordered the suspension of that sentence, 'twas thought proper to restore him the liberty he had previously enjoyed in his quality of hostage; he took advantage thereof to effect his escape, and was seconded by an individual who had deserted from New England, and had been some years settled at Quebec, who, acquainted with navigation, embarked with him about the middle of last May in a simple canoe, in which they reached Louisbourg.

22<sup>nd</sup> The commander of a vessel was sent to propose to the town a suspension of hostilities during 6 hours, in which time the women taken at Point aux trembles were to be delivered up; the proposal was agreed to. All the women, though of different ranks, spoke equally well of the treatment they had received from the English officers; several of them even supped with Mr. Wolf who joked considerably about the circumspection of our Generals; he told

<sup>1</sup> ROBERT STOBO was the only son of a merchant of Glasgow, where he was born in the year 1727. He emigrated to Virginia, 'tis said, somewhere about the year 1742, and in 1754 was appointed a Captain in a regiment raised by that Province to repel the encroachments of the French. He was with Washington at Fort Necessity when it capitulated in July of that year, and was left in the hands of the French as hostage for the fulfilment of the articles agreed to on that occasion. He was removed thence to Fort du Queane, of which he drew up a plan and had it conveyed to the commanding officer at Wills' creek. His correspondence fell into the hands of the French on the defeat of General Braddock, and he was, consequently, committed to prison, at Quebec, whence he attempted to escape in 1756, but was overtaken and brought back, and was afterwards tried on a charge of treason and sentenced to death. This was mere form, it seems, for orders had been already received from France not to put the sentence into execution. He made a second attempt to escape but was again brought back; in 1758 he made a third attempt, and succeeded in joining the British army at Louisbourg. He accompanied it to Quebec, where he was very useful to the English by his knowledge of the localities. After the reduction of that place he returned to Virginia, whence he sailed for England in February, 1760, with letters from General Monckton recommending him to the favor of government. He received a commission of captain in the 15th regiment of foot, 5th of June following; returned to America, and in 1762 served in the West India. In 1767 he went to England, and left the army in 1770, in which year, it is supposed, he died. *Memoirs of Stobo, Pittsburgh, 1854; Army Lists.* — Ed.



these ladies that he had afforded very favorable opportunities for an attack and had been surprised that no advantage had been taken of them.

In the course of the night of the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, another conflagration was caused in the town by the vast quantity of fire pots which the enemy continued to throw into it; 18 houses were in consequence reduced to ashes; the Cathedral shared the same fate. The Point Levy batteries did not cease firing all the time; ours replied during the continuance of the conflagration, but when it had been arrested, they discontinued. These troubles were not yet over, when, at 4 o'clock in the morning, one of the enemy's frigates, with a transport, attempted, under favor of a light breeze which sprung up in the N. E., to take advantage of the embarrassment, in which they doubtless thought we were, to pass up to Sillerie. They were mistaken; all the gunners had remained at their post; but the wind having changed the very moment when those vessels began to receive the fire of our batteries, they retired without much loss; our fire was this day very well served.

24<sup>th</sup> This day was passed in negotiations between the town and the fleet, with which M. Lemercier, the Commandant of the artillery was entrusted, relating to indifferent matters. On the same day we had a very sensible proof of the disorder which prevailed in the army. A great number had gone from it to hunt, who having discovered considerable game towards St. Foy, kept up such a continual fire that the Indians supposing we were attacked at Sillerie, proceeded thither; on their return they represented that some inconvenience might result from such practice; M. de Vaudreuil perceived it and forbid the army to hunt any more.

25<sup>th</sup> This morning a mistake caused us a pretty serious alarm: a letter came to the camp from St. Michael's cove, informing M. de Vaudreuil that the English had landed there; this news appeared confirmed by the report of cannon which was heard in that direction. The drums were beaten and the army seized their arms; 'twas nothing, however, but the attack of some of our gun boats which, being collected together in that cove, had attracted the attention of the ships and were briskly cannonaded by them, whilst barges were sent to seize them; two were cut out; three went up again to Cap Rouge, and one grounded, which was saved by the fire kept up by some Canadians who had ran thither from the neighboring post. M. Dumas had left M. de St. Martin, a Colonial officer, there with 180 men and had himself marched with a thousand men as far as Jacques Cartier, where 'twas feared the enemy would take up a position; he received orders to have some intrenchments thrown up there. We learned, on the same day by a new prisoner taken on the left, that the enemy had already a formidable artillery at their camp at the Falls, and were continuing to erect gun and mortar batteries there. From that quarter also came, towards evening, a young Canadian, who is still a child, and had previously been taken by the English and released by them in order to deliver an anonymous note to M. de Vaudreuil, containing injurious reproaches against the Governor on the subject of some scalps taken by the Indians, and of some soldiers killed by the Canadians whom they called assassins. He added that, previous to leaving the English camp he saw notice given to some Canadians who had been taken with arms in their hands, to prepare to die; that he saw them led out by some musketeers, and that he was scarcely out of the camp when he heard several shots fired. Mess<sup>rs</sup> de Vaudreuil and de Montcalm thought it fitting to come to some explanation on that subject with Mr. Wolf; the tenor of their letter, written in the name of the former, embodied all the dignity, politeness and firmness compatible with the circumstance. M. Lemercier, who was charged with the delivery of that despatch, added a second to it, which he wrote to Mr. Wolf by order of M. de Vaudreuil, wherein, after

having proposed to that General various arrangements respecting parleys, he observed that the use of them appeared to be growing somewhat too frequent. Mr. Wolf on the next day had the following letter communicated by one of his Aids-de-Camp to M. de Vaudreuil.

"Sir

"I have the honor, by order of my General, to answer your Excellency's letter brought to him yesterday by M<sup>r</sup> Lemercier respecting some particular articles on the subject of parleys, wherein he complains in your Excellency's name, of the too frequent use of such parleys.

"The General cannot express his astonishment sufficiently at this question: Eh! wherefore have the English demanded a parley? Let the answer be given by those who have received their liberty on the occasion of those parleys.

"General Wolf learns from an intercepted letter written at the Camp of Beauport, that three grenadiers of the Royal American Regiment, taken some days ago, were destined to be burnt alive in your camp. Mr. Wolf would wish to know what has become of them, so as to regulate his conduct in future accordingly.

"The British troops are only too much exasperated; the enormous cruelties already committed, and especially the base infraction of the capitulation of Fort William Henry are yet fresh in their minds.

"Such acts deserve and if repeated will certainly meet, in future, the severest reprisals; all distinction will cease between Frenchmen, Canadians and Indians; all will be treated as a cruel and barbarous mob, thirsting for human blood.

"I have the honor to be, &c,

"(Signed), ISAAC BARRÉ.<sup>1</sup>  
"Adjutant-General."

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel ISAAC BARRÉ was born in Dublin in 1726, where his parents, who were from France, kept a small grocery store. He entered the army in 1747, through the influence, it is supposed, of the Bishop of Clogher, and was commissioned Lieutenant in the 32nd foot 1st October, 1755. He accompanied the expedition against Louisbourg, and was appointed, by General Wolfe, "his only protector and friend," Major of brigade on the 12th May, 1758; and on the 4th May, 1759, Adjutant-General of the army against Quebec, with the rank of Major in America and Captain in the army. He was severely wounded, near the person of General Wolfe, in the engagement on the plains of Abraham and lost the sight of one of his eyes in consequence, and in West's celebrated picture is represented as one of the group of officers collected round the expiring General. He soon after went, for the recovery of his wounds, to New-York, where he was appointed Adjutant-General by Amherst, under whom he served in 1760, and in September was sent to England with the despatches announcing the surrender of Montreal. As a reward for his services he was promoted to be Lieutenant Colonel in the army 19th January, 1761. Being a gentleman of parts and address, he attracted the attention of Lord Shelburne, by whose interest he was elected, in December following, to a seat in Parliament for the borough of Chipping Wycombe, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel commandant of the 106th regiment, or Black Musqueteers (which, however, was disbanded at the peace), and Governor of Stirling Castle, the pay of which was £6 10 a day. His votes in Parliament being opposed to the Court, he was dismissed from the last office in November, 1763. He became, thereupon, one of the leaders of the Opposition, and in 1765 immortalized himself in the debate on the Stamp Act by his eloquent vindication of the American Colonists (*Bancroft's United States*, V., 240), which gave birth to the "Sons of Liberty." On the formation of the Rockingham Ministry in 1766, Lt. Col. Barré was named Vice Treasurer and obtained a pension of £3,200 as a compensation for the loss of his sinecure office of Governor of Stirling Castle. In the promotion of 1772, the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Barré, who was then again in opposition, was designedly passed over, in consequence of which he threw up his commission in the army 8th February, 1773. He relinquished his pension on being appointed Clerk of the Pells. In his latter years Colonel Barré was totally blind, and died in 1802, in the 76th year of his age. *Grenville Papers*; *Chatham Correspondence*. Out of respect for his character, his name has been given to several towns in the United States of America. — Ed.



The following is the answer which M. de Vaudreuil ordered M. de Bougainville to make to Mr. Wolf:

"Sir

"By order of the Marquis de Vaudreuil I reply to the letter written him by M<sup>r</sup> Isaac Baarré, respecting the three grenadiers belonging to the Royal Americans who were taken prisoners. Your Excellency ought to have regarded as soldiers' gossip the tales related in the intercepted letter; the fate of those three prisoners has been the same as that of all the others taken by the Indians; the King has ransomed them out of their hands at considerable expense. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has not instructed me to reply to the menaces, invectives and accusations with which that letter abounds; no doubt you have not read them. Nothing of that sort will make us either cowards or barbarians. Our proceedings are known in Europe and our public papers establish our justification in the matter of the infraction of the capitulation of Fort William Henry.

"I have the honor to be, &c.,

(Signed), BOUGAINVILLE.

26<sup>th</sup> At the dawn of day, a strong detachment of English being come to fire at that commanded by M. de Repentigny at the head of one of the fords of the River of the Falls, about 400 Indians were sent across a little further up to turn the enemy, but they applied for a reinforcement which was promised them. They waited, meanwhile, in the woods, lying on their faces in presence of the enemy for 5 hours without noticing any movement among our troops. Finally, carried away by their impatience and moreover seeing the enemy profiting by that time to convey fresh troops into the woods, they determined to make the attack alone; it was so impetuous that, according to what we since learned from a sergeant who deserted from the enemy's camp, and some Canadians who happened to be prisoners there, the English, obliged to fall back, retired more than two hundred paces from the field of battle in order to rally, and the alarm extended as far as the camp, to which Mr. Wolf himself returned for the purpose of ordering up the artillery through roads he had had opened; thereupon the Indians seeing themselves almost surrounded, effected their retreat by the ford, their communication with which they had preserved, after having killed or wounded more than 150 of the enemy and lost only two or three of their own men; they met at the pass of the river, the party which was sent to their aid, and which M. de Levis would never take upon himself to dispatch, without having received an order from M. de Vaudreuil. The entire army regretted the loss of so fine an opportunity.

27<sup>th</sup> Although *les anses des mers, du foulon, de Sillery and de St. Michel* were regarded as inaccessible, nevertheless the Engineers were sent thither for the purpose of having ditches and abatis constructed in the slopes leading thereto; about 400 men were also distributed throughout these different posts. Some Canadians brought us from the South shore three prisoners who were part of a detachment of 7 men which they had defeated; the four others had been killed.

28<sup>th</sup> The enemy unmasked, opposite the town, a new battery of 5 pieces of cannon.

29<sup>th</sup> The enemy's ships which were above Quebec were making different movements; they went up, within a few days as far as St. Augustin and afterwards returned to anchor at Sillerie. We concluded that they wanted to attract our attention on that side, but what was passing at the camp of the Falls, which we saw bristling with cannon and mortars, appeared

to demand our exclusive regard. A detachment of 300 Indians was sent to that quarter; having three days' provisions; they were to lie in ambush in the woods in the rear of the enemy whose communication with the country 'twas desirable to cut off.

30<sup>th</sup> All quiet.

31<sup>st</sup> Such was not the case to-day. About 10 o'clock in the forenoon, the wind blowing violently from the Southwest, two large transports set sail from the enemy's fleet and advanced towards the Falls of Montmorency; they were soon followed by a 60 gun ship, and all three took up a position opposite Chevalier de Levis' intrenchments, within short cannon range of which the transports grounded full sail sett; the ship kept off, forming with the two former a triangle, whence at the very moment a heavy fire was opened against our lines, which were enfiladed by that from the formidable artillery Mr. Wolf had at the Falls. Whilst our left was exposed to this double cannonade, a great number of barges which were remarked early in the morning to be in motion, after having received troops at Point Levy and from various vessels, were forming themselves into column at the head of the fleet. We could then no longer doubt the enemy's intention to attack us; the army assumed their arms, and the different corps repaired to the intrenchments. The violence of the wind which continued blowing from the S W., the ebb and the occurrences on our left, not allowing us to fear an attack on any other parts of our lines, M. de Montcalm weakened them somewhat and repaired in person to Chevalier de Levis' camp. Finally, about 5 o'clock in the evening the barges, after having, by divers movements, tried to conceal from us the real point of attack, ranged themselves in three divisions; directed their entire course towards the Falls, and precisely at the moment of low water, touched ground along side two vessels which were high and dry on a very fine shoal. Under cover of their fire all the troops effected a landing without confusion, and formed themselves in order of battle, whilst the force encamped at Ange Gardien was crossing, in column, the River of the Falls, to join them. On account of the distance, we were able to oppose to all those movements, only the fire of a few guns of small calibre, placed in some redoubts that had been thrown up in front of our intrenchments; having fired the whole day on the ships, those redoubts unfortunately ran out of ammunition towards the close of the action; they suffered, besides, considerably from the fire they had been exposed to; both these reasons necessitated their abandonment on the approach of a body of Grenadiers which advanced to the attack and ascended thither; but hardly did these become masters of the place than the brisk fire of musketry they received from our intrenchments, which most advantageously commanded those redoubts, obliged the detachment to retreat; the junction of both the enemy's divisions being effected at this moment, we were expecting a general attack, but a violent storm which supervened, having probably opened Mr. Wolf's eyes to the temerity of his undertaking, that General retreated; it is even probable that he went so far only because he had relied too much on the effects of his artillery; he expected that the Canadians and Indians, frightened by the shell and shot, would not hold out, and that in consequence of their flight, his troops might ascend the bank without encountering any great obstacles; but it is due in justice to all the corps of the army which M. de Montcalm had collected there in succession, to say, that they exhibited, on this occasion, all the firmness that could be expected, and that they manifested the greatest impatience to be engaged; feeling all the advantage of their position, they were full of a confidence from which we could, without presumption, anticipate the total defeat of the English army, had it persisted in advancing. It divided a second time; the greater portion recrossed the River of the Falls to regain the



camp at Ange Gardien, and the remainder reëmbarking set fire to the two transports, the burning of which put an end to this affair. In the course of it we have had some 60 men killed or wounded by the shot and shell; the enemy's loss, according to the report of prisoners and deserters who have come in since, amounted to about 500 men, almost all grenadiers; a captain of the Royal Americans, and two soldiers were taken prisoners there.

1<sup>st</sup> August. The ship which was at the Falls rejoined the fleet. The provisions reserved at Quebec for the subsistence of the army, being nearly exhausted, it became absolutely necessary to have some brought from Batiscan; but as the transportation by water appeared very hazardous since the enemy had rendered themselves masters of the river, no course was left but to have them brought by land, which still was not unattended by difficulties. There remained in the country only young children, women, or old men whose infirmities did not permit them to bear arms. It was, however, with the aid of such weak hands that 700 barrels of pork or flour were conveyed on 271 carts from Batiscan to the army, 18 leagues. The subsistence of the troops was thereby assured for 12 or 15 days, but from that moment, alarm was felt at the difficulties that service would eventually encounter; a number of carts were already broken; the women and children who guided them, rebuffed by such rude labor, left no hope of their being able to support it long; regret was begun to be felt at having placed the army's stores at so great a distance.

2<sup>nd</sup> A few hours truce, during which M. Lemer cier was instructed to go and deliver to General Wolf some letters from M. de Vaudreuil and the Captain of the Royal Americans, who was taken prisoner in the affair of the 31<sup>st</sup>. This officer, after having spoken in his letter in terms of great praise of the behavior of the French, by whom, he said, he had been rescued with the greatest difficulty out of the hands of the Indians, requested of his General some necessaries which he stood in need of.

3<sup>rd</sup> The enemy continued to strengthen the artillery at the camp of the Falls; M. Dumas brought back to the army the greatest portion of the troops he had at Jacques Cartier, where he had orders to leave only 200 men.

4<sup>th</sup> Another truce to receive Mr. Wolf's answer to the letters which had been written him on the 2<sup>nd</sup>. In sending his officer the required baggage, he reproached him, in the answer he sent to his letter, with having, by his imprudent conduct, given M. de Montcalm reason to believe that there was but little discipline in his army, wishing thereby adroitly to convey the impression that his attack of the 31<sup>st</sup> had been only an error. As for the letter he addressed to M. de Vaudreuil, he made a long enumeration in it of the grievances of the English Nation against the troops of Canada, and superadded most ferocious expressions to reproaches full of bitterness and spite. 'Twas proposed to continue, for the longest time possible, the sojourn in town of the officer who brought these despatches, in order to profit by that interval, to remove to the mortar and gun batteries the material necessary to construct merlons there; these batteries being in barbet, the gunners who served them were greatly exposed to the enemy's fire; already, many of the men were killed at them, but the measures that had been adopted in this regard, were disconcerted in consequence of the little order which prevailed in the different parts of our service. Whilst waiting for the English boat at one of the extremities of the Lower town, a merchant officer who was serving at the batteries, left the other end as soon as the boat appeared, and, having received from the English officer the letters and baggage he had to deliver, sent him immediately back. Five new deserters came over to us to day; their depositions contained nothing of interest. We learned this same day the evacuation of

Forts Carillon and St. Frederic, which were blown up, the former on the 27<sup>th</sup>, the latter on the 31<sup>st</sup> of July; the retreat from Carillon was so precipitate and disorderly, that 20 soldiers were left behind who were prevented by drunkenness from following the troops; they were taken by the enemy, who also found several cannon and 4 mortars in that fort, the fortifications of which had been only slightly damaged.

5<sup>th</sup> The Point Levy batteries continued to keep up a very brisk fire on the town. Three new deserters came over to us.

In the night of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> several barges passed in front of the town, and went up as far as the ships, whence a pretty large quantity of effects was landed. As these different movements which the enemy was observed making in that quarter, created an impression that it might be with a design to attempt something there, M. de Montcalm determined to send a reinforcement thither, so that we found ourselves then having, between Quebec and St. Augustin, about 1,000 men, whereof M. de Bougainville had the chief command.

7<sup>th</sup> Divers vessels which were anchored at Cap Rouge, after having been pretty considerably lightened, went up as far as Point aux écureuils. The King's frigates and the ship *Le Fronsac* were then at anchor at the foot of the Richelieu; i. e., 3 leagues above Point aux écureuils. The wind did not yet allow of their going any higher up: the intention of the English was probably to capture them, but they took advantage of the north wind which had brought the latter, to ascend the rapid. M. de Bougainville thinned his post somewhat, in order to form a detachment with which he followed the enemy's ships along the river side.

8<sup>th</sup> Three sailors who deserted from the enemy's fleet came over to us. The English ships which were at Les Ecureuils dropped down again to Point aux trembles, where they made several attempts to land some men, but were always repulsed by M. de Bougainville; nothing of importance occurred there however. M. de Montcalm sent to the camp some small field pieces and howitzers which had been left in the town.

The large quantity of shell, carcasses and fire-pots which the enemy threw during the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>, into the place, occasioned a 3<sup>rd</sup> fire in the Lower town; 152 houses were reduced to ashes there. We learned on the same day that Niagara had capitulated on the 24<sup>th</sup> of July, and that the surrender of that fort had been preceded by the defeat of our division which had returned from the Beautiful river. This event increased considerably the dejection which the news of the evacuation of Carillon and St. Frederic had already spread among the people; 'twas feared that the enemy encountering only feeble barriers at the entrance of the Cataracoui river would leap the rapids and suddenly pounce on Montreal, which was at the moment bare of every sort of defence; there were some detachments at La Présentation and Isle au Galo; 'twas thought necessary to reinforce these posts; 1,000 men were detached from the army with orders to proceed thither with all speed, and 'twas considered indispensable to entrust Chevalier de Levy with the command of so delicate a quarter; he set out that very day for that place.

11<sup>th</sup> A detachment of 700 men, composed of Canadians and Indians crossed the River of the Falls to attack some of the enemy's workmen who were making fascines. The firing was pretty sharp; 'twas calculated that a hundred men had been killed or wounded; we had only 7 wounded; things would have been pushed farther had the Outaouas been willing to attack. They did not feel, on that day, disposed to fight, and took scarcely any part in that affair; under all circumstances an adverse fortune appeared to disconcert enterprises from which we might expect the most fruit.



12<sup>th</sup> On the next day, we had another instance of it. The English, repulsed at Point aux trembles, turned their views to the other side of the river; they were met, on landing by some shots from the farmers who were returning home, but made good their position to the number of 7 @ 800 men. M. de Montcalm wishing to profit by the circumstance of the passage at Point aux trembles of the troops he was sending to the rapids, to have the enemy attacked in their new camp, by M. de Bougainville's corps, gave orders to that Colonel to cross to the right of the river and to operate there whilst his posts, well guarded, would become a snare into which the enemy might fall if they did not expect him on the other side; nothing was better combined, but the bad weather deranged all, and the fear of delaying too long the relief which was being sent to the rapids, caused the project to be abandoned.

On the same day, four vessels of the enemy's fleet wished to profit by the N. E. wind that was blowing, to go up again above Quebec, but were becalmed opposite the town; they wheeled about and by aid of the ebb, which supervened, regained their anchorage, without having suffered much from the fire of our batteries.

13<sup>th</sup> We learned that the enemy's division, encamped opposite Point aux trembles, having spread through the country, burnt all the settlements there. M. de Montcalm apprehending from the movements the enemy were making thereabouts, that they were intending some other considerable enterprise, determined on reinforcing the detachment under the command of M. de Bougainville, which was increased to 1,600 men, and divided among the different posts. Some Canadians released by the English, brought M. de Vaudreuil a third Proclamation published by order of Mr. Wolf, in which after having referred to the two former, that General threatened with the severest reprisals those farmers who would not lay down their arms by the 20<sup>th</sup> of August.

A courier arrived from St. Paul's bay to inform us that the English, who had not before dared to land in that quarter, where they had encountered a good many musket shots every time they made their appearance had at length, some days ago, landed in consequence of the treachery of a Swiss farmer settled in that Parish, and had already burnt 22 houses.

On the same day, the Indians brought us in two prisoners from the South shore, and a new deserter came over.

15<sup>th</sup> We sent a detachment of about 1,200 men into the Parish of Ange Gardien, with a view to surprise the English there, who, 'twas said, were scattered about. No good came of that expedition. The Indians, following the example of the troops, who for some time occupied themselves solely with marauding and pillage, disbanded themselves, and advanced without precaution towards a house, which they supposed abandoned; 'twas full of Englishmen, whose fire they received, which put them to flight; nothing more was to be undertaken in that direction, and a retreat was necessary. Three prisoners were brought in from the South shore; they were taken by some Canadians, but seized by the Indians, who also brought us 4 scalps.

16<sup>th</sup> A new fire broke out in the Upper town; its progress was fortunately arrested; one house only was reduced to ashes. We were kept in the greatest state of anxiety by the difficulties experienced in the transportation of provisions, and the dread of seeing them every moment cut off by the enemy. The roads were already become very bad, and water carriage dared still be used as far as St. Augustin and Cap Rouge, only with such caution as rendered all the operations very tedious.

17<sup>th</sup> We learned by three new deserters from the enemy's army that a severe dysentery was prevailing there, which had already destroyed a great many people. 5 Canadians arrived from Niagara, who had escaped from the enemy after the surrender of that fort. These men report that the English were busy repairing the fortifications of the fort; that they had detached a large body of troops to conduct their prisoners to New-York, and that there were remaining at Chouaguen, when they passed there, only about 2,000 men, who were making no movement; from this circumstance, 'twas inferred that the English had no intention to come by the Rapids, where Chevalier de Levy then was with 2,500 men.

18<sup>th</sup> We received by land a fresh supply of flour, the stock of which the want of carts had caused to become very low.

19<sup>th</sup> We learned that a corps of the enemy of about 1,200 men had landed at Deschambeaux. M. de Bougainville repaired immediately thither with his men preceded by the cavalry, and M. de Montcalm went in person with the Major-General and some troops as far as Point aux trembles (7 leagues), where, having learned that the enemy had reëmbarked, after having burnt the house in which the baggage of the army was stored, he returned to the camp, which he did not reënter until the following morning. The English did not lose a man in that expedition; they reëmbarked on perceiving the approach of our troops, carrying with them a great many cattle which they had collected together in the country.

I must say that no blame can attach to our troops if they were not able to charge the enemy when retreating; they endeavored to do so with much ardor; they used prodigious diligence to get there, but the English Commander, who expected to be attacked, had them closely watched by his ships, according to whose signals he regulated his movements. Two deserters came over to us from that detachment; a third arrived from Mr. Wolf's camp, who informed us that that General, being disposed to reëmbark in a short time, was sending parties in all directions to burn all the buildings and lay waste the country. He added, that some misunderstanding existed between the land and naval Commanders. We had already heard this, and it is since confirmed.

21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> were remarkable only for the almost continual rains which, causing us the most lively apprehensions for the harvest, were rendering the transportation of our provisions extremely difficult. The enemy were burning in all directions; houses were seen on fire, simultaneously, at Côte de Beaupré, from the Falls of Montmorency to St. Anne, at the Island of Orleans and all along the right bank of the river.

25<sup>th</sup> The enemy was remarked diminishing his artillery at the Falls, and reëmbarking. Two vessels at Point aux trembles dropped down to St. Michel, whence, after landing some troops on the South shore, they returned to their former station. On the same day we learned that the Abenakis of St. Francis had stopped two English officers (Mess<sup>rs</sup> Hamilton<sup>1</sup> and Quennedy<sup>2</sup>) accompanied by 7 Indians whom M. Hamerst had despatched through the woods to Mr. Wolf. It appeared, from the letters that were found on them, that Mr. Amherst's operations were, henceforward, to depend on the success Mr. Wolf should meet with before

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant ARCHIBALD HAMILTON was commissioned 24th October, 1755, and joined the 1st Royals 31st December, 1756. His name is not found in the *Army List* of 1765.

<sup>2</sup> Captain DAVID KENNEDY was commissioned, on 13th October, 1747, Captain in the 44th foot, which regiment made the unfortunate campaign under Braddock in 1755. He was engaged, also, in the unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, and in 1759 was attached to Gage's 80th Light Infantry. He had been despatched, by General Amherst, with a flag of truce to offer peace to the Indians of St. Francis, by whom he and his party were detained. Captain Kennedy retired from the army soon after. *Mante*, 228; *Army Lists*. — Ed.



Quebec. By letters written to different Colonels we learned, also, that singular astonishment prevailed in Mr. Amherst's army at the construction (*education*) of Carillon; the strength of the fortifications of that place were somewhat exaggerated, and many jokes were uttered at the precipitancy with which we had retired from it. As the enemy's ships, anchored above Quebec, greatly embarrassed the transportation of our provisions, the project was formed to have them carried off by our frigates. M. de Vaudreuil, to whom that proposal was submitted in a favorable point of view, approved of it, and nothing was thought of but its execution. Seamen will decide whether it were easy to carry, by boarding, in a river with a rapid current, well armed vessels, one of which had 50 guns, commanded by men who were daily making us admire the activity of their manœuvres; but a serious inconvenience was experienced at the outset, viz: To complete the crews of the frigates destined to operate, our batteries had to be stripped considerably of the sailors who were there acting as gunners.

26<sup>th</sup> Another deserter came to us from the camp at the Falls.

27<sup>th</sup> A second, a sergeant in the Royal American Regiment came in, who announced to us the approaching departure of the fleet, and assured us that Mr. Wolf would break up his camp at the Falls within 8 days. He added, that the Abbé de Portneuf, parish priest of St. Joachim,<sup>1</sup> having been taken by the Rangers, together with 9 farmers who were with him, had been massacred after laying down their arms, and that the scalps of these unfortunate men had been carried to the camp. This fact has since been verified by the report of a 10<sup>th</sup> farmer who was in that detachment and had escaped.

During the night of the 27 and 28<sup>th</sup>, five new frigates or transports of the enemy went above Quebec; they met from the bateaux of the place, but a feeble fire. These vessels by forming a junction with the former opposite St. Augustin, caused our project to abort, and the sailors were recalled.

In the course of the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> @ 30<sup>th</sup>, the tide being high, the vessels at St. Augustin cannonaded and fired briskly on a small deserted Island near their anchorage, where they had noticed, the day before, at low water, some people pass on foot to save hay, and who had retired on the return of the tide.

29<sup>th</sup> Three new deserters came in, who confirmed what the serjeant had told us. They also stated that Mr. Wolf, being attacked by a severe fever, had been confined to bed for the last six days.

30<sup>th</sup> The enemy unmasked a new gun battery at Point Levy; 21 pieces were then there.

31<sup>st</sup> Considerable movement occurred in the Point Levy camp; also in the fleet, which made us suppose that the enemy was preparing to send some vessels above Quebec; those already above, went up from St. Augustin to Point aux trembles, whence 'twas inferred that they designed attempting the passage of the Richelieu to go and attack our fleet: we had learned, 2 days previously, that a ship, no matter what her draft, could easily ascend that Rapid. This caused us the greater uneasiness, as one of the strongest of the contractors' frigates had the evening before, run ashore at Grondines. Our little naval force became, by that loss, reduced to the other three of his vessels and the two King's frigates, all which had orders to prepare to oppose the passage of the English.

On the night of the 31<sup>st</sup> of August and 1<sup>st</sup> September, five more of the enemy's ships went above Quebec. The movements the English were making near the Falls of Montmorency,

<sup>1</sup> Rev. PHILIP RENÉ PORTNEUF was a native of France, and had come to Canada in the summer of 1732. *Liste Chronologique*, No. 582. — Ed.

left no longer any doubt that they were resolved to abandon that camp. A great quantity of material was observed to be put on board of boats on which our batteries fired, without any answer from those of the enemy, which were already dismounted.

The news we received this same day calmed somewhat the uneasiness we felt for Montreal. We learned on the one hand, by deserters from Mr. Amherst's army, that that General was disposed to confine the operations of this campaign to repairing Forts Carillon and St. Frederic, (the latter had been totally destroyed). And on the other hand, M. Bourlamaque assured that the advantageous post he had taken at Isle aux Noix, the intrenchments he had had thrown up and the formidable artillery he had mounted there, placed him in a position not to fear the enemy, however numerous they might present themselves. That island, 'tis known, is in the River Sorel which it divides into two very narrow arms. The channel was closed to barges by strong stockades (*estacades*) which 'twas expected the enemy would not attempt to turn by land. Both banks of the river presented only deep swamps covered with timber, a passage across which could not be effected except with extreme difficulty, and 'tis evident that in lengthening the circuit in order to seek more solid ground farther off, the labor would have to be very considerably increased together with the risks of being seriously annoyed.

2<sup>nd</sup> The news we received of the return to St. Michel and Sillery of the enemy's fleet which lay at Point aux trembles, dissipated the apprehension we felt that it would go up as far as Batiscan. The enemy continued to evacuate their camp at the Falls, whence two columns crossed in the evening to the Island of Orleans. Further movements in the fleet, which led to the belief that the enemy might intend to attack our intrenchments; what seemed to confirm this opinion was the discovery of six buoys anchored opposite Beauport, which we caused to be removed; a great many people thought 'twas only a feint. 'Twill be seen that they were not wrong.

3<sup>rd</sup> At 6 o'clock in the morning we noticed quite a movement in the camps and fleet of the enemy. One hundred barges or canoes full of men started from Point Levy in order to go and lie to in the centre of the fleet; 'twas remarked at the same time, that some fifty more of them were going through the same manœuvre near the Falls of Montmorency; there was no longer a doubt of the enemy wishing to effectuate the attack which the buoys of the preceding evening appeared to announce. The entire army was ordered under arms. The different corps formed in line of battle each at the head of its camp, and in this position waited for the fleet under cover of which the English were expected to effect their landing. The weather was fine although the wind was from the Northeast. They got off about 10 o'clock and the barges which had gone from Point Levy returned thither. 'Twas thought at first that the roughness of the river had alone obliged them to do so, but the barges of the Falls that had gone into the offing, having taken the same course, opened our eyes by recalling our attention to the camp at Ange Gardien which was completely evacuated. Then those who were heard secretly finding fault with M. de Montcalm because Chev<sup>r</sup> de Levy did not attack the English when they landed at the Falls of Montmorency, although the latter officer could plead the orders he had received not to hazard anything, treated him with the same rigor for not having fallen on their rear guard on the same ground and under circumstances infinitely more favorable. (I have already spoken elsewhere of that ground).

M. de Montcalm and his principal officers, to try to justify themselves for having lost so fine an opportunity, answered that if the enemy had not been attacked when reëmbarking, 'twas only because more than 2,000 men were perceived lying on their faces behind the intrenchments



of their camp, at the moment they were thought to have crossed again over to the Island of Orleans, and there was danger of falling into some snare.

'Tis worthy of remark that people were busy in our camp persuading that there was nothing very [extra] ordinary in Mr. Wolf's manœuvres, and that M. de Montcalm, on the contrary, was comporting himself on that occasion as a consummate General. The reader can judge.

One part of the troops from the camp at Ange Gardien remained at the Island of Orleans, and the other went to take post above the batteries at Point Levy.

Engineers and several other officers who have since been to visit Mr. Wolf's camp, agreed unanimously that no position was more disadvantageous than that which that General had been obliged to take. 'Twas for that reason that he lined his camp with eleven redoubts, almost all intrenched, fraised and palisaded.

4<sup>th</sup> M. de Montcalm, regulating his movements by those of the enemy, stripped his left somewhat and removed the principal part of his forces to the right of his camp. He also sent the battalion of Guyenne to encamp on the heights of Quebec, whence it could repair, in case of need, equally either to Sillery or into the town, or towards the River St. Charles. Our misfortune willed, as is soon to be seen, that it should be withdrawn from that post two days afterwards. The Point Levy batteries, increased by the artillery which the enemy had removed from the camp at the Falls, were keeping up a continual fire on the town.

5<sup>th</sup> A corps of about three thousand English having marched towards the Etechemins river, M. de Montcalm reinforced M. de Bougainville by pickets from the army, almost all the Indians and the remainder of the volunteers. A frigate belonging to the enemy reascended to Cap Rouge, where it cannonaded one of our schooners which had arrived there the preceding evening from Montreal, with a cargo of flour; we had two gun-boats there which obliged it to sheer off.

The flour was the product of the grain that we had been able to procure within the government of Montreal for cash. Had it not been for this supply, provisions would have certainly failed the army, which would have to be mostly disbanded.

6<sup>th</sup> The enemy continued its movements above Quebec, which failed not to cause us uneasiness. One of their schooners passed in open day before the town, towing two long boats, which the fire from our batteries, not very brisk, 'tis true, was unable to check; those of the enemy profited by that moment to cannonade ours, in which we had five men killed or dangerously wounded.

7<sup>th</sup> The fleet which lay above Sillery, then consisting of 18 vessels, went up to Cap Rouge accompanied by some sixty barges full of troops, which after having made a show of wishing to land, regained the offing and went to land at the right of the river M. de Bougainville followed their movements.

The night of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>, four new little vessels passed above Quebec and joined the fleet anchored at Cap Rouge; they encountered a very hot fire from the batteries of the town without being incommoded thereby; 'twas thought in the camp that the enemy would attempt a landing about La Canardière, near the River St. Charles. The entire army, despite of very bad weather, spent the night in bivouac.

The European flour and that made from the purchased grain, as has been stated, being all consumed, the army was, since some days, no longer drawing its subsistence, except from the harvest of the Montreal government, which fortunately turned out extraordinarily fine, but hands were wanting to save it. M. de Rigaud had already detached two hundred Militia for

that purpose. This help not being sufficient, M. de Vaudreuil directed Chevalier de Levy, who had returned from the Rapids to Isle aux Noix, to increase it. That general officer had quit the Rapids without, however, disgarrisoning them, on the assurance of his scouts who had returned from Chouaguen, that the enemy was quiet in that quarter. The rains continued to render the transportation of our provisions very difficult, and were exciting in us much apprehension for the crops of the governments of Quebec and Three Rivers, which, nevertheless, were not less beautiful than those of the government of Montreal.

9<sup>th</sup> The enemy, probably considering the houses of the town sufficiently damaged, directed the most of their fire against the suburbs of St. Roch.

10<sup>th</sup> The enemy appeared to build a new intrenchment above their Point Levy batteries; we did not understand what could be the real object of it. Their little fleet extended from Cap Rouge to Point aux trembles.

11<sup>th</sup> Throughout the day, on the road leading to the enemy's batteries, a considerable movement of gun carriages was perceptible, and the fleet, anchored above Quebec received all the troops scattered throughout that quarter.

12<sup>th</sup> The enemy kept up a very sharp fire the entire day on the town; the fleet, anchored from Cap Rouge as far as Point aux trembles, was continually in motion; towards night some vessels were detached from it, which came to an anchor at Sillerie. The movements we saw the enemy making since some time, above Quebec, and the knowledge we had of the character of Mr. Wolf, that impetuous, bold and intrepid warrior, prepared us for a last attack. Such a resolution was really fully adopted in the English army; after breaking up the camp at the Falls, a Council of War, as we have since learned from divers English officers, had been held, at which all the general officers voted unanimously in favor of raising the siege; the naval officers observed that the season, already far advanced, was rendering the navigation of the river every day more dangerous, and the officers of the line, disgusted at the tediousness of a campaign, as fruitless as it was difficult, considered it useless to remain any longer before intrenchments which appeared to them impregnable. Both added, moreover, that their army, always a prey to disease, was melting insensibly away. Then, Mr. Wolf, seeing that he could not gain anything by openly resisting the general opinion, adroitly took things by the other side. He declared to the members of the council that, so far from differing with them, he was, on the contrary, of their opinion in regard to the inutility of prolonging the siege of Quebec; that therefore, in the proposition he was about to submit to them, he wished to divest himself of the quality of General, in order to throw himself entirely on their friendship for him.

"Finally, Gentlemen," said he to them, "as the glory of our arms appears to me to require that we should not retire without making one final attempt, I earnestly demand of you to be pleased not to refuse your consent thereto; I feel that, in this instance, it is necessary our first step should place us at the gates of the town. With this view, I am about to try to get a detachment of only one hundred and fifty men to penetrate through the Sillerie woods, and the entire army will prepare to follow. Should this first detachment encounter any resistance on the part of the enemy, I pledge you my word of honor that then, regarding our reputation protected against all sort of reproach, I will no longer hesitate to reëmbark."

The zeal that animated so brave a general communicated itself to all the officers who heard him, and nothing was any longer thought of in his army but the arrangements necessary for the execution of so noble a plan.



M. de Montcalm, on his side, anxious for the quarter seemingly menaced by the enemy, and fearful, especially, that they intended cutting off our supplies, dispatched additional reinforcements to M. de Bougainville, who then found that he had under his orders, including Indians, about 300 men, scattered in different posts from Sillerie as far as Point aux trembles. 'Twas the élite of the army, in which were reunited all the grenadiers, all the pickets, all the volunteers of the army and the cavalry : the order to continue to follow, attentively, all the enemy's movements, was reiterated to him. His centre was at Cap Rouge.

Things were in this state, on both sides, when about midnight, between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, Mr. Wolf after having, by different movements, endeavored to attract our attention on the Saint Augustin side, sent his barges to feel the post adjoining Sillerie. Fortune appeared in this emergency to combine with the little order which prevailed among our troops, so as to facilitate the approach of those barges.

A convoy of provisions was to come down that same night by water to Quebec ; the rumor was circulated through all the posts in front of which it was to pass, without agreeing, among themselves on any rallying cry ; but some unforeseen event having prevented our bateaux taking advantage of the night tide to sail, their departure was postponed to the following day, and no attention had yet been paid to warn those same posts of the fact. The consequence of this twofold neglect was, that when our sentries saw the enemy's barges advancing, they took them for ours, and satisfied with the word "*France*," which was returned to the challenge, allowed those barges to pass without giving themselves the trouble to reconnoitre them.

Three captains were in command at those posts :

Chevalier de Rumigny of the Regiment of La Sarre ;

M. Douglas, of Languedoc, and

M. de Verger, of the Colony.

The English took advantage of this security, landed between two of our posts, and clambering up the precipice they had to ascend, succeeded, by dint of toil, in gaining its crest, where they did not find a soul.

This combination of misfortune and disorder in our service, prepared the fatal catastrophe which, by a succession of new blunders, in making us lose the fruit of so much fatigue and expense, capped the climax of our humiliation.

So badly established was the communication between each of M. de Bougainville's posts and between the latter and M. de Montcalm's camp, that the English had turned and dispersed about five o'clock in the morning, the detachments which M. de Vergor commanded at *l'ance du foulon*, and were already in order of battle on the heights of Quebec where they even had some field pieces of small calibre, ere any one in our camps was as yet aware that the enemy wished to attack us in that quarter. M. de Bougainville, who was only two leagues off, did not learn the fact, as he says, until eight o'clock in the morning, and M. de Vaudreuil, who was at much less than half that distance, was not exactly informed of it until about half-past six. The army, which had passed the night in bivouac in consequence of a movement perceptible among the enemy's barges at Point Levy, had returned into its tents.

The *generale* was beat ; all the troops resumed their arms and followed, in succession, M. de Montcalm, who repaired to the heights of Quebec where the battalion of Guyenne, which had two days before returned to our extreme right, was already in position between the town and the enemy whom its presence checked.

In consequence of the corps that had been detached from our army at Beauport, the latter found itself since some days reduced to about 6,000 men. The two Montreal battalions composed of about fifteen hundred men were left to guard the camp; they advanced, however, as far as the River St. Charles when M. de Vaudreuil repaired to the army. M. de Montcalm could, therefore, according to this calculation, muster only four thousand five hundred men.

'Twas with such a feeble force, without affording breathing time to the last detachments which had reached him from our left, and which had run nearly two leagues in one single race, that this General resolved, about ten o'clock in the morning, on attacking the enemy, (whose light infantry was since some time engaged with ours,) on a report he had received, which had not a shadow of a foundation, that the English were busy intrenching themselves.

*The rash haste with which M. de Montcalm had made his attack originated in jealousy. M. de Vaudreuil had, in a note requesting him to postpone the attack until he had reunited all his forces, previously advised him that he was marching in person with the Montreal battalions. Nothing more was required to determine a General who would have readily been jealous of the part the simple soldier would have taken in his successes. His ambition was that no person but himself should ever be named, and this turn of mind contributed not a little to make him thwart the different enterprises in which he could not appear.*

The two armies, separated by a rise of ground, were cannonading one another for about an hour, (*our artillery consisted only of three small field pieces*).

The eminence on which our army was ranged in the order of battle commanded, at some points, that occupied by the English where they were defended either by shallow ravines or by the rail fences of the fields; our troops, composed almost entirely of Canadians impetuously rushed on the enemy, but their ill-formed ranks soon broke either in consequence of the precipitancy with which they had been made to march, or by the inequality of the ground. The English received our first fire in good order, without giving way. They afterwards very briskly returned our fire, and the advance movement made from their centre by a detachment of about 200 men with fixed bayonets, sufficed to put to flight almost the whole of our army. The rout was total only among the Regulars; the Canadians accustomed to fall back Indian fashion (*and like the ancient Parthians*) and to turn afterwards on the enemy with more confidence than before, rallied in some places, and under cover of the brushwood, by which they were surrounded, forced divers corps to give way, but at last were obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers. The Indians took scarcely any part in this affair. They kept themselves, for the most part at a distance, until the success of the battle should decide what part they should take. 'Tis well known that they never face the enemy in open field.

These particulars, with the aid of a map, will enable the reader to appreciate the blunders committed by M. de Montcalm on this day. The following are the principal ones with which impartial judges unanimously reproach him:

1<sup>st</sup> He ought, on learning that the enemy had landed, dispatched orders to M. Bougainville, who had, as already stated, the élite of the troops of the army; by combining his movements with those of that Colonel, it had been easy for him to make it *quasi* impossible for the enemy to avoid finding himself between two fires.

2<sup>nd</sup> The fate of Quebec depending on the success of the battle about to be fought, he ought to bring all his forces together. 'Twas useless, therefore, to leave a corps of 1,500 men at our camp, the more especially as being intrenched only on the side of the river, and commanded by ground in the rear covered with timber, it would never become a tenable post for the enemy; besides the batteries which lined it were manned by gunners.



3<sup>d</sup> For the same reason, as the army was only 200 toises from the glacis of the town, he ought to draw off the pickets on duty there; this would have been an addition of 7 @ 800 men. He could in like manner, have ordered up the artillery; there was no lack of field pieces.

4<sup>th</sup> His army being, in great part, composed only of Canadians, who 'tis known, are not adapted for fighting in a pitched battle, instead of losing the advantage of the post by going to attack an enemy too well arranged, he ought to wait and profit by the nature of the ground to place those Canadians by platoons in the clumps of brush wood by which he was surrounded; arranged in that way, they certainly excel all the troops of the universe by the precision with which they fire.

5<sup>th</sup> Being determined on attacking, he ought at least, have altered his arrangements. I have already stated in the commencement of this Extract, that the Militia had been incorporated among the Regulars: Could any harmony be expected in the movements of a body, the different parts of which must of necessity, by their constitution, mutually embarrass each other.

6<sup>th</sup> Finally, he did not dream of forming a corps de reserve.

As for M. de Bougainville, he has been blamed for having made it impossible for him to concentrate his troops promptly, by spreading them too much, and for not attending more particularly to Quebec than to any other parts; at noon he was scarcely in the presence of the enemy with half his men. Yet, in these last moments of the fine season, guarding in preference the points included between the River St. Charles and that of Cap Rouge, ought to be regarded as essential; the one and the other, and particularly the latter, forming for the town barriers which the enemy could never pass, except by employing a great deal of time in the work.

But if the errors committed by M. de Montcalm have been fatal to our arms, I will say that these appear to me to have been dishonored by the conduct observed by those who succeeded him in the command.

After the battle, the army mustered in the Horn-work which had been constructed at the head of the bridge thrown over the River St. Charles. Divers officers of the Regular troops hesitated not to say openly, in presence of the soldier, that no other course remained for us than to capitulate promptly for the entire Colony.

All the troops were ordered to go back each to its own camp, and M. de Vaudreuil summoned to a Council of War all the commanders of corps; 'twas there that these gentlemen, exaggerating somewhat the loss we had just suffered, all voted unanimously that the army should retreat to Jacques Cartier (9 leagues). 'Twas decided that advantage should be taken of the darkness of the following night to carry that resolution into effect, and that the troops should leave the tents standing in order to deceive the enemy, who, nevertheless, had killed, taken or wounded only 7 @ 800 of our men, and it has just been shown that by concentrating M. de Bougainville's corps, the Montreal battalions and the garrison of the town, we should still have remaining about nearly 5 thousand fresh troops, whom we might regard as the élite of the army. M. Bigot was again the only one in the council who voted that we should make a second attack with our entire force. M. de Vaudreuil had indeed been of his opinion, but the plurality of votes carried it.

*'Tis to be observed that M. de Bougainville found himself, by his rank, in command of the army under M. de Vaudreuil; the good fortune of this young Colonel and his talents even, had excited jealousies against him.*

Mr de Montcalm who had, after receiving his wound, returned to Quebec, was applied to for his opinion. That General merely answered that there were three plans to pursue: the

first, to make a second attack on the enemy; the second, to retire to Jacques Cartier, and the third, to capitulate for the Colony.

I shall not make any comments on the fright which was manifested lest we should be attacked on the retreat. After our defeat, I admit that we could not, for various reasons, preserve our camp at Beauport, but I will say, that it never appeared to me probable that the enemy would run the risk of crossing rivers and traversing woods for the purpose of coming to disturb us, whilst, by abandoning the country to them, we should allow them quietly to take Quebec, the object of their wishes.

Neither do I ever admit the necessity of the retreat to Jacques Cartier. By renouncing a second general battle, opportunities might still be made good use of, in harassing the enemy during the siege of Quebec; that would be the more easily done, as we should, by proceeding to St. Foy, always have found an assured retreat in the woods in our rear, and, as for subsistence, 'twould reach us there with still less difficulty than at Beauport, since the reverse we had just suffered did not augment the obstacles our transports experienced, and, on the other hand, we approached nearer our stores. Besides, we would thereby be in a position to throw all sorts of supplies at every moment into the town, which the enemy, daring not to spread himself too much abroad, never invested; 'twas not, indeed, until he became certain of our retreat, that he sent, three days afterwards, some detachments to our camp at Beauport; hence, 'tis plain that we might have plenty of time to remove our baggage, and over 8 days' provisions for the entire army, which we left there.

14<sup>th</sup> The army having marched all night, halted in the vicinity of St. Augustin. M. de Montcalm died at 4 o'clock in the morning.

15<sup>th</sup> The van-guard of the army arrived about noon at Jacques Cartier. There we received news from Quebec, by which we learned that General Wolf had been killed in the beginning of the engagement; that General Moncton, his second, had been dangerously wounded, and that the command of the army had devolved on M. Tousehnd, whose manners were already greatly praised. He had sent a guard of fifteen men to the General Hospital, which continued to be managed as usual.

16<sup>th</sup> We learned that the enemy continued intrenching themselves before Quebec, whence M. de Ramezay sent word that he had only 6 days' provisions; he notified M. de Vaudreuil, at the same time, that he should soon see himself under the necessity of capitulating, should he not receive prompt supplies. Efforts were made to send him some the following night, by land and water, but the bad weather interposed obstacles to our transports.

17<sup>th</sup> Chev' de Levy, to whom M. de Vaudreuil had dispatched a courier retiring from Beauport, arrived at the army; 'twas immediately resolved to march towards Quebec, and M. de Vaudreuil notified M. Ramezay thereof, whom he exhorted to hold out to the last extremity; he announced to him, at the same time, the departure of supplies of provisions.

18<sup>th</sup> The army went to sleep at Point aux trembles; M. de Vaudreuil received there a courier dispatched to him by M. de Ramezay, to inform him that, fearful of a want of provisions, he had sent Adjutant Joannes, of the regiment of Languedoc, to propose to the English General the articles of capitulation drawn up before the opening of the campaign, by the late Marquis de Montcalm, but held out the hope, at the same time, that he would break off the negotiation, should the supply of provisions arrive before its conclusion.

19<sup>th</sup> The army went to sleep at St. Augustin, where we found Captain Daubrespie, of the regiment of Bearn, who delivered to M. de Vaudreuil the capitulation accepted by M. de



Ramezay. This King's Lieutenant had duly received the supplies of provisions before M. de Joannes' return, but things appeared to him too far advanced to allow him to withdraw. It must be acknowledged that there existed very little good will on the part of any of his garrison, which was exceedingly weak in proportion to the enceinte of the place; to this 'twill be objected, that he had been advised beforehand that the army was marching to his relief.

As the surrender of Quebec did not permit us to undertake anything more thereabouts, the army returned to Jacques Cartier, where 'twas decided to build a fort capable of containing 500 men, to be stationed there during the winter.

According to intelligence received daily from Quebec, the enemy were employed most actively both in strengthening the defences of the place and in forming magazines for the subsistence of the garrison which was to winter there.

The objections of the English to receive the money of the country, subjected the people who remained there to a very great scarcity, which extended even to the General Hospital, and assistance was finally obtained for it only after having given the English Generals to understand that, rendering themselves, by the capture of the town, masters of the hospitals, which were dependent on it, they were naturally bound to provide for their support. In other respects, the deplorable state to which the rest of the houses of the town had been reduced by shot and shell, rendered accommodations there very scarce. English and French, all experienced the same inconvenience, but the greatest share of it necessarily fell on the latter; people found themselves pell-mell in the houses where this disorder has occasioned considerable pillage.

Towards the fore part of October a detachment of about 200 men of Mr. Amherst's army, headed by Captain Rogers, having had the boldness to traverse a pretty extensive tract of country, covered with timber, succeeded, under cover of the surprise, in burning the Indian village of St. Francis; M. de Bourlamaque was fully advised of his march; he had caused the removal of the canoes which Rogers had been obliged to abandon beyond Isle aux Noix, and expecting him to return by the same route, had him watched, at the passage, by a strong detachment of Canadians and Indians; but Rogers had anticipated all that, and had, in consequence, resolved to reach Orange by another way; he could not, however, escape the pursuit of a party of 200 Indians who rushed to vengeance. Want of provisions rendered it necessary for him to divide his force in small platoons, in order more easily to find subsistence; the Indians massacred some forty and carried off 10 prisoners to their village, where some of them fell a victim to the fury of the Indian women, notwithstanding the efforts the Canadians could make to save them.

A few days after, we had a very serious alarm in the vicinity of Isle aux Noix. M. de Bourlamaque had dispatched the small fleet we kept on Lake Champlain, towards St. Frederic, to observe the enemy's movements; he was not aware, however, that the one which the enemy had constructed on their side, was very superior to his; what was to happen, happened: whilst Sieur Dolabarats, *a man no longer to be employed in any command*, who had charge of our Xebecs and other small vessels, was riding at anchor in one of the lake harbors, the English frigates got ready to come in quest of him, but it happened that, having passed him in the night, they found themselves in the morning 5 leagues at this side; whereupon Sieur Dolabarats seeing his retreat in somewise cut off, thought it his duty to call a council, (he had with him a detachment of land troops) which decided that nothing remained for him to do but to sink the vessels and return to Montreal by land. This was accordingly done.

*We learn, on closing these despatches, that the English have already raised one of them.*

This adventure, the sight of the English vessels and of some barges which approached Isle aux Noix, caused M. Bourlamaque to suppose that the enemy's army was advancing to attack him. The alarm was great; the farmers, on all sides, who had returned from the army, were assembled; these poor people, fatigued by the campaign which they had just made and being desirous to give the remainder of the late season to their domestic avocations, marched only with reluctance; our uneasiness unfortunately ceased before all those Militiamen had come in.

Such has been the result of events which, if they have not caused to France the entire loss of a Colony, the preservation whereof costs it so dear, have at least reduced it to the point of no longer being able to find safety except in an early peace, unless it receive in time immense reinforcements from Europe. Those who will peruse these details only superficially, will not fail to place our calamities among the number of those which are attributable only to fortune. Such will not be the case with those, who, animated by an enlightened zeal for the good of the State, will not neglect to probe them, in order to discover their true causes; and as, in making these extracts, my sole object has been to respond on my part to the patriotic views of the latter, and to the confidence they repose in me, in dragging from obscurity facts which it may interest them to know, I shall endeavor, avoiding prolixity however, as much as will be in my power, to make them appreciate their causes.

Instead of seeking them in a fatality which superstition always perceives in whatever calamities overtake men, I think I can, without incurring any risk, flatter myself with finding them in the passions to which we have had the misfortune to be too subject, or rather, in the disorders which are necessarily their consequences.

When the King ordered Regular troops to America, he considered them only in the light of the services they might render there, and it may be said, that his Majesty, instead of exacting such services as a Master, appeared unwilling to look for them except from the gratitude which his favors ought to excite, but these same favors, wherewith the Regular troops were loaded on their arrival in Canada, contributed not a little to disgust those whose lot it was to serve there perpetually, and on whom it cannot be denied, notwithstanding the laxity of their discipline, that more dependence ought to be placed, than on the former. Every country has its own mode of waging war, and that which must be followed in Canada, has, 'tis known, but little in common with the method practised in Europe.

From this sort of jealousy a misunderstanding soon sprung up between the different corps, for which the division of authority in the command, prepared the way to reascend from grade to grade even to the chiefs, where it produced those ravages, the consequences whereof were to be so fatal.

M. de Montcalm felt it and was the first to allow its fits to be perceptible; full of talent, but ambitious beyond measure; more brilliant in consequence of the advantages of a cultivated memory, than profound in the sciences appertaining to the art of war, the first elements of which he did not possess, that General was ill adapted to the command of armies; he was, besides, subject to transports of passion which had produced a coolness towards him even among those whom he had obliged, and who, by circumstances, ought to have the same interests as he. I will add, that though brave, he was in nowise enterprising; he would, for example, never have attacked Chouaguen, had he not been, as it were, forced thereto by the reproaches of the sort of timidity he exhibited, made by M. de Rigaud, a man, it is true, of limited mind, but full of bravery and boldness, and accustomed to range the woods; and he



would have abandoned the siege of Fort George, at the very moment he undertook it, had he not been reassured by the firmness of Chevalier de Levis. To this mediocrity, in the talents necessary to a military man of his rank, he united a very grave defect in a General; that is, indiscretion. More occupied in the care of giving brilliancy to his eloquence than with the duties his position exacted, he could not prevent himself making his plans public long before they were to be put in execution; and that he had a grudge against any one, was sufficient to make him unceasingly mangle the reputation of such a person in unseemly terms, even in the presence of his domestics, and consequently of the troops. 'Tis by such remarks as these, which at bottom he did not intentionally circulate, that he made M. de Vaudreuil lose the confidence of the soldier, the farmer and even the Indian, to whom that governor would certainly have been dear, had those people been able to penetrate his sentiments in their regard. Good sense, no science (*lumières*), too facile, a confidence in events which renders circumspection often slow, nobleness and generosity of sentiment, great affability, such are the principal traits that have appeared to me to characterize the Marquis de Vaudreuil; whose goodness carried to excess would, in Europe, certainly have been subject to an infinitude of inconveniences; in Canada, the opposite vice would have assuredly precipitated the ruin of the Colony. Without having lived there, no exact idea can be formed of the patience with which one must be particularly endued in order to support the importunities of the Indians, to which a governor is continually exposed, especially in time of war. Equally ignorant of the maxims of civil or military government, M. de Vaudreuil could, on the other hand, not comprehend how inconvenient it was to push too far the indulgence with which it was proper, notwithstanding, to treat with measure the Militia. That produced two effects equally disastrous: The Canadians, from whose valor, address and docility, properly modified, everything might be expected, fell insensibly into remissness, and M. de Montcalm on his side was sufficiently ignorant of the world (*assez peu citoyen*) to draw therefrom a sort of right to suffer his regular troops to lose all sort of discipline; the soldier ceased to acknowledge the officer, who, himself, became insubordinate; disorders of every description ensued; there existed no longer, either regularity or exactness in the service; nothing equalled the devastation committed by the troops throughout the rural districts where the army was encamped; complaints thereof were made; the General answered, that everything belonged to the soldier, who informed of these dispositions, roved throughout the settlements, two or three leagues round about. 'Twas on this occasion that a woman, on a day of alarm, reproaching M. de Montcalm the profligacy with which he allowed his soldiers to pillage cattle, fowls, gardens, tobacco plantations and even wheat, told him at M. de Vaudreuil's quarters in presence of twenty officers, that he would have 500 soldiers less to oppose the efforts of the enemy, whose attack was expected every moment, if he did not hasten to send and have the *générale* beat at Charlesbourg (about 2 leagues in the interior) where they were busy pillaging even the interior of the houses.

*The officers of the Regular troops, in justification of the disorders which the soldiers were committing, made answer to whatever complaints were made them: that the soldiers were dying of hunger. The ration consisted of one pound of very fine bread and one pound of meat.*

From the conduct of these two Generals I must pass to that of the Intendant, whose duty it was to concur with them in the arrangements relative to the general operations.

I shall not enter here into an examination of the reproaches cast on M. Bigot by the public; I shall merely say that the advantages, immense indeed, which accrued to him from the funds he had risked in trade, whilst creating for him a great deal of envy, have exposed his

reputation to the shafts of the blackest calumny. The resources of a fortunate trade are known in all countries of the world. The most signal good fortune has always constantly accompanied the transactions on this Intendant's account. Starting from these two facts, which, I believe no one can dispute, we shall easily divest ourselves of any astonishment created by his wealth, however extraordinary that may be, when we consider that, owing to the prodigious variation prices of provisions and all sorts of merchandise have experienced in Canada (which is pretty usual in all the Colonies), it has happened that the man who has realized, two years ago, two thousand *écus* only, may to-day find himself worth 400 thousand francs.

The keg (*velte*) of brandy which costs, in France, 50<sup>u</sup>, now sells here for as much as 110<sup>u</sup>, &c., &c., &c. I will add, that he certainly would not have called forth so many remarks, had his generosity not made a great number of ingrates. 'Tis not that I pretend to approve of an Intendant becoming merchant; I am even of opinion, notwithstanding the custom of preceding Ministers tolerating it pretty openly, that infinite inconveniences always will accrue therefrom; but also, when prohibiting it, the King must allow a man of that rank a salary that would enable him to live decently, &c. This twofold observation must naturally apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to officers of every grade from whom, private interest, 'tis known, does not now, unfortunately, any longer permit the State to expect any distinguished services.

Neither can I speak, but in very vague terms, of M. Bigot's administration. All the world knows that he has a cunning mind, but no one is ignorant that, to understand exactly the amount of good and the evil an official of that character is capable of doing, one must be a long time in a position to follow the course of his operations, to be able to observe their results. I shall remark, generally, that were he a Colbert, he could not prevent certain abuses arising from the constitution of the service of this Colony. Is it not, for example, grossly irregular for the Comptroller to find himself, from time immemorial, charged with several details of which he is the innate censor? In the infancy of the Colony that might be compatible with the exactitude the service requires, because the Intendant could see to everything; but, for several years that the expenses have become so considerable, is it likely that the man of the most scrupulous probity, the most enlightened and, altogether, the most laborious, could have the capacity to satisfy so many different objects, when his position required from him only the maintenance of regularity, a duty which demands certainly a man's exclusive attention?

*He who now fills that office, a man above reproach, has been obliged to admit this to me; he has even of his own accord, made me perceive many consequences of it.*

But I will admit, that had the King had at the head of each of these details intelligent persons, who might be induced by a liberal salary to take the good of his service to heart, it would not have been the less impossible for them to satisfy the views of their zeal in consequence of the turn things have taken; I explain.

When the King by his ordinances, has vested a certain authority in the officers to whom the economical department of his government is confided, he has wisely foreseen that such authority was necessary to persons who were to serve as a dam against the pretensions, often unjust, of the military.

*Such, I believe, is the system of the Monarchical government.*

*The laws pronounce penalties on those who will have impeded the humblest constable in the duties of his office; the King's service it seems to me, ought to be the same everywhere; uniformity in all its parts constitutes its solidity.*



But in consequence of a deplorable confusion, it has happened that, instead of maintaining these same persons in a respect commensurate with the object of their functions, and which, perhaps, it would have been of advantage further to increase under certain conditions, all the rules both of the service and of decency, have been permitted even in France, to be violated with impunity, in their regard; they have not been able to avoid falling into a contempt, if I dare make use of that expression, which has reduced them to the necessity of becoming lax, on occasions when it would have been important that they should dare exhibit firmness; but if disorder so deplorable has been seen to prevail in France, under the eyes of the Court, could it be expected that 'twould not reach even to the Colonies, and especially this one, where the long duration of wars and the constitution of things have not only carried the Military to the top-rung of despotism, but moreover where the Intendant's credit has been entirely ruined by the annoyances with which he has been of late publicly overwhelmed? This disorder has, without doubt, penetrated far into it, to produce its most direful effects therein; hence have, necessarily, followed the enormous expenditure occasioned, on the one hand, by the facility afforded detached officers to realize, whilst appearing to turn up a little land, &c., fortunes as considerable as they were rapid, and on the other, by the fraudulent consumptions of all sorts, and particularly of provisions, whereunto that Intendant has been no longer permitted to attempt merely to place a check; he has proofs of the extravagancies M. de Montcalm has been guilty of towards him this year; that General forgot on those occasions, what was due by him to the service and to that Intendant, and what he owed to himself, and as those pieces related only to unimportant and even contemptible matters, they can serve to explain all the extent of the unjust passion which tormented Mr. de Montcalm.

'Twould be superfluous for me to make any new reflections on what must necessarily result from a government so convulsive. Notwithstanding the precipitancy with which I have been obliged to sketch this picture, I have endeavored to place things in a sufficiently clear order, so that in approximating them to all that has been said and written, during the past, on these subjects, the persons to whom I take the liberty to address them, may be able to pronounce their judgment.



*General Wolfe's Proclamations to the Canadians.*

By his Excellency, James Wolfe, Esq., Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Forces in the River St. Lawrence, &c., &c.

The King, my master, justly irritated against France and resolved to lower her insolence and to revenge the insults offered to the English Colonies, has at length determined to send to Canada the formidable sea and land armament, which the people of Canada now behold in the heart of their country. Its object is totally to deprive the French Crown of its most valuable settlement in North America. For these purposes, he has been pleased to send me here, at the head of the formidable army under my command. The King of Great Britain wages no war against industrious Colonists and peasants, nor against women and children, nor the sacred ministers of religion; he foresees their distressful circumstances, pities their lot and extends to them

offers of protection. The people may return with their families to their lands; I promise them my protection; I assure them that they can, without fearing the least molestation, there enjoy their property, attend to their religious worship; in a word, enjoy, in the midst of war, all the sweets of peace, provided they will take no part directly or indirectly in the contest between the two Crowns. But if, on the contrary, a vain obstinacy and misguided valor lead them to appear in arms, they must expect to suffer all the cruelty that war inflicts. Therefore, 'tis for them to imagine to what excesses the fury of an exasperated soldiery can lead; my orders alone can stay their course. 'Tis for the Canadians, by their conduct, to procure for themselves this advantage. They cannot be ignorant of their present situation. A formidable fleet stops the passage of any succors they might expect from Europe; a numerous army presses on them on the side of the Continent; the choice they have to take does not appear doubtful; what can they expect from a vain and blind opposition? Let themselves judge.

The unparalleled barbarities perpetrated by the French against our settlements in America, might justify the severest reprisals. But Britons disdain this barbarous method; their religion preaches humanity, and their hearts follow with pleasure its precepts. Should the Canadians be led, by the foolish hope of a successful resistance, to refuse the neutrality I propose to them, and presumptuously appear with arms in their hands, they will only have themselves to blame, when they will groan under the weight of misery to which they will be exposed by this, their own choice. 'Twill be too late to regret the useless efforts of their indiscreet valor, when they behold all they hold most dear, perishing of hunger in the winter. As for me, I shall have nothing to reproach myself with. The laws of war are known; the obstinacy of an enemy justifies the means used to bring him to reason.

The people of Canada may choose: they behold, on the one hand, Britain stretching out to them a powerful and protecting hand; her fidelity to her engagements is known; she is ready to maintain the inhabitants in their rights and possessions: France on the other hand, unable to support these people, deserts their cause at this important crisis, and if during the war she has sent them troops, what have they been good for? only to make the people feel more bitterly the weight of a hand which oppresses, instead of protecting them.

Let the Canadians consult their prudence; their fate depends on their choice.

JAM. WOLF.

Given at our Head Quarters, in the Parish of St. Laurence,  
on the Island of Orleans, 27th June, 1759.<sup>1</sup>

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By his Ex. . . . Wolf.

His Excellency, indignant at the little regard paid by the inhabitants of Canada to his proclamation of the 29<sup>th</sup> of last month, is determined no longer to listen to the sentiments of humanity which prompted him to solace people blind to their own interests.

The Canadians have, by their conduct, proved themselves unworthy the advantageous offers he held out to them. Wherefore he has issued orders to the Commanders of his Light Infantry and other officers, to proceed into the country and to seize and bring in the farmers and their cattle, and to destroy and lay waste what they shall judge proper. As for

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Proclamation in *Knox's Journal*, I., 303, where the date is 28th of June. — Ed.



the rest, as it is disagreeable to have recourse to the barbarous extremities whereof the Canadians and Indians, their allies, have given the example, he proposes to postpone until the 10<sup>th</sup> of August next, the decision on the fate of the prisoners on whom he will use reprisals unless the Canadians, in the meantime come and submit to the terms of the first proclamation, and thereby excite his clemency and induce him to mildness.

Dated at St. Henry  
the 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1759.

(Signed), JOHN DELLINES,<sup>1</sup>  
Major G<sup>al</sup> of the Light Infantry.

*Return of Provisions remaining at the Camp at Beauport.*

33 quintals of fresh bread.  
398 barrels of flour.  
182 " pork, each 200 lbs.  
246 tubs of pork, each 50 lbs.  
1 barrel of salt beef.  
35 " Indian corn, each 165 lbs.  
83 tubs of hog's lard, each 50 lbs.  
500 beef tongues.  
16 live oxen.  
10 live cows.  
480 quintals of tallow in cakes.  
5 barrels of salt.  
14 barrels of red wine.  
74 barrels of brandy, 1136 veltes.<sup>2</sup>  
156 ankers of brandy, 692 veltes.  
80 quintals of biscuit.

*M. Bigot to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 10<sup>th</sup> October, 1759.

My Lord.

I answer the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 26<sup>th</sup> January last.

Suggestions respecting the offices to be established in the Colony.

I perceive with pleasure that you are disposed to establish a corps of clerks in the Colony; 'tis the means to render the service certain and to form useful subjects. Your predecessors, my Lord, did not think like you, and whatever pains I took in favor of several clerks, 'tis with difficulty I have obtained the commissioning a small number of them. These reiterated refusals have disgusted the greater portion; and

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* John Dalling, VIII, 794, note.

<sup>2</sup> A velte is a measure of six quarts. — Ed.

and although certain offices be tolerably well provided, 'tis impossible for me to accomplish all the details as I wished. The most part of those clerks remain in the service only whilst waiting situations from merchants, where, indeed, they have considerable advantages; I can not retain them by authority, as they are not commissioned. A man who knows how to write tolerably, finds no difficulty in obtaining a situation of from 3 @ 400<sup>li</sup> a year, and he requires that to support himself in existing circumstances. My hands are tied as regards pecuniary compensation and still more so as to extras, and it is not natural to suppose that a good man will attach himself to the service if he cannot hope for some eventual advantage.

It would be highly necessary that there should be in the Colony a certain number of commissioned servants; they would be all properly employed; the Intendant would be master of that; and he would not be exposed to witness the offices as it were, stripped from day to day.

'Twould be proper for example, that there should be two chief clerks attached to the stores at Quebec and Montreal. Although I have no reason to doubt the honesty of the storekeepers, it would be well that the issues should pass under their eyes; the receipts of merchandise, as regards the qualities, would perhaps be accompanied with more exactitude, besides, 'tis not possible in these operations, for one storekeeper to be able alone to attend to, and carefully examine the receipts and issues.

A third chief clerk would be required also at Detroit, especially should the Court, at the peace, desire to send new settlers thither. The land there is very good; those located there in 1750 and 1751 are selling wheat for 5 years past, and are no longer a public burthen since that time.

A Commissary of the Marine would, likewise, be highly necessary at Quebec, to take charge of the General Military office, if it be desirable to preserve regularity in that department; 'tis in frightful disorder: the Major-General's office would not be sufficient, for the same inconvenience would arise in another way, if he alone had the detail of the troops and was the person to refer to. This commissary would besides visit annually, after the review of the month of May, all the posts; examine the issues there, the storekeepers' accounts, and would himself check the contractors' accounts of articles furnished on the requisitions of the commanding officers. I am persuaded the King would gain considerably thereby. I have sent last summer, a clerk expressly to check these returns; he could do it only at Fort Niagara and at the posts lower down, because the fort was attacked. Umbrage was taken at it, and notwithstanding the orders with which he was provided, he experienced some annoyance on the part of the Commandants. I think that the person destined for such duty should be a Commissary, in order to make a greater impression, and that you ought to write to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to issue strict commands so that such officer may be able to execute his orders without opposition. Otherwise I shall never be able to root out frauds, for I am too well convinced that such exist in the rations and other expenditures at the forts. This Commissary would also make out the review of the troops there; soldiers, though dead, often pass in those places for being alive.

But, in order thoroughly to regulate the detail of the forts and posts, 'twould be necessary that the Intendant and Commissary of Montreal should themselves visit them in 1761, in order to be well acquainted with them and able not to sign the expenses blind; and the Military Commissary would not commence his visit until 1762.



Annexed is a list of the persons attached to the service, which will enable you to understand their detail. I have noted, in the margin, those who deserve promotion.

You do me the honor, my Lord, to inform me that I shall see, by another despatch, the arrangements you have adopted for the place of Ordonnateur<sup>1</sup> at Montreal, I have not received any in which you mention them.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), BIGOT.



*Messrs. de Vaudreuil and Bigot to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 22<sup>nd</sup> 8<sup>bre</sup>, 1759.

My Lord,

Superiority of the  
English pilots over  
ours, in knowledge  
of the River St.  
Lawrence.

We have received the letter you have done us the honor to write us on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February respecting Sieur Pellegrin, Captain *en second* of the port of Quebec; he has gone to France, being included in the capitulation of Quebec; 'tis, in fact, impossible for him to support himself on the salary of a thousand *livres* that he receives. He will be able, my Lord, to have the honor to submit his remonstrances to you, and we await your orders as to what you will be pleased to procure for him, should he return to Canada.

The manœuvres of the English during their sojourn before Quebec, made us clearly perceive that the pilots, maintained in Canada for a long time past, did not possess a perfect knowledge of the river; the enemy passed 60 gun-ships, where we hardly dared risk a vessel of 100 tons.

The North Traverse was, according to seamen who piqued themselves on their experience, astonishingly difficult — full of dangers; every year, on the approach of the King's ships, the towers which were expressly erected on the Island of Orleans, had to be whitewashed anew; the new growth of trees in the opening, made in the Ile aux réaux, had to be cut down, in order to facilitate the traverse; every precaution was taken for a frigate of 30 guns as for one of 60; so that, as the first intelligence of the arrival of the enemy in the river, M. Bigot immediately sent to throw down the towers and fell the trees on Ile aux réaux, so as to derange the opening in such a manner as not to leave any mark that might facilitate that traverse; notwithstanding all these precautions, the English, without any accident by night as well as by day, passed through it their ships of 70 and 80 guns, and even many together by wearing. They did the same at the Pilgrims, which had the reputation of being a very dangerous passage.

We have the honor to be with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

BIGOT.

<sup>1</sup> See IX., p. 1026. — Ed.

*M. Bigot to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1759.

My Lord,

You will have been informed, ere you receive this, of the loss we have experienced at Quebec at a moment when we were accounting ourselves safe. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Marquis de Montcalm had adopted, at the opening of the campaign, all possible measures to render the enemy's projects against that place abortive, and they ought to have flattered themselves with success, our army being stronger than that of the English. We had 13 thousand men and a thousand to 1,200 Indians, exclusive of a garrison of two thousand in the town; besides, our army was intrenched from the mouth of the River St. Charles to the Falls of the Montmorency. You will, doubtless, receive, my Lord, the plan of our encampment.

Pursuant to the decision of the Council of War, I caused to be constructed, with extraordinary diligence, 6 boats carrying one 24-pounder; 12 flat bateaux, having, one 8, and a floating battery of 12 twenty-fours, 18's and 12's to defend the landing.

The English, having landed on the 30<sup>th</sup> of June at Point Levy, erected batteries for mortars and 32-pounders on the other side of the river opposite Quebec. These, joined to the carcasses and fire-pots which they threw in, have demolished and set fire to three-fourths of the houses in the town.

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of July they sent eight ships above Quebec, during the night, with a landing party of 1,000 men. They attempted a descent 8, 10 and 14 leagues above the town, but were everywhere repulsed. M. de Bougainville had been sent thither with a strong force.

Mr. Wolf, who had landed with three thousand men in the beginning of July, on the other side of the Falls of Montmorency, attacked, on the 31<sup>st</sup> of that month, with the remainder of his army, the intrenchments which lined the Falls on our side and which Chevalier de Levis commanded; the enemy were quickly repulsed. Some days after, the English General abandoned his position at the Falls, which, for more than a month, had greatly incommoded Chevalier de Levis' camp.

In the beginning of September, the enemy again sent above Quebec, 12 vessels to join those already there; this made 20, and defiled along the South shore 3 thousand men who embarked above. M. de Bougainville's detachment was then reinforced, and he was ordered to follow the movements of those ships. They were usually anchored at Cap Rouge, 3 leagues above Quebec. M. de Bourgainville was encamped there, with a very strong portion of his men. That officer followed the ships, according as they moved up or down.

At length, during the night of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup>, the enemy embarked in barges alongside their ships and passed in front of the posts we had between M. de Bougainville and the tow; four different sentinels contented themselves with calling out, *Qui vive?* They answered, *France!* They were allowed to pass unrecognized.

The officers who were in command of those posts, did so under the persuasion that they were flat bateaux loaded with our provisions, which the Commandant of the place had ordered that very night to be allowed to pass, and which did not come; they were to leave Cap Rouge. The English being arrived in front of a steep hill, three quarters of a league from the town,



and which they, no doubt, discovered, was unguarded, ascended it, and attacked one of our rear posts that guarded a slope leading to the water's edge. The officer of that post received several wounds, but was taken prisoner with his detachment. The enemy, thereupon, cleared the slope (*rampe*) and landed their army which was waiting in the barges the succes of their van-guard. The ships were dropping down, meanwhile, to support their barges. M. de Bougainville did not follow them, expecting they would return on the flow of the tide, as they usually did.

At day-break, we were informed at the camp that some of our posts, above Quebec, had been attacked. The Marquis de Montcalm, who did not look on the matter as so serious, sent at first only a few pickets to their assistance, ordering a large portion of our army to follow him; this had diminished, in efficiency and numbers, three thousand men or thereabouts, who were under the command of M. de Bougainville. They were all picked men, being composed of the grenadiers and volunteers of the army, both troops and Canadians.

The Marquis de Montcalm was much surprised, when he had ascended the height in the rear of the city, to see the English army, which was forming on the plain. He gave orders to hasten the march of the body which was coming to join him, and scarcely had it reached the ground on which he stood, when he marched against the enemy and commenced the attack. These different corps, among which were the battalions of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc Guienne and Bearn, amounted only to 3,500 men, or thereabouts. Some of them came a league and a half; they had not time to recover their breath. This little army fired two volleys at that of the English, which amounted, in like manner, to only 3 @ 4 thousand men, but ours, unfortunately, took to flight at the first fire from the enemy, and would have been utterly destroyed, had not 8 @ 900 Canadians thrown themselves into a little wood near St. John's gate, whence they kept up so constant a fire on the enemy, that the latter were obliged to halt in order to return it. This firing lasted a full half hour, which gave the flying troops and Canadians time to reach the bridge we had on the River St. Charles, to communicate with our troops.

'Twas in that retreat that the Marquis de Montcalm received a ball in the loins, as he was on the point of entering the town by the St. Louis gate. I know all the particulars of that landing from English officers of my acquaintance who have communicated them to me; adding, that Mr. Wolf did not expect to succeed; that he had not attempted to land above Quebec, and that he was to sacrifice only his van-guard which consisted of 200 men; that were these fired on, they were all to reëmbark; that the large guns and mortars posted opposite the town had been put again on board, and the troops were to return and leave on the 20<sup>th</sup> September.

We experienced on the same morning, two misfortunes which we should never have foreseen: 1<sup>st</sup> The surprisal of one of our posts that considered itself in security, being guarded by several that were nearer the enemy. 2<sup>nd</sup> The loss of a battle.

It is alleged that had M. de Montcalm been willing to wait for M. Bougainville, or to reinforce his army either from the town or the camp at Beauport, the English were lost, because they could not retreat; but his ardor, and other reasons perhaps, of which we are ignorant, got the better of him and led him to attack regular, well disciplined and equally numerous troops. I am well persuaded that he had had sufficient reasons for not waiting any longer.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, after that battle was lost, called together the Council of War, to see what course it was proper to adopt. It was his opinion that the attack might be recommenced the next morning at daybreak, by again collecting all our forces, as well those of

M. de Bôgainville, which were the best and had not yet been engaged, as a portion of those of the town and of those of our camp. I was also of that opinion, but all the officers of the Council insisted on retreating to Jacques Cartier. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, seeing these gentlemen persist in their sentiments, feared to compromise the Colony, and ordered the retreat at 10 o'clock. We abandoned, nevertheless, a great portion of the tents and baggage of the army, and ten days' provisions, which I had great difficulty in getting brought in carts, because they could not reach us by water, except at great risk. Of all those provisions, I could get only some fifty barrels of flour conveyed to Quebec, for want of carriages, and the provisions of that town, which, in consequence of the conflagrations, were in a suburb near the ovens, had been plundered in the morning by the enemy; besides the army was going to a quarter where there were few houses, and the season beginning to be late, it was exposed to suffer greatly from cold and want. I represented this in vain to the Council.

The morning after our arrival at Jaques Cartier, Chevalier de Levis arrived there. He openly censured our retreat; asked me if there were any means to procure provisions for Quebec. I promised that none would be wanting, provided the necessary escorts were forthcoming. He agreed that moment with the Marquis de Vaudreuil to march to the relief of the town, and to inform M. de Ramezay, its Commandant, of the fact. M. de Vaudreuil, in consequence, sent him an order not to surrender; that he should not want for provisions, and that the army was marching to his relief. Indeed, M. de la Roche Beaucourt introduced next night into the town 120 quintals of biscuit and announced to M. de Ramezay for the following night two trains that I had ordered, one of 80 carts loaded with flour, and the other which I had risked in bateaux by water.

M. de Ramezay had sent word to M. de Vaudreuil that he would not surrender, yet he capitulated on the morning of the entry of the biscuit, and that very night the convoys which M. la Roche Beaucourt had announced, arrived. They were, fortunately, notified when on the point of entering the town, and were not lost to us. M. Laroche Beaucourt has served with distinction in this campaign, and is one of the officers who has rendered most service to the King. He was in command of the cavalry, two companies of which M. de Vaudreuil had organized. They have been very useful and have often seen fire.

The army had, meanwhile, set out from Jacques Cartier to go to the relief of Quebec. We were at St. Augustin, 4 leagues from that town, when we learned that it was surrendered. Our Generals were more affected at the circumstance, as that place was not invested, and people went in and out at will. The English army was not sufficiently numerous to prevent this, as it amounted to only 6 or 7 thousand men. I do not enter, my Lord, into M. de Ramezay's reasons; they are, no doubt, valid.

After having received this news, the Marquis de Vaudreuil brought the army back to Jacques Cartier, where it still remains under Chev. de Levis' orders until the first of November, and is constructing a fort which will accommodate during the winter, a garrison of one thousand men.

It has not been without infinite difficulty, my Lord, that I had succeeded in providing for the subsistence of our Quebec army, which, including the Indian families, consumed daily at least 20 thousand rations. I supplied, in addition, a quarter of a pound of bread to 4 or 5 thousand women and children belonging to the people of the town. I had, besides, to support our Lake Champlain army and that of the Rapids. These three armies numbered more than 30 thousand mouths and we had received provisions from France for only 20 thousand rations a day for three months, by reducing them one-fourth. I foresaw that the Colony would be



exhausted of all sorts of eatables, and especially of wheat, by the end of July. I bethought me of getting all the gold and silver coin in the country collected for the King's bills of exchange; these were refused, but mine were accepted, and thus I succeeded. The farmer, craving after specie, sold me his subsistence and lived only on herbs for two months until harvest. By these means, I have supported our three armies, and I know not what would have become of us, had that not succeeded.

I have not the honor to mention to you, my Lord, our loss of the Beautiful river, Niagara, Carillon and St. Frederic. You must have learned it long since from England. You will, besides, be more fully and better informed by the Military of what has occurred.

Had our posts above Quebec not been surprised, that town was safe. The King would have preserved Canada, so to say, entire. Its condition was described as too wretched; its resources were, doubtless, not perfectly understood; they are now much exhausted, but with a little aid from France and an increase of the battalions, Quebec and the forts of Lake Champlain and Niagara would have been saved.

I had confided to M. Bernier, Commissary of War, the Military hospital at Quebec, both for the troops and for the Canadians. He performed, in the best manner, that duty during the entire campaign, and, as he was Commissary of that hospital on the surrender of the place, he has remained, agreeably to the Cartel, without being a prisoner. He serves there very usefully and to our satisfaction. Our Generals and I address him on all business we have with the English General. The Commissary continues to attend to the preservation and subsistence of our wounded and sick in that hospital.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

BIGOT.

I cannot, my Lord, have the honor to inform you of our situation, not having any cipher. You will learn it from Chevalier de Levis.

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*M. de Bourlamaque to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Camp at Isle aux Noix, 1<sup>re</sup> November, 1759.

Sir,

I have had the honor to report to you at the opening of the campaign, that I was entrusted with the defence of the frontier of Lake St. Sacrament. I am ignorant whether my letters have reached you.

The division of the army employed in that service was composed of the battalion of the regiment of La Reine, of the two battalions of Berry, of one hundred and fifty soldiers detached from the other five battalions, of a like number of soldiers of the Marine and of eight hundred Militia, making a total of two thousand three hundred men.

When the despatches from Court arrived, I received positive orders from M. de Vaudreuil not to think of defending Forts Carillon and St. Frederic, but to abandon them one after the other, as soon as the English army made its approach, and to fall back on this side of Lake Champlain to an island in the River St. John, which was judged to be the post best adapted to protect the Colony on this side. Chev. de Levis came himself to establish this post before proceeding to Quebec, and stationed some workmen in it, who began intrenching it.

As the enemy might attempt to cut off my retreat, I occupied myself until their arrival in strengthening the fortifications of Carillon, in every way that might lead them to believe that I intended to defend that post to the last.

The English army, eleven or twelve thousand strong, six or seven thousand of whom were Regulars, moved slowly, but with all the preparations necessary for a grand expedition. It landed on this end of Lake St. Sacrament on the 22<sup>nd</sup> July. I wished to take advantage of that moment to make an attack on the troops in advance, with three hundred domiciliated Indians and the grenadiers and volunteers of my little army. I led them in person to meet the enemy on vantage ground, but 'twas impossible for me to induce the Indians to march against the enemy. This unwillingness, which has prevailed throughout the entire campaign, afforded time to the English to form their line, and I was obliged, after having got the other light troops to fire for some time, to make them fall back within the intrenchments of Carillon, and to turn attention to the arrangements of the retreat which I effected on the following night in the greatest order.

I left four hundred men in the fort, under the command of Captain d'Hebecourt, of La Reine, an officer of courage and distinction, with orders to blow up the fort and to retire as soon as the enemy would have erected their first batteries.

I encamped with the remainder of the troops, two leagues and a half from Carillon, to preserve the communication by the river with the fort, and to be able to get the garrison from it.

M. d'Hebecourt, after having kept up, during four days, the most active fire from the artillery, retired during the night of the 26<sup>th</sup> @ 27<sup>th</sup>, having had the guns burst and the fort blown up.

28<sup>th</sup> I fell back on Fort St. Frederic, and that place, not being tenable against an army so superior, nor capable of being placed in a state of defence as promptly as was necessary, I left it on the 31<sup>st</sup>, after having had the fort blown up, and crossed Lake Champlain with all the artillery, provisions and effects accruing from the evacuation of the two posts. I repaired to Isle aux Noix to attend only to placing that post in the best state of defence.

I left on the lake a schooner armed with ten four-pounders and three small craft called Schébecs, each carrying eight guns of the same calibre, and a crew of fifty men. The commander of that little squadron had orders to cruise continually at the outlet of the lake to block its passages against the English army, which could cross it only in small bateaux.

This army set out on its approach to St. Frederic on the same day the King's troops had evacuated it, and the English General, having had knowledge of the vessels which had been left to cruise, did not think to follow me any farther. He employed his army in erecting at St. Frederic a fort much larger and stronger than that I had destroyed, until he should have a navy built superior to that we had on the lake, and in sending scouts to reconnoitre my position and the intrenchments I was having constructed at Isle aux Noix.

The knowledge I possessed of the building of that navy did not prevent me keeping the four vessels cruising a long time, persuaded that the moment I would have withdrawn them,



the English General, who had express instructions to attack Canada with vigor by Lake Champlain, would not fail to execute them. I wished for time to render Isle aux Noix proof against an attack, and in this I have succeeded. I did hope, besides, that the Schébecks, which were sailing pretty well, might escape under cover of the night, notwithstanding the superiority of the English vessels.

12<sup>th</sup> October. The English army defiled on Lake Champlain. The van-guard was composed of an armed brigantine carrying 16 eighteen-pounders, of 3 snows and 160 flat bateaux or barges. These vessels gave chase to our schooner, but could not take her as she had become separated from the other three and run aground. The Schébecks were, during that time, engaged with 150 barges, which they dispersed and drove ashore. The wind, having changed quite suddenly, the English vessels, notified by the fire from the guns of the Schébecks [bore down on the Commander of the Schébecks, who<sup>1</sup>] considering it impossible for him to escape the English fleet, determined to sink the vessels at nightfall and to escape with the crews through the woods. The prisoners he had taken assure us that the English army, which he had himself perceived on the lake, was ten thousand strong, and had several flat bateaux armed with heavy guns, and one bomb-ketch.

The van-guard of the English army having formed a junction, came to anchor in the River St. John, two leagues from Isle aux Noix.

20<sup>th</sup> Fifteen or twenty barges drove in our scouts and came to reconnoitre our intrenchments.

23<sup>rd</sup> The entire van-guard retired up the lake, after having led me, for several days, to hope that I should terminate the campaign in a manner glorious to the King's arms.

It is probable that the knowledge the English General possessed of our position and the little time that he had remaining for operations, have determined him to abandon the project of attacking this frontier.

The season is now so far advanced that there is no appearance of the English undertaking any serious enterprise.

You have learned, from other sources, Sir, the events which have occurred on the other frontiers. If it be allowable to feel any satisfaction after such misfortunes, 'tis that of not sharing them and of having, on my part, successfully carried out the plan of defence confided to me.

'Tis only by unheard of labor, in which the troops coöperated with the utmost good will, that I have been able to render the post of Isle aux Noix sufficiently imposing to stay the progress of an army so superior and which did not want for any of the means to operate.

Chevalier de Levis has the honor to transmit to you a list of the favors of which, in his opinion, the officers of the eight battalions he commands, are deserving, and no doubt includes therein those who have made the campaign with me. I shall, nevertheless, take the liberty specially, to report to you Lieutenant-Colonel Roquemaure, Commandant of the battalion of La Reine, Captain d'Hebecourt of the same regiment, and adjutant d'Hert, Lieutenants Bartouille and Faily of the regiment of Berry, Captain Louvicou, of artillery, commanding that of this frontier, and Lieutenant Volff, of the Infantry, a partizan and excelling in that sort of warfare.

<sup>1</sup> Some such words as these, which are necessary to complete the sense of the passage, are omitted in the text. — Ed.

I should consider myself highly favored, were his Majesty to please to be satisfied with the services I have rendered during this campaign, and were yourself, Sir, so good as to approve my conduct.

I have the honor to be, with respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

BOURLAMAQUE.

*Bishop de Pontbriand to ———.*

Montreal, 9<sup>th</sup> November, 1759.

Sir,

Your letter full of kindness fills me with gratitude so profound that I find it impossible to express it. I feel confidence that the present situation, far from diminishing, will augment that goodness.

The few opportunities there are of writing, Sir, prevent me entering into any detail. You will assuredly be informed of the misery experienced by all conditions in this Colony. The annexed description may afford an idea thereof. Were it distributed, it would perhaps call forth some alms.

The events which have occurred are much discussed here. People condemn easily. I have watched them closely, having never been more than a league from the Marquis de Vaudreuil; I cannot help saying that those are greatly in error who attribute our misfortunes to him. Although this subject is not within my province, I flatter myself, Sir, that you will not disapprove a testimony which truth alone leads me to give.

I have the honor to be, with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), + H. M., Bishop of Quebec.<sup>1</sup>

The delay of the sailing of our ships, has afforded me the leisure to collect under one single point of view the criticism of the public on the operations of the campaign.

*An Imperfect Description of the Misery of Canada. By Bishop de Pontbriand.*

In order to excite the charity of persons imbued with the slightest compassion, 'tis sufficient to expose the condition of Canada.

<sup>1</sup> See VI., 483, nota. — Ed.



Quebec has been bombarded and cannonaded for the space of over 2 months. 180 houses have been burnt by fire-pots, all the others riddled by shot and shell. Walls 6 feet thick have not resisted; vaults in which private persons had placed their effects have been burnt, shattered and pillaged during and after the siege. The Cathedral has been entirely consumed. No part of the Seminary is habitable except the kitchen, where the Parish priest of Quebec, with his coadjutor, has retired. That community has suffered still greater losses outside the town, where the enemy have burnt 4 farms and 3 extensive mills belonging to it, and which constituted all its revenue. The church of the Lower town is wholly destroyed; those of the Récollets, of the Jesuits, and of the Seminary are unserviceable except by extensive repairs. Mass can only be celebrated with any sort of decency in that of the Ursulines, although the English use it for some extraordinary ceremonies. This convent and that of the *Hospitalières*<sup>1</sup> have been also much damaged; they are without provisions, all their lands having been laid waste. Meanwhile the nuns have found means to lodge there, however indifferently, after having resided during the entire siege at the General Hospital. The Hotel-Dieu is greatly straitened because the English sick are there. 4 years ago this convent was entirely burnt. The Episcopal palace is almost destroyed and supplies only one habitable apartment; the vaults have been pillaged. The Récollet convent and Jesuit college are nearly in the same condition. The English however, have somewhat repaired them for quarters for the troops; they have taken possession of such houses in the town as are the least damaged, and even daily drive citizens from their houses, who, by means of money, having had some apartment fitted up; or confine them to such narrow compass, by the number of soldiers whom they billet on them, that almost all are forced to abandon that unfortunate town; this they do the more readily as the English will not sell anything except for cash, and the money of the country, 'tis known, consists only of paper. The priests of the Seminary, the canons and the Jesuits are dispersed throughout the small space of country that is still exempt from English domination. The private citizens of the town are without wood for their winter fuel, without bread, without flour, without meat, and live only on the little biscuit and pork the English soldier sells them from his ration. Such is the extremity to which our best citizens are reduced; hence the misery of the people and of the poor can be easily inferred.

The rural districts furnish no resources, and are perhaps as much to be pitied as the town. Côte de Beaupré and the Island of Orleans have been wholly destroyed before the end of the siege; the barns, farmers' houses and priests' residences, (*Presbytères*) have been burned, and the cattle that remained, carried off; those removed above Quebec have almost all been taken for the subsistence of our army; so that the poor farmer who returned to his land with his wife and children, will be obliged to hut himself, Indian fashion; his crops, which could not be saved, except on halves, will be exposed, as well as the cattle, to the inclemency of the weather. The secret depositories (*caches*) made in the woods, have been discovered by the enemy, and consequently the farmer is without clothing, furniture, plough and without any implements to cultivate the soil and to cut wood. The churches have been preserved to the number of ten; but the windows, doors, altars, statues and tabernacles have been broken; the mission of the Abénaquis Indians of St. Francis has been utterly destroyed by a party of English and Indians, who have stolen all the vestments and sacred vessels, have thrown the consecrated Hosts on the ground, have killed some thirty persons, more than 20 of whom were women and children.

<sup>1</sup> Or Religious ladies forming the community of the Hotel-Dieu, *Hawkins' Picture of Quebec*, 194. — Ed.

On the other, or South, side of the river about 36 leagues of settled country have been almost equally devastated; it contained 19 parishes, the greater number of which have been destroyed.

All those places, just mentioned, will suffer seriously, and are incapable of assisting any person; have no provisions to sell, and will not be restored to their ancient state for more than 20 years. A great many of these farmers, as well as those of Quebec, are coming to the district of Montreal and of Three Rivers, but find it very difficult to obtain relief.

Rents in both the towns are exorbitant and so are the prices of all commodities; for example, butter 6<sup>11</sup> the pound; eggs the same per dozen; sheep 70 @ 80<sup>11</sup> and the farmer objects, strongly, to taking the paper money (*les ordonnances*); paper 24<sup>11</sup> the ream; shoes 30<sup>11</sup>, soap the same per pound, and clothing in proportion. Next year, 'twill be difficult to sow the land, because there has been none ploughed.

There are plenty of objects of charity, and every one can select, from the list, according to his taste and inclination. The Superiors of St. Sulpice, of the Foreign Missions of the Jesuits, and Abbé de L'Ile-Dieu will, readily receive any alms that may be offered, and find means to have them forwarded. Silk gowns may be sent; they can be converted here into vestments. In the seaports—at Brest, M. Hocquart; at Bordeaux, M. Estèbe; at Rochelle, M. Goguet, will undertake to forward the linens, stuffs, pork, flour, brandy, wine and generally whatever people will be willing to send.

I attest that in this description of our misfortunes nothing is exaggerated, and I beg their Lordships the Bishops, and the charitable to make some efforts in our behalf.

+ H. M. Bishop of Quebec.

Montreal, this 5<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup> 1759.



*An Impartial Opinion on the Military Operations of the Campaign in Canada, 1759.*

By Bishop DE PONTRELAND.

What appears to have been the subject of criticism, is the only subject treated of here.

'Tis asked, 1<sup>st</sup> Why was the enemy allowed to land on the Island of Orleans? 2<sup>nd</sup> Why were they permitted to land and erect batteries at Point Levi? 3<sup>rd</sup> Why were they suffered to occupy the heights of the Falls of Montmorenci? 4<sup>th</sup> Why were the heights near Quebec not better protected? 5<sup>th</sup> Why was not our whole force brought together at the battle of the 13<sup>th</sup>? 6<sup>th</sup> Why precipitately abandon the Beauport intrenchments to take refuge at Jacques Cartier? 7<sup>th</sup> Finally, why did the town surrender, before the enemy had effected a breach?

These questions will be examined without any prejudice, without any human motive. He who undertakes to do so is not a military man, has no relative either in the troops or in the Colony, has not penetrated into the secrets of the Cabinet and was in a position to see every thing himself, to confer with the heads of the army, to hear all and drew up his journal with exactness.



1<sup>st</sup> QUESTION.

Why was the enemy allowed to land on the Island of Orleans?

It has been always the conviction, that it was not possible to prevent that landing, and that it was much more important to preserve our intrenchments at Beauport which, 'twas feared, the enemy would have attacked, had people amused themselves on the Island of Orleans. Nevertheless the Marquis de Vaudreuil did send thither some Indian and French detachments and even cannon, and the enemy was annoyed. Had the Island been defended, the enemy would have encamped at Point Levi, or without encamping, would have attacked Beauport. Besides, 'tis an Island without fortifications and over 14 leagues in circumference.

2<sup>nd</sup> QUESTION.

Why was the enemy permitted to land and erect batteries at Point Levi?

A small detachment which we had was surprised and offered no resistance, but some farmers exhibited a great deal of courage. M. de Vaudreuil spent over six hours in persuading the Indians to go and strike a sudden blow. In the meantime that General had adopted measures with the Marquis de Montcalm to go and make an attack in the night on the enemy's camp at the same place, more especially as a great number of the enemy were visible at Point Levi.

Unfortunately, some prisoners were taken at Point Levi on the same day, the 30<sup>th</sup> June; one of them, an Irish Catholic, who appeared to be sincere and perhaps was so, assured that the English were only 400 in number there, that the entire army was that night to attack the Beauport camp. He was believed the more readily as the English General was an active and impetuous man. This was what made the design against Point Levi fail. Our troops stood to their arms the whole night. The enemy landed a strong force at Point Levi, from which 'twas as easy for them to come and attack our camp as from the Island of Orleans; and it was thought to be a feint to draw us out, to divide us and to take the Beauport intrenchments which we always considered impregnable. The enemy profited by the interval, was soon intrenched and erected batteries at Point Levi, where there were, according to the prisoners, 3,000 men. Quebec was aware that it was to be bombarded, and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July the notables demanded that the enemy should be attacked. They thought that there was only 600 men, which was not correct; and how attack an enemy behind intrenchments? Was it not to be feared that he would have abandoned Point Levi to pounce, with those of the Island of Orleans, on our intrenchments? Besides, there were no bateaux to cross in. Several years ago the Court had been informed that it was not possible to oppose a landing on the Point Levi side and to prevent the bombardment of the town. Nevertheless, by force of solicitations on the part of the town, M. Demars<sup>1</sup> was commanded with 1,000 men; but he was discovered and some of our men fired at each other and returned on the thirteenth of July.

I am assured, however, that M. de Vaudreuil and some officers would have wished that an attempt had been made at Point Levi with a considerable party. But M. de Montcalm and the principal officers of the army were afraid of weakening the Beauport intrenchment, especially as the frigates went towards the Falls on the 9<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Dumas. — Ed.

3<sup>rd</sup> QUESTION.

Why was the enemy allowed to occupy the heights at the Falls of Montmorency?

'Twas on the 9<sup>th</sup> of July that the English barges, supported by some frigates, went to land near the Falls. It had been always the impression that no large ship could enter the North Channel. Some Canadians and Indians fired at the enemy; killed about 140 of their men, and we lost 8; the others recrossed the Falls to join a corps of 7 @ 800 men. There was no knowing the numbers of the enemy, who kept daily increasing. It might have been supposed a feint to induce us to go on the heights, in order that the enemy would suddenly fall in return on our Beauport intrenchments. People looked quite unconcernedly at the enemy ascending the heights of the Falls. I am assured that M. de Vaudreuil, in concert with the Intendant, wished to make an attack that night, but a Council of War was called, and 'twas decided that such an undertaking was impracticable. This is an assured fact. M. de Montcalm had reasons, no doubt, and, indeed, the opposition of the enemy was very successful, who took up a position in the night and even erected a battery and eventually formed a very extensive camp there. Whereupon disappeared all inclination to attack, and people contented themselves with sending out small parties, which at one time threatened to bring on a general engagement.

4<sup>th</sup> QUESTION.

Why were not the heights near Quebec better protected?

They were considered inaccessible; posts had been established at a short distance one from the other. In case of the enemy attempting anything, a sortie from the town was relied on. M. de Bougainville had 2,000 men, who could defend that quarter and reach it, although his men were dispersed within 6 or 7 leagues. The night of the 13<sup>th</sup> was that on which, it seemed, greater vigilance was used; but unfortunately word had been sent that some of our bateaux were to pass, and the English barges did, indeed, answer as if they were loaded with provisions for Quebec. I know for certain that M. de Vaudreuil had recommended the stationing at that quarter about 400 men more, and the erection of a few redoubts. Those who superintended the military operations and the artillery thought it all useless. Yet, it must be acknowledged that the officer of the post, or rather, that the sentinels had not been sufficiently vigilant.

5<sup>th</sup> QUESTION.

Why were not all our people brought out together at the battle of the 13<sup>th</sup> September?

'Twas some time after the enemy had climbed up, that M. de Montcalm got word; he issued his orders to the regiments and to a certain number of Militia. He considered it his duty to leave the Montreal battalion in charge of the Beauport intrenchments, and neither informed nor sent word to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who, nevertheless, set out shortly afterwards, which fact was communicated to the M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm. We were not 3,000 men; he resolved to attack a little too soon, as he himself admitted; but he feared the enemy intended to intrench themselves; he wished to take advantage of the first impulse of the soldier. It has since been ascertained, that had he delayed one hour, the enemy would have been reinforced by 3,000 men, and have had 8 pieces of artillery. M. de Vaudreuil could not prevent the flight; in the hour of need, he even employed a priest to rally the men.



6<sup>th</sup> QUESTION.

Why abandon so precipitately the Beauport intrenchments to take refuge at Jacques Cartier?

I went to the camp on the 13<sup>th</sup>, after the defeat, and learned from the Intendant that the question was, whether to turn back on the enemy or to go to Jacques Cartier; that M. de Montcalm, although mortally wounded, had stated this alternative. I took the liberty to speak of the first to M. de Vaudreuil, who told me that all the heads of the army were opposed to it. The death of the English General was not known; our troops were very much fatigued; no superior officers. I had the honor to tell him that, after all, he was Master; he could order, but that he would be forced to capitulate for the entire Colony, if beaten. My sincerity added, that if that happened, he might indeed appear inexcusable, and that, in fact, there was some risk. I then left, and a Council of War was assembled, which decided on falling back on Jacques Cartier, about 11 leagues from the town—a post which it was important to preserve; for, had the enemy seized it, they could cut off the provisions both from the army and town, none having been received for three days. The enemy, being master of the river, could have sent out barges, taken all the bateaux which would come down with provisions. There was no appearance of these being brought in over land from Jacques Cartier, as the roads were extremely bad, and there were very few vehicles, and the army and town could never have been supplied. The enemy would have also cut off the communication with the entire country above Quebec, and forced a general capitulation for the whole Colony. 'Twas therefore necessary not to postpone, for a single moment, securing that post, and a portion of our army could not be allowed to be sent without exposing those who would have remained at Beauport, to be carried off.

7<sup>th</sup> QUESTION.

Why did the town surrender before the enemy had made any breach?

I could answer this question only in a vague manner, as I am not informed respecting the provisions, the arrangements of the garrison or the orders the Commandant might have. It is a long time since sensible persons have come to the conclusion that 'twas difficult for two Generals to be of the same opinion; that, nevertheless, the Court could not help forbidding anything being undertaken, except jointly. When Councils of War become necessary, many inconveniences have to be surmounted.<sup>1</sup>

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*M. de St. Maurice to M. Berryer.*

My Lord,

M. D'Autrechaux, the King's Lieutenant at Port Louis, has handed me a letter with which your Excellency has been pleased to honor him on the 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1759, whereby you

<sup>1</sup> "But when Councils of War become necessary in order to decide what course to pursue, many circumstances will arise on, and according to, the diversity of opinions and the different manner of viewing objects, and the critical circumstances in which men find themselves; the result of which is, that, if there be danger in concentrating authority in the hands of one man, there is still more in apportioning and dividing it among several persons." See *Collection de Mémoires et de Relations, &c.*, publié par La Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec, 1840; in which the above Document is published, but without the name of the author, and terminates with the passage translated in this note. — Ed.

have been pleased to allow me to approach you in order to have the honor to communicate a plan which may contribute to the defence of that part of Canada yet remaining in our possession; a part which we will be able to preserve with tolerable ease and without exposing the State to immense expense.

'Tis in obedience to your Excellency's orders, my Lord, that I have come from Port Louis here, and am going to remain until your Excellency will be pleased to grant me an audience. I require to communicate the expedients my plan consists of, and which are to enable you, my Lord, to preserve to France the part of Canada from Quebec to Lakes Ontario and Champlain; a part, the preservation whereof cannot but be very precious and of infinite importance to the State, and which can be preserved with as much success as honor without any immense expense, if your Excellency will be pleased to approve the plan I have presumed to come to submit to you.

I have the honor to be, with most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), MASSÉ DE ST. MAURICE,

Officer in the regiment of Berry, lodging with  
Sieur Deloffre, footman to the Queen, M<sup>de</sup>  
Levesque's pavillion, over the Hotel Monaco,  
St. Cloud avenue, Versailles.

3<sup>d</sup> January 1760.

#### CANADA.

Memoir of Mr Massé de St. Maurice, on the defence of that part of Canada which still remains to France.

What is proposed here aims only at preserving us the few settlements which remain to us in Canada. Our inferiority in numbers, the scarcity of provisions and ammunition, are motives sufficiently powerful to discourage the making of conquests there. Will it not be glorious for the Nation, after having lost the Capital, to preserve the portion which still remains to us in that Colony? On some succor being furnished to the Generals, their valor, intelligence and the union which prevails among them, must guarantee us success in the operations of the next campaign; those Generals can actually do nothing if prompt assistance be not rendered them. All the difficulty consists in conveying it to them safely, without any danger; 'tis on this point I am about to treat with precision, combining the respective interests of our enemies the English.

The English being in possession of Ile Royale or Louisbourg, and of Quebec, are no longer liable to have privateers nor armed ships abroad; our only fear from them, then, is in leaving the French ports.

The enemy's forces will indubitably march by way of the Upper country; they are aware of the indispensable necessity of becoming masters of Montreal, which nothing can prevent save prompt assistance. The actual state of our navy saves them the trouble of making a considerable armament to sustain themselves in Quebec. They are morally certain that the



garrison which they have left there is more than sufficient to hold it. Assuredly, they will not send any considerable force thither; if they will forward troops, 'twill only be to replace those they will have lost during the course of the winter. Chiboutout and Louisburg offered them the means of transporting provisions to it, whenever they please.

The garrison they have left in Quebec is composed of 5,000 men. General Muray, who commands there, will be able easily to detach a small division of 3,000 men direct to Montreal, and in concert with General Hamers, have a junction formed there with what they design sending down the Rapids to make a diversion. This it is proper to remedy in order to save the rest of the Colony, which cannot be effected without sending the necessary assistance thither; 'twill be well to have these reinforcements sent in two divisions.

The first would be composed of 500 men, viz. 400 Regulars, 100 Colonials which constituted part of the garrison of Quebec, there being a great many of these same soldiers who are perfectly acquainted with the locality where it is indispensable for us to land. In order to succeed perfectly the landing must be made at Mekaskoo point,<sup>1</sup> (between Menagoniche Island<sup>2</sup> and Birds' Island,<sup>3</sup>) five leagues west of the River St. John, at the mouth of that of Mechicoo<sup>4</sup> and of the Bay of Fundy, in order to cross the forest as far as St. Anne between Lake Kousaky<sup>5</sup> and Madocteg<sup>6</sup> and strike again the River St. John so as to reach the portage to Quebec, and to arrive at Villiers, and to cross the River Saint Lawrence there, between Pointe au tremble and Sillery.

The mouth of the River St. John lies opposite that of the Bay of Fundy; Fort la Tour, or St. John, is situate on the left bank of that river; it has an English garrison of 150 men since its reduction. This post can be carried by assault, without much difficulty; it is passed to the right, without having any knowledge of the arrival of this detachment.

The Bay of Fundy separates the Peninsula of Acadia from the main land. Halifax or Chiboutout lies in the south part of that Peninsula, and can be avoided by making land only at forty-four degrees of latitude.

This is the most convenient place to land the first detachment in safety, so as not to be annoyed by the English.

The objection will be made: how will it be possible for a body of 500 men to march 160 and some odd leagues, in the woods, on the banks of lakes and rivers, without any practicable roads to permit the transportation of provisions.

The nutritive powder which was to serve for the subsistence of the troops designed for the descent on England, is still in existence, and can be of as much service in North America as it would have been in the British islands.

One considerable advantage would result from this first armament; the troops once landed in safety at their destination, orders would be given to the officer in charge of the expedition to collect the Colonists on his route; the number would amount to more than a thousand, and joined to the 500 soldiers, would form a corps of 1,500 men, capable by well combined movements of holding in check the enemy under the cannon of Quebec without daring to attempt going out of that place.

<sup>1</sup> Called Cape Mecheascor in Belin's *Carte de l'Acadie*; now Musquash.

<sup>2</sup> Menagonishe Island is a little Northwest of the harbor of St. John, near the mouth of the River Agonishe.

<sup>3</sup> Birds' islands, now Wolves' island, lie a little East of Passamaquoddy bay.

<sup>4</sup> River Mecheascor *Belin*; Mechiocor, *Mitchell*; now, River Musquash, in New Brunswick.

<sup>5</sup> At the head of the River St. Croix or Chiputnaticook, which forms the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick.

<sup>6</sup> *Supra*, IX., 548, note 2; 733. — Ed.

The 2<sup>d</sup> embarkation would consist of an equal number of 500 men with the provisions, munitions of war and artillery.

The officer in charge of this second division would proceed by the River St. Lawrence, to land the troops above Quebec, in order to form a junction with the 1<sup>a</sup>, and form with it a small *corps d'armée* to oppose those which General Muray might send out of the town to advance and ruin our settlements.

The ships which would have transported the troops, provisions, ammunition and artillery would serve with advantage, after they had been carried up the river to be moored between Batiscan and Champlain and erect batteries on them to oppose the enemy, should the latter undertake to pass there in order to form a junction with the army which would descend from Niagara by the Rapids.

This armament though of little importance, would place Chev. de Levis at his ease, not having anything to fear from below, wherefore he would be able to proceed with the greater part of his army to Hévreuïl along Lake Champlain to observe General Hamers and hold him in check during the campaign.

M. de Bourlamaque could repair below Niagara to stop the enemy's army that might attempt to descend the Rapids with a view to reach Montreal.

This campaign, without presuming to flatter ourselves with making any conquests, would be attended with advantage. The result of it would be to strengthen the confidence of the Indians which is weakened, and that of the Colonists, three-fourths of which is lost. The farmers of the Colony now feel how important it is for them to be delivered from the tyranny of the English, although they have been but a short time under it.

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*Memoir of Chev. Le Mercier on Canada.*

Memoir on the Situation of Canada, confining ourselves to what is indispensable to preserve that Colony to the King, until the spring of 1762.

ARTICLE 1.

France cannot retain her possessions in North America, except by having reinforcements of men, munitions of war and provisions conveyed thither, under a convoy of five or six men-of-war.

2.

The success of this expedition will depend on the activity of the armament which must be completed by the end of February, in order to reach the river before the enemy.

3.

Quebec must necessarily be besieged and taken in the course of May, a time when the enemy cannot turn Isle aux Noix, on account of the spring freshets.



## 4.

The objects of the ships of war and frigates will be, not only to escort the fleet, but also to stop the enemy's squadron should it press us too closely.

## 5.

Intrenched batteries would be erected on Isle aux Coudres, and on the North shore, to oblige the English to attack them.

## 6.

The men-of-war would remain anchored at *La Petite Rivière*<sup>1</sup> so as to be able to batter any of the enemy's ships or frigates which would have passed the Gulf.

## 7.

Should the English enter the Gulf with a naval force of too great superiority, then our fleet would go and lie above the traverse so as to stop the enemy there, and send to sink one or two frigates along St. Joachim, to prevent the enemy's frigates or transports passing North of the Island of Orleans.

## 8.

20 thirty-six-pounders might be sent as ballast in the men-of-war, and to furnish batteries at Point Levis and at the end of the Island of Orleans, which could cover the retreat of our men-of-war and prevent those of the English anchoring under the cannon of Quebec.

## 9.

Supposing it necessary, at last, to yield to force, the men-of-war and frigates would go and anchor above the Falls of the Chaudière, where the besieging army would construct a redoubt and another on the opposite bank for the reception of cannon and mortars; it is the narrowest part of the River (St. Lawrence.)

## 10.

The number of men must be fixed, at least, at 4,000, including troops from Isle Royale, Colonials and volunteers from the regiments, which would make, in Canada, only 8,000 soldiers to guard the frontiers and to lay siege to Quebec, whose garrison consists of from 4 @ 5,000 men.

It will be observed that those soldiers will not be any expense. Their passage must be less inasmuch as they will act in place of a crew in the transports and be employed in the simple manœuvres.

## 11.

There cannot be sent less than 50 thousand quintals of flour, estimating only 20 thousand rations a day, at the rate of one pound and a half of bread, although it ought to be two pounds. It will require 36 pounds of flour per month, for each ration, which will make, per month, 7,200 quintals, and for the seven months of the campaign, 50,400 quintals. It will be necessary to obtain from the harvests wherewith to provision, during the winter, 8,000

<sup>1</sup> The Parish of *La Petite Rivière* is included in the seigniory of Cote de Beaupré, in the present county of Charlevoix, on the north bank of the River St. Lawrence, and near Isle aux Coudres, below Quebec. It is at present a well settled parish, with good houses, and the farms in a respectable state of tillage. *Bouchette's Topographical Dictionary of Lower Canada.* — Ed.

soldiers, the laborers at the posts and Indians of the different nations; although only 20 thousand rations are estimated, nearly 30 have been consumed last summer.

## 12.

There would be required 20 thousand or at least 15 thousand barrels of pork; 20 thousand during the seven campaign months at the rate of half a pound, make 21 thousand quintals for 10 thousand rations; during the five winter months 7,500 quintals; which amount to 28,500 quintals net, at 200 pounds the barrel, 14,250 barrels. In the distribution, there is a waste in the weight of 10 per cent. Some pork taints; 'twould be very advantageous, were there any over, that the King should order some to be sold to the people, who will not be able to get any more beef from the butchers, the species being destroyed.

## 13.

24 twenty-four-pounders for the siege; twelve mortars, ammunition in proportion, according to the statement prepared with M<sup>r</sup> Acaron.

## 14.

The goods for the Indian trade, the linen for the camps and other necessities for the service, as well as the material for clothing the troops and Colonists, according to the requisition of M<sup>r</sup> Bigot, the Intendant.

## 15.

To make an arrangement which may restore confidence to the people and give them some encouragement respecting the paper money in which their fortune consists; otherwise there is no knowing whether 'twill be possible to expect to find the same zeal and willingness among the Canadians.

## 16.

Dry goods and liquors being at an excessive rate in Canada, on account of their scarcity, the King might send thither what the people require, under the name of some merchants to whom the King would pay commission. For one million, he would obtain in return more than ten, in bills of exchange or notes, and this would be a certain means to reestablish confidence and liquidate the public debts.

## 17.

To fix the sum for which the Intendant will draw bills of exchange, in order that they be punctually paid and drawn pro rata for the remittance each would make. To order the registration of those of the year so that they may carry interest for the private person.

## 18.

Should this relief arrive in Canada after the naval forces of the enemy, they could not free the Colony, they would be a pure loss to the King. A double plan might be made, not to be unsealed except in such case.

## 19.

Precise orders must be given to enter the ice immediately on arriving. Nothing is more rare than to see a vessel wrecked in it, and it would be preferable that such a misfortune should happen to one or two, than to enter the river too late.



20.

If France does not send sufficient reinforcements to lay siege to Quebec, 'tis useless to send any, and the Colony will necessarily be lost.

21.

If the King determine to send to Canada the aid required, the recovery of Quebec is considered certain, if it arrive before the English; nothing further being to be apprehended by way of the river, the entire Colony will be able to proceed either to the Rapids or to Ile aux Noix, and the enemy will not penetrate any further. We ought, besides, anticipate the fullest success from the union which exists between M. de Vaudreuil and Chevalier de Levis, who have only at heart the safety of the Colony and the King's Glory.

22.

After his Majesty shall have decided on the course he will pursue respecting Canada, 'twould be essential that a frigate be sent to the Bay of Fundy, about a dozen leagues from the mouth of the river St. John, to land Sieur St. Simon or some other Colonial officer there, to convey, with three Acadians, the despatches in cipher overland to the General. This frigate might afterwards cruise between Boston and Halifax, send to some port in Newfoundland the prizes and provisions she might take, and make them enter the river as soon as the ice would permit.

23.

As the last article, 'tis requested that attention be paid to the fact that time is passing, and that success can be looked for only from great activity.

(Signed) Chev. LEMERCIER.

Versailles, 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1760.



*Marshal de Belle Isle to Chevalier de Levis.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Versailles, 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1760.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of the letters you have done me the honor to write me on the 22<sup>nd</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1758, 15<sup>th</sup> April, 17<sup>th</sup> May, 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1759. These last have been delivered to me by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Joumas and Lemerrier, with whom I have conferred as well as with Chevalier de Bernetz, ancient commandant of battalion, on the late events in Canada, and the present state of the Colony, and I have judged, from the different details they have reported to me, that they thoroughly understood the commission you had confided to them.

The King has been deeply affected by the loss of M. de Montcalm and the other officers who have fallen before Quebec. His Majesty is perfectly persuaded that the command could not, after him, be in better hands than yours, and that you will maintain to the end, the honor of his arms, to whatever extremity affairs may be reduced. For the rest, M. Berrier orders to be dispatched to you relief of every description in provisions, munitions of war and recruits, by

means whereof, despite the advantages the English possess in the occupation of the town of Quebec, which has been too hastily surrendered, you will be able to dispute the ground with them, inch by inch, and perhaps to gain some advantages over them, sufficient to arrest their progress. His Majesty cannot but rely on the wisdom of the measures you will adopt, with M. de Vaudreuil, to that end; not doubting but that there exists between you every desirable concert in a conjuncture so critical as this in which you find yourselves.

You will see, by the annexed list, that the King has granted the greater part of the favors you have demanded for the officers of the troops of the Line, serving under your orders. As they are the reward of the courage and constancy of those who have obtained them, his Majesty expects that they will serve to excite a general emulation in well doing, and that in announcing them, you will not omit anything in your power to contribute to their producing that effect. I also enclose in this packet the crosses of St. Louis which his Majesty has granted; M. de Roquemaure's commission of Brigadier with letters of service to be employed in such quality, and the order of Deputy Quartermaster-General you have solicited for M. de la Paure in the place of M. de Bougainville, together with the lists of appointments to the vacancies.

I request you to continue to transmit me your news by every opportunity which will offer, and to be persuaded that I shall most readily improve, near his Majesty, the new proofs he expects you will give him of your zeal for his service.

I have the honor to be most perfectly, Sir, &c.

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*M. de Vaudreuil's Instructions to Chevalier de Levis.*

Memoir to serve as Instructions to Chevalier de Levis, Maréchal des Camps et Armées of the King.

The winding up of the last campaign, reduced the Colony to the most critical circumstances and most melancholy condition.

1<sup>st</sup> By the strong garrison the enemy left in Quebec, and their proximity to our frontiers on Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

2<sup>nd</sup> By the exhaustion of our resources, of our other means, and particularly by the extreme scarcity of provisions.

We conceived, nevertheless, the desire of recapturing Quebec during the winter; we arranged, conjointly, with Chevalier de Levis, the most urgent preparations for such an expedition, the good will of the Canadians seconding perfectly our measures; we had every reason to hope that the first instant would not be lost when the garrison of Quebec would find itself enfeebled by sickness or discouraged by some unfortunate event, such as the firing of its powder magazines, &c.

The knowledge we have had of the enemy's forces, and military arrangements, the obstacles we could not surmount for such a campaign, especially in regard to provisions, the greatest portion of the mills being stopped by the ice; all that being maturely considered and duly reflected on by Chevalier de Levis and myself induced us, secretly, to postpone the execution



of our project until the opening of the navigation ; we have, however, made the demonstrations which depended on us to create alarms and prompt annoyances capable of fatiguing the garrison of Quebec, which have not failed to produce the effect we expected.

The moment is now one of the most urgent. We have, after much care, collected together all the resources of the Colony in provisions and munitions of war ; the one and the other are very slender, not to say insufficient. Therefore, let us use all the expedients our zeal can suggest to make up for any deficiencies.

We have concerted and concluded with Chevalier de Levis the plan of the siege of Quebec, and everything relating thereunto ; he is convinced, as well as ourselves, that it is the only attempt we have to make to save the Colony.

Our forces consist of about 3,500 Regulars.

3,000 Militia of the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers.

And about 400 Indians of different Nations.

Independent of the Acadians, we expect that the farmers of the district of Quebec, or at least the greater portion of them, will join this army when the place will be invested. We address a circular letter for that purpose to the Parish priests and Captains of Militia in all the parishes of this government.

As the zeal of the Canadians might be susceptible of some abatement, as they are intimidated by General Murray's menaces, Chevalier de Levis will accompany our circular with a rigid Manifesto, whereby he will relieve these Canadians of their apprehension and compel them to join him on pain of death.

Chevalier de Levis knows that we cannot furnish a larger army, as the Militia that will remain in the governments of Three Rivers and Montreal, are indispensably necessary to put seed into the ground ; he also knows that we must, at the same time, provide for the safety of the frontiers on Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

Our presence in this town being required by those two points and to watch the enemy's movements, and to provide for everything in the interior of the Colony,

We hand over to Chevalier de Levis, with the confidence we repose in his zeal and experience, the command of the army, which we have, jointly with him, destined for the Quebec expedition, and in consequence of our distance and of cases which we cannot now actually foresee, we deposit with him the same powers we would ourselves have were we to command this army in person, authorizing him to act as he shall judge best for the good of the service, the interest of the Colony and State.

Although the success of the siege of Quebec appears doubtful, both in consequence of the small means we possess in ammunition, artillery and provisions, and by reason of our force compared with that of the enemy, which we prudently estimate at about 4,000 fighting men, who will possibly be increased in number by the reinforcements the English are expecting, from one moment to the other, we have, nevertheless, maturely reflected and determined with Chevalier de Levis, that all these obstacles should not stop us ; that the Quebec expedition is the only step to be taken, both for the further preservation of the Colony for the King and to enable us to receive, unimpeded, the reinforcements his Majesty will please to order to be dispatched to us, more especially as the enemy, having taken up a position on the South shore, opposite Quebec, and being erecting batteries there, these reinforcements cannot pass without imminent danger.

According to these powerful motives, it is important that Chevalier de Levis apply the greatest activity to his operations ; whereupon we have nothing to prescribe to him, relying

entirely on his zeal, experience and the particular attachment we have always known him to feel towards this Colony.

As there are among the troops that compose the garrison of Quebec, a number of French and Germans who have left the King's service or that of their lawful Sovereigns, his Majesty's allies, to enter that of the King of Great Britain, after mature reflection and seeing that, under existing circumstances, we ought to try all lawful means to increase our forces and weaken those of our enemies, we have considered it, for the good of the King's service, to call on those same soldiers to enjoy the amnesty granted by his Majesty's ordinance of the 29<sup>th</sup> of December, 1757, and in consequence we have enacted ours, whereof Chevalier de Levis will make use, agreeably to the conditions inserted therein.

Should Chevalier de Levis be so fortunate as to succeed in obliging the garrison of Quebec to sue for a capitulation, he will take advantage, as much as he possibly can, of the circumstances and situation in which the enemy may be placed, so as to grant them only the articles mentioned in the draft we have furnished him of an advantageous capitulation for ourselves; far from intending to restrict him on this point, we observe to him that the situation of the Colony, the uncertainty of success and the apprehension of the forces the English may receive by way of the river, do not permit us to be particular. Therefore, we inform Chevalier de Levis beforehand that we approve, in advance of all the conditions he will consider it his duty to grant that garrison, our principal object being to accelerate the relief of the Colony by the surrender of Quebec, and the placing of ourselves in a condition to oppose the efforts the English will possibly make to penetrate into the interior of the Colony, by Lakes Champlain and Ontario.

Chevalier de Levis will employ all the means and negotiations imaginable to accelerate the surrender of Quebec; he will grant to that end such sums as he shall judge necessary, to such persons as will contribute thereunto, were he even obliged to give a free and entire course to the expense we are authorized to incur by the Minister's letter, in cipher, of the 10<sup>th</sup> February, 1759, addressed conjointly to the late M<sup>re</sup> de Montcalm and us, a copy whereof is in Chevalier de Levis' possession.

Chevalier de Levis is instructed that we have established lookouts at St. Barnabé, Bic, and Ile aux Coudres to hail the French ships and to furnish them with practical pilots. We communicate to Chevalier de Levis copies of the orders we have given on that point, the signals those vessels and the one that has wintered at Gaspé, are to make.

Supposing a French fleet to arrive, Chevalier de Levis will transmit to the Commander thereof the letter we write requesting him to communicate to Chevalier de Levis his orders and instructions, he will correspond and coöperate with him in the execution of the King's views towards this Colony, according as circumstances may require, until we regulate his operations.

Chevalier de Levis will be careful to cause all our despatches to be delivered to him, he will give, or cause to be given, a receipt for those of the Court, if necessary. He will have those despatches diligently transmitted to us by a reliable person.

For the rest, Chevalier de Levis will send us couriers every day, or as often as possible, to inform us of his progress. We shall have no greater desire, on our part, than to communicate to him whatever of interest will occur on our frontiers.

Dated at Montreal, the 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1760.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.



*M. de Vaudreuil to the Clergy.*

Copy of the Circular letter the Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote to Priests of the Parishes of the District of Quebec, North and South.

Montreal, 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1760.

Sir,

I doubt not that the Captains of Militia of your parish will communicate to you the letter I write them.

You will observe in it, Sir, a lively sensibility for the melancholy situation of the Canadians, the vexations and tyranny the English exercise towards them, and particularly the severe and cruel treatment which General Murray has but too frequently made the Canadians suffer, without any legitimate right or reason.

You will there observe, also, Sir, that urged by those motives and by my love for my country, I am dispatching a very powerful army and a very considerable train of artillery to besiege Quebec and thereby cause our brave Canadians to triumph over an enemy who has only too strongly developed his aversion for them, and who, certainly would reduce them to the most deplorable condition, were he in possession of the entire of this Colony.

I am fully convinced that these poor unfortunate people will have found in you, Sir, some consolations in the bitterness of their sorrows.

I also know that they will manifest their joy to you at the powerful effort I am making to release and deliver them from an enemy who has despised and violated the laws and even the rights of nations.

It is in this confidence, Sir, that I request you to be so good as to employ the credit, the ascendancy your character gives you over your parishioners, to make them understand that they are bound by their religion, their honor and their very interest to join the army in mass, with arms and baggage, and to surpass even in zeal and ardor the troops, Canadians and different Indian Nations that compose it.

My presence being essentially necessary here in every respect, I have placed the command of that army in the hands of Chevalier de Levis, *Maréchal des camps et armées de Roi*. He loves the Canadians, possesses their confidence, that of the troops and of all the Indian Nations.

Finally, Sir, you will see that General's Manifesto. I have authorized him to order all the Canadians of your parish to join him on pain of death.

I assure the Canadians who will signalize themselves by brilliant actions, of distinguished rewards from the King, but I warn them beforehand that those who will have been, or will be traitors to their country, shall be punished with the severest rigor of the King's ordinances.

Now is the moment, Sir, when you can, as far as you are concerned, furnish conclusive proofs in favor of the King's service and of your love of country.

I shall seize with pleasure this occasion to procure for you his Majesty's favors.

I am, with respect,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to the Captains of Militia.*

Copy of the Circular letter written by the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the Captains of Militia of the parishes, North and South, within the government of Quebec.

Montreal, 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1760.

Sir,

Since the close of the last campaign, I have been seriously occupied by the situation to which the misfortunes of the war have reduced the Canadians of the government of Quebec.

I have been particularly alive to the threats General Murray has uttered in all his Manifestoes, the vexations he has exercised towards them and the harsh and cruel treatment he has made the greater portion of the Canadians undergo without any legitimate right or reason.

The sad state of these Canadians, the sentiments of zeal, which I know they entertain for the King's service, and their attachment to the country, all that has not a little contributed to increase the desire I have always felt to retake Quebec, and thereby to deliver the Canadians from the tyranny they have only too severely experienced.

'Tis with this view, Sir, that I have reassembled a very powerful army with a considerable train of artillery to besiege Quebec; nothing equals the ardor of the troops, Canadians and different Indian Nations I have destined for that expedition.

My presence being essentially necessary in this town, either to watch over the safety of our frontiers on Lakes Champlain and Ontario, or to reinforce the army, which is going to lay siege to Quebec, should the garrison of that town receive, contrary to my expectation, succors from Europe, I have placed the command of that army in the hands of Chevalier de Levis, Marshal of the camps and armies of the King, both on account of his love for everything Canadian, and of the confidence the latter, the troops and the Indian Nations equally repose in him.

This army is about to march and the town of Quebec will be soon invested.

'Tis my intention, Sir, that you, your officers, and all the Canadians of your company, march, with arms and baggage, on the receipt of this letter and of Chevalier de Levis' Manifesto, to join that General and his army. I have authorized him to give you that order on pain of death. I am fully convinced of your zeal to execute it, and that your courage will yield in nothing to that of the troops and Canadians of the army.

You have therein, Sir, as well as your Militia, a very particular interest; you have only too truly experienced the aversion of the English for everything Canadian; you have also had the saddest proofs of the severity of their government; whence you must conclude what will be your lot, should they have entire possession of Canada.

You approach the moment of triumph over that enemy; he cannot but succumb before the efforts of our army.

We, too, approach the moment of receiving powerful succors from France.

At length, brave Canadians, 'tis yours to signalize yourselves; you ought to undertake everything, risk everything for the preservation of your religion and the salvation of your country. The Canadians of this government and of that of Three Rivers are marching with zeal, and out of attachment and love for you. You ought to imitate them in every point; unite your efforts to theirs and even surpass them.

I guarantee to those among you who will furnish brilliant proofs of their zeal, signal rewards on the part of his Majesty. But, likewise, I cannot conceal from you that those who will



have been or shall be traitors to the country, will be punished with the greatest rigor of his Majesty's ordinances.

I am, Sir, your affectionate servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*Ordinance of the Governor-General of Canada, granting an Amnesty to Military Deserters.*

PIERRE RIGAUD, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in all New France, the territories and country of Louisiana.

After having maturely reflected on the circumstances of the Colony, the urgent necessity of augmenting our forces and weakening those of the enemy;

We have considered it for the good of the King's service, to make use of the authority granted by his Majesty in his ordinance of the 29<sup>th</sup> December, 1757, in favor not only of the soldiers of the troops of the Line and Marine, who have gone over to the service of the English, but also of the French, Germans and other Nations, subjects of the Kings or Sovereign Princes his Majesty's allies, who are actually in garrison at Quebec, in the confidence we feel that they have allowed themselves to be drawn in that bad course only by inconsiderateness and inexperience; that they are so much the more repentant, as they are suffering extreme destitution, and are fearful of being punished for their crimes after the surrender of the town of Quebec;

Convinced by these considerations, we design to make all those feel the effects of the King's clemency, and, in order to afford them the means, although the crime whereof they have rendered themselves guilty, is of the nature of those that ought to be the last pardoned;

We, in the name and at the pleasure of his Majesty, have quitted, remitted and pardoned, do quit, remit and pardon the crime of desertion, committed as well by the French and German soldiers, who have left the King's service or that of their Sovereigns, to enter into that of his Britannic Majesty, as by soldiers, whether French or belonging to other Nations, of the troops of the Line or Marine, who have passed also to the same service, notwithstanding that they actually are among the number of the troops composing the garrison of Quebec;

We do forbid all officers and other the King's subjects to molest them on account of the said crime of desertion;

On condition, always, that, on learning our present ordinance by notes, which will be introduced into the town of Quebec, they will join the army commanded by Chevalier de Levis, and will present themselves to him whilst he will be laying siege to that place, to be incorporated in his Majesty's troops, and continue to serve therein in their quality of soldiers, on pain, against those who will not present themselves within the said time, of being deprived of the present amnesty, and of being punished for their crime, according to his Majesty's ordinances;

We command Chevalier de Levis, Marshal of the King's camps and armies, Commander-in-Chief of the army destined to besiege Quebec, and all other officers whom it may concern, to see to the execution of the present ordinance, which shall be read, published and affixed in every place where necessary.

Done at Montreal, the 16<sup>th</sup> April, 1760.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1760.

My Lord,

Chevalier de Levis' army arrived on the 24<sup>th</sup> of last month at Point aux trembles with the Kings frigates and *gabarras*, the ships and other vessels having on board the provisions, artillery, munitions of war, implements and field furniture.

Chevalier de Levis employed the entire of the day of the 25<sup>th</sup> to collect and regulate the order of march of his army in order to put it in motion on the 26<sup>th</sup>.

On the news he received at the Calvary that the enemy were fortifying themselves on the heights of Cap Rouge and on the bank of the river at the head of the three slopes (*rampes*) he determined to march by land, to ascend the River of Cap Rouge so as to deploy by *la Suede*.

'Twas 6 o'clock in the evening when the army commenced defiling, preceded by our Indians.

From the position of the English, there was reason to suppose that they were ignorant of Chevalier de Levis' taking that route, and that General Murray,<sup>1</sup> who, with 2,500 men, had repaired to the heights of St. Foi, was waiting for them there, but as soon as he had perceived the head of our army, composed of the Grenadiers and Indians, he made his retreat; abandoned two spiked 18-pounders at St. Foi, burned the church of that place in which was stored some powder, 1,500 muskets and a great quantity of provisions. We were able to overtake only the rear guard of the English which we pressed as far as Dumont's house, a short distance from the town. The English had several wounded; we had, on our side, one Indian killed, one Cavalry officer, one cavalier and three grenadiers wounded.

Were it not for a frightful storm which lasted 24 hours, Chevalier de Levis would have surprised the enemy, who were expecting us only by the river and Cap Rouge; he allowed

<sup>1</sup> General JAMES MURRAY was fifth son of the 4th Lord Elibank, in the peerage of Scotland. He was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of the 15th foot, 5th January, 1751. In 1757 he served with Wolfe in the expedition against Rochefort, and on the 5th January, 1758, was promoted to the rank of Colonel in America, on being ordered on the expedition against Louisbourg where he became Brigadier, being in command of the 2nd Brigade. He was junior Brigadier under Wolfe at Quebec in 1759, and commanded the 3d brigade; was in the battle of Abraham's Plains; was appointed Governor of Quebec on 23d October, 1759, and on the following day commissioned Colonel-Commandant of the 1st battalion of the 60th Royal American Regiment; Major-General 10th July, 1762, and Governor of the Province of Québec 21st November, 1763. He administered that government until 1766, and showed himself a man of keen enquiry and observation, impartial, though of rather a hasty temper, and in December, 1767, was appointed Colonel of the 13th foot; Lieutenant-General 26th May, 1772; Lieutenant-Governor in 1774, of Minorca, of which Island he became Governor in 1778. He was advanced to the rank of General in 1783; appointed Governor of Hull in 1785; Colonel of the 21st Fusiliers 5th June, 1789, and died in June, 1794. — Ed.



our army very little rest; directed his main efforts to hem in the enemy in order not to lose a moment in opening the trench.

25<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Murray marched forth from Quebec with about 4,000 men, and placed himself in the order of battle at Dumont's house; our grenadiers occupied it and a height on the left, at the opening of the wood above the Foulon cove; our army was cantoned from La Fontaine's house to the St. Foi church. Chevalier de Levis mounted his horse at day-break with M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque, to go and reconnoitre the enemy. Seeing them in full march, he directed the *générale* to be beaten and gave orders for our army to march with the greatest diligence to support our grenadiers. He left M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque to command the van-guard and arrange the troops as they came up; he proceeded, in person, to La Fontaine's house to bring the army up in several columns; notwithstanding all his efforts, it could not be formed on the ground designated by M<sup>r</sup> de Levis for the field of battle, before the enemy took up a favorable position, and on the spot we proposed to occupy, our right only had time to form; M<sup>r</sup> de Levis, seeing that the left was still at a great distance and could not arrive before the enemy would have charged us, determined to make the right of our army fall back and enter the wood. The enemy advanced to fight us, in full battle array, with 22 pieces of artillery in front. Our grenadiers, who were at Dumont's house, were obliged to fall back on the brigade of La Sarre, which had just finished getting out (*déboucher*). M<sup>r</sup> de Levis ordered that brigade to march along the high road; to join the grenadiers and attack Dumont's house, which was in possession of the enemy. The grenadiers and that brigade advanced with the greatest courage. M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque went thither also, and our troops carried that house; Chevalier de Levis followed along the line to move it and get it out of the wood, to attack the enemy in front and on their right; they were then so near that they were firing grape at us and had the advantage of the height, which did not prevent the centre and right of our army defiling from the wood with three pieces of cannon, which composed our whole artillery, and to charge the enemy; the right and centre brigades marched with the greatest ardor and commenced to force the enemy. The Canadians of the brigade of La Reine; that of Royal Rousillon, and that of the Marine, took the enemy in flank and upset their left, which threw their right into confusion, forced them to retreat and to leave us 19 guns and 3 howitzers.

M<sup>r</sup> de Repentigny, who was at the head of the centre battalion and of the reserve from the town of Montreal, held and occupied with his sole brigade in open field, the centre of the army; he had the advantage of arresting the enemy's centre which was advancing with rapid strides, and to oblige it to resume its original position. This brigade had also the advantage of twice driving back two bodies of troops which detached themselves from the right to dislodge it, to stay, by its fire and bold bearing, the pursuit of the enemy, who were closely pressing on our left, which had almost entirely fallen back, and finally to procure for it an opportunity of rallying and recovering. In fine, this brigade was the only one on which the enemy did not gain an inch of ground.

Captain de Melois, adjutant of our troops attached to the brigade of the Marine, performed prodigies of valor; he would have carried off two standards from the enemy which they had left behind, had not false information persuaded him that those colors were already in the hands of the regiment of Guyenne.

Our army pursued the enemy up to the walls of Quebec, but was so fatigued that it could not profit by all its advantage, nor even make use of the bayonet.

The battle lasted three hours, and victory was long uncertain, but Chevalier de Levis, superior on account of his quick-sightedness, determined in the nick of time, to turn the enemy at the head of a column, and decided by that movement the victory in our favor; therefore, I can say, my Lord, that 'twas he alone who has won the battle. M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque also performed wonders; he was wounded in the calf of the leg and his horse was killed by the same discharge of grape.

The enemy left on the field of battle 3 @ 400 dead, 20 officers prisoners, Colonel Yonk is among the latter, and 50 @ 60 soldiers. M. de Levis estimates their loss at about 12 @ 1,500 men, killed or wounded. They admit this themselves, and that there are a great many officers.

Ours may consist nearly of an equal number, including 114 officers killed or wounded. I shall annex an exact return of them to the report I shall have the honor of rendering of the opening of the siege.

This day confers infinite honor on our troops and every corps of the army which equally distinguished themselves.

Chevalier de Levis took advantage of the ground the enemy had abandoned, to open the trenches that night.

The right of our army rested on the *Butte à Neveu*, and the left 40 or 50 toises beyond the Saint Louis road; this section in the progress of things will extend itself farther.

The enemy have lined their entire front with cannon, and are keeping up a great fire of artillery which carries off many of our men.

The Canadians from below Quebec were beginning to arrive. Chevalier de Levis has handed over the detail of these Militia to M<sup>r</sup> de Repentigny.

I greatly long, my Lord to have the honor to inform you of the fall of Quebec. The victory which Chevalier de Levis has just gained is a very good omen, provided always that the obstinate defence of the English do not give time to their reinforcements to arrive.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*Journal of the Battle of Sillery and Siege of Quebec.*

CANADA.

Narrative of the Expedition against Quebec, under the orders of Chevalier de Levis, *Maréchal des Camps et Armées* of the King.

[Annexed to the letter of Mr. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, of the 3rd of May, 1760. General Memoirs.]

The want of provisions at the close of the last campaign had prevented the cantonment of troops in the neighborhood of Quebec, to blockade the English garrison during the winter, and deprive it of the means of drawing firewood and the necessary supplies from the neighboring parishes. The troops had to be put in quarters at the end of November in order



to provide for their subsistence, and Chevalier de Levis in quitting the frontier of the district of Quebec, had confined himself to stationing a corps of about 400 men in the parish of Point aux trembles, 7 leagues from Quebec, under the command of Captain de Repentini of the Colonial troops. This officer threw out advanced posts as far as Saint Augustin, one league above the River Cap Rouge on which he sent frequent scouts. Our lines opposite the English garrison have been during the winter at this river which is three leagues from Quebec. The high road from Point aux trembles to Quebec crosses it at its mouth. A league farther, up it has bridges connecting with a road back from the river.

A fort constructed at the close of the campaign, at the mouth of the River Jacques Cartier, ten leagues above Quebec, served as a retreat and a *point d'appui* to the troops of Point aux trembles and protected the Colony against any efforts the English garrison might make. The command of this fort and of the entire frontier during the winter, was conferred by the Marquis de Vaudreuil on Sieur Dumas, Major-General<sup>1</sup> and Inspector of the troops of the country.

Brigadier-General Murray, Governor of Quebec, posted on his part, 150 men in the church of St. Foix, a league and a half from Quebec on the high road to Point aux trembles. He placed a similar detachment in the church of Antient Lorette, one league from the St. Foix, back from the River (St. Lawrence) and on the road which goes up the River Cap Rouge. These two churches were intrenched and palisaded.

The English army on Lake Champlain commanded by Major-General Hamherst on falling back the 20<sup>th</sup> November, left a considerable garrison at Saint Frederic, where it had built, since August, a much more extensive fort than the one we had previously there. Garrisons had been left also at Carillon, Fort George, Fort Lidius and in those on the River of Orange. On our side, Brigadier de Bourlamaque in withdrawing the troops on that frontier on the 28<sup>th</sup> of November, had orders to leave 300 men under the command of Captain de Lusignan of the troops of the Marine, in garrison in a stockaded fort constructed at the close of the campaign in the centre of the intrenchments of Isle aux Noix. Fort Saint John, five leagues in the rear, was guarded by 200 men under the orders of Captain Valette of the Royal Rousillon. Lieutenant-Colonel Roquemaure, commanding the battalion of La Reine, who was quartered at Fort Chambly, had the chief command of that frontier during the winter.

Towards Lake Ontario, Sieur Desandrouins was left with 200 men in a fort which Chevalier de Levis had caused to be built in the month of September, on one of the Islands of the Clapides,<sup>2</sup> and which had been called after him.

The English army, commanded by Brigadier Gage, since the capture of Niagara, had quitted the camp of Choüiguen early, and had left a garrison in a fort it had just constructed there, and another in that of Niagara.

Such was the situation of the Colony on the first of December; all the provisions exhausted by a very long campaign, scarcely left means for a daily supply of food to the small garrisons which protected the country; and no new supplies could be expected before the farmers had threshed the grain of the last harvest.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil adopted, in concert with Chevalier de Levis, the resolution to lay siege to Quebec in the spring because he judged there was no other means of preserving Canada, this year, to his Majesty; he calculated, besides, should circumstances prevent his taking Quebec for want of ammunition, that the two ships which the contractor had demanded,

<sup>1</sup> A title equivalent to that of Brigade-Major in the English service. See note, *supra*, p. 741. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* Qu? Rapides.

and the despatch whereof M. de Vaudreuil had solicited, would furnish him some supplies in case relief on the part of the King should fail. With this view, he considered it his duty to harass the English garrison during the winter by false alarms, and to that end made all the preparations for a winter campaign. Ladders were constructed at Jacques Cartier; orders issued to the troops to be prepared to march; Colonel de Bougainville and Brigadier Bourlamaque were sent in succession to the frontier, to annoy the English governor who, in fact, made his troops perform the most rigorous service, and kept them excessively alert.

Towards the end of January the Marquis de Vaudreuil, knowing that some grain and cattle were remaining in the lower parishes on the South shore, detached Captain de Saint Martin, of the Colonials, with 200 men, to take up a position at Point Levis, opposite Quebec, and secure the passage of the trains which were to travel by land along the bank of the river until opposite Point aux trembles. But the river becoming frozen over at the moment of his arrival, formed a very solid bridge between the town and Point Levis, over which the English Governor dispatched a very superior detachment whereby Sieur de Saint Martin was obliged to retire. The English immediately sent to remove from the parishes the provisions intended for us, and took post in the church of Point Levis.

Sieur Saint Martin's detachment having been augmented to the number of 700 men, that officer was ordered to take up a position again at Point Levis, but three thousand English having crossed the river with cannon, he was once more obliged to fall back with the loss of 30 men. Sieur de Bourlamaque, arriving the day after that event at Point aux trembles, considered the project of getting the provisions past impossible of execution, and confined himself to sending into the parishes which the English had not exhausted, 150 men under the orders of Sieur Hertel, an officer of the Colonials, to prevent the English pushing their levies farther, and to secure the provisions until the troops would arrive before Quebec.

The remainder of the winter was spent in different alerts, which the report of an expedition on the ice had given to the English garrison, and in some sorties made by the latter against our advanced posts, in one of which we lost 80 men; the other frontiers were quiet.

'Twas only with incredible difficulty that the troops were finally put in a condition to make the campaign. The Colony, utterly exhausted, was in want not only of provisions, but likewise of every necessary for the equipment and encampment of the troops. Nothing less than the activity and resources of Sieur Bigot, the Intendant of New France, was required to find means to meet such essential wants.

Men were set to work in the very first days of March at Point aux trembles and the adjoining parishes, to make the gabions, fascines and boards necessary for the siege.

In the beginning of April, the Marquis de Vaudreuil detached Sieur de Bougainville to Ile aux Noix to take the command of that frontier, where the enemy, 'twas apprehended, would make some movements, were he to learn what we were projecting. This officer reunited the garrison of Saint John to that of Isle aux Noix, and the necessary orders were issued to furnish him a considerable reinforcement of Militia as soon as he should receive intelligence of the enemy's approach. Sieur Desandrouins, Engineer, was recalled from Fort Levis and replaced with some reinforcements by Captain Pouchot, of the Béarn regiment.

Chevalier de Levis had the command of the troops destined to besiege Quebec. The Marquis de Vaudreuil confided that expedition to him, being obliged to remain at Montreal, where his presence was necessary to the dispatching to the various frontiers the succors they might require.



On the 20<sup>th</sup> of April these troops left their quarters; they consisted of 8 battalions of troops of the Line, 2 battalions of Colonials, amounting in all to 5 brigades and about 3,000 Canadians, both from the town of Montreal and the country. The former composed a separate battalion, destined to be in reserve, and the others were attached to the brigades of the regular troops. The King's frigates *la Talante* and *la Pomone*, commanded by Mess<sup>rs</sup> Vaucelain and Sauvage, had orders to drop down the river in a line with the army; they had under their escort two flyboats and several schooners, loaded with artillery, provisions and fascines.

The most of the streams having not yet broken up, 'twas the 24<sup>th</sup> before the troops were able to arrive at Point aux trembles, which was the rendezvous of the little army; they were even obliged to disembark on the ice, which had as yet left only the middle of the river free.

Chevalier de Levis learned there that the English continued to occupy the churches of Ancient Lorette and Saint Foix; that they were intrenching themselves at the River Cap Rouge, the banks of which, being very steep on the enemy's side, afforded the means of defending with advantage the high road from Point aux trembles to Quebec, which crosses that river at its mouth.

He learned, also, that the inhabitants of Quebec had within two days been driven out of that place; that those of St. Foix, adjoining Cap Rouge, had also been driven from their houses, which the English were crenating and transporting artillery into.

This intelligence led him to understand that the English had been informed of the departure of the troops, and induced him to abandon the project he entertained up to that time, of landing in the night at Sillery, which is only a league and a half from Quebec. This manœuvre would have afforded him the means of cutting off the posts at Lorette and St. Foix, but it became impracticable as soon as the enemy had cognizance of our movement. It was impossible also to land in the River Cap Rouge, as the English were occupying the heights commanding its mouth.

He therefore determined to disembark all the troops at St. Augustin, one league above Cap Rouge, and then to march to the left to reach the upper bridges of the Cap Rouge river, and to turn the enemy by following the road leading to the church of Ancient Lorette, and thence to that of St. Foix across some almost impassable woods and marshes.

The 25<sup>th</sup> was employed in concentrating the troops and putting the Canadians in order.

26<sup>th</sup> Ten companies of grenadiers, some volunteers and 300 Indians, commanded by Captain Saint Luc, of the Colonials, were detached to form the van-guard under the orders of Sieur de Bourlamaque. That officer was instructed to reconnoitre the bridges on the River Cap Rouge; the enemy having destroyed the two principal ones, he had had two others higher up repaired and crossed the river with the van-guard.

Chevalier de Levis immediately arrived with the head of the army, and learned that the English had abandoned the church of Lorette and neglected to tear up a corduroy road across part of a very deep marsh, between that church and the one of St. Foix, and had postponed that operation until next night.

He immediately dispatched the Indians to occupy the head of that road, and having given orders to the van-guard to support them, commenced crossing the army over the two bridges.

Sieur de Bourlamaque arrived in the beginning of the night at the entrance of the marsh, which the Indians had already crossed, and having traversed it despite a severe storm, placed the entire van-guard in some houses beyond, being separated from the enemy only by a wood of about half a

league in depth. Chevalier de Levis having pushed the van-guard at day-break as far as the edge of this wood, within sight of the enemy, set about reconnoitering their position, with Sieur de Bourlamaque. He had given orders at the same time to the remainder of the troops, who had marched the whole night, to cross the marsh and to form in the rear of the wood.

At about 200 toises from, and almost parallel with the river<sup>1</sup> of this wood is a ridge bordered by settlements; it terminates on one side at the height over the mouth of the River Cap Rouge, and extends on the other, to Quebec, where it takes the name of Côte d'Abraham.<sup>2</sup>

At six o'clock in the morning, the English appeared in order of battle, to the number of about 300 men, on the top of this hill, facing the road on which we were marching, the right on the church of St. Foix, several houses on their left and some in front of their lines; they had lodged some troops in the one and the other and some pieces of cannon in their front.

The wood that covered us, being swampy and impassable, we could defile only by the main road, and not having room enough to form between the wood and the English, 'twas not possible to march against them in front, without being exposed to a disadvantageous fight.

Chevalier de Levis thereupon adopted the resolution to wait until night to defile and gain the enemy's left flank, by marching to his own right and following the edge of the wood until past his front. This manœuvre enabled him to attack the English with advantage at daybreak and to cut off the Light Infantry that were thrown into the houses towards Cap Rouge; he calculated on taking with him three field pieces, which had accompanied the troops with incredible difficulty.

The morning passed in some firing and volleys of artillery discharged by the enemy at the van-guard.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, the English having collected in the church of St. Foix, all the provisions, ammunition, arms and tools they had brought with them for the defence of that quarter, set fire to the church, and retired towards Quebec, having, however, left a corps in the order of battle on the height to mask their movements; they abandoned some guns which they could not carry off.

The storm that had prevailed through the whole of the preceding night, had retarded, some hours, the march of the troops and rendered it impossible for Chevalier de Levis to defile on the church of St. Foix at daylight, as he intended. This mischance gave the English time to come in force to mask the high road and saved their detachments towards Cap Rouge.

Another accident had furnished them complete knowledge of our movement. A part of the ice that lined the river having broken loose on the morning of the 26<sup>th</sup>, carried away some bateaux loaded with artillery, a few of which were submerged; some of the gunners perished and one of them floated on a cake of ice as far as Quebec; the English Governor having learned from him our movements at the marsh, made his arrangements against being surprised.

As soon as the retreat of the English had been ascertained, the troops advanced; the van-guard was in close pursuit of the fugitives; Sieur de la Roche Beaucourt at the head of one hundred mounted volunteers, having overtaken their rear, skirmished with them until night fall, and one officer and several volunteers were wounded.

<sup>1</sup> *Rivière. Qu' lisière, edge.*

<sup>2</sup> This hill and the celebrated Plains of the same name, outside Quebec, are called after one Abraham Martin, a pilot, who was proprietor of a farm in the immediate vicinity. *Perland's Notes sur les Registres de Notre Dame de Quebec*, pp. 12, 13; *Boston Historical Magazine*, I., 118. — Ed.



The enemy made a stand at Dumont's house and on the adjoining heights about half a league from Quebec, where they left a strong detachment; the remainder of the garrison returned to town, our van-guard occupied the houses on this side, and the brigades placed themselves in the succeeding houses as far as the church of Saint Foix, Chevalier de Levis having judged it indispensable to give some repose to the troops after two days' very fatiguing march, the ground, moreover, being covered with snow and overflowed.

In Canada, the houses in most of the country parishes, do not stand together as in Europe; they are built along rivers or high roads, at a distance of one hundred to three hundred toises, one from the other; unenclosed, without hedges or groves. Each house is isolated, having near it only the barn, equally isolated; thus, from the Church of Saint Foix to the houses occupied by the van-guard, the little army covered a space of a league and a quarter.

The English detachment abandoned, during the night, Dumont's house and the heights where it had halted on the preceding evening, and fell back on the *Butte à Neveu*, about 250 toises from the walls of Quebec, which that *Butte* entirely covers, and set about intrenching themselves there. The van-guard was posted in Dumont's house, and on the heights in front of the *Butte à Neveu*. These heights incline somewhat towards the right and communicate with some open woods bordering on the River Saint Lawrence at that place. A redoubt touching the wood, supported our right and covered *Foulon* cove, where we were to have brought the vessels, loaded with provisions and artillery, as well as the baggage of the troops.

Chevalier de Levis had determined on employing the day of the 26<sup>th</sup> in landing the provisions which were due, some field pieces which could not come by land and in resting the troops, having resolved to attack the heights next morning and to drive the English into the town.

But, at 8 o'clock in the morning, they were seen issuing from Quebec; they appeared disposed to march against us, and formed in front of the heights which they occupied.

Chevalier de Levis, who was occupied with *Sieur de Bourlamaque* since the break of day, in reconnoitering their position, immediately gave orders to Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General, to make all the troops advance; the van-guard continued, meanwhile, to occupy the redoubt on the right, the heights in the centre and Dumont's house, which is on the slope of *Côte d'Abraham* and supported the left of the line that, the troops were to form. The open woods on our right happened to be in the rear of the centre, a short distance from our line, whence they extended, retiring very precipitously nearly to *La Fontaine's* house, where the troops were to defile. This house, situate near the declivity of *Côte d'Abraham*, was separated from Dumont's by a plain, 250 toises<sup>1</sup> in length.

The brigades formed into line according as they came up, and the three on the right were already formed, when Chevalier de Levis, seeing that the right of the English was moving, and that their artillery was beginning a heavy cannonade, concluded he would not have time to put his left in order to receive them; he resolved on throwing the troops who were in line a little in the rear, so as to place them under cover of the wood, and to have Dumont's house abandoned; he calculated on putting the left in *La Fontaine's*, and in that position allow the troops time to breathe, and to dispose them for marching afterwards against the enemy. But the courage of the troops did not allow him time to do so; he had stationed *Sieur de Bourlamaque* on the left to execute that movement, who, on countermarching the grenadier companies that were occupying Dumont's house, was wounded, and obliged to retire. The

<sup>1</sup> Or, 94 rods. — Ed.

brigades of the left, having been a few moments without receiving any orders, took upon themselves to go and join the grenadiers, and to carry the house they had abandoned; they moved under the most murderous fire of artillery and musketry, and without being formed. Chevalier de Levis who, from the heights of the centre, perceived their movements, judged it necessary to take advantage of this ardor, and hastened to order the brigadier<sup>1</sup> on the right to march against the enemy with fixed bayonets. He returned then to give the same order to the left. The manœuvre on the right turned the enemy's left, and perfectly seconded the effect of ours, who, notwithstanding the fire of twenty pieces of cannon and two howitzers directed almost exclusively on that quarter, maintained themselves first at Dumont's house and afterwards by favor of the movements on the right, pressed the enemy in front of them, who were driven inside the walls of Quebec, and lost the ground they occupied in the morning and the entire of their artillery.

The bravery of the troops and the movements of the right, which Chevalier de Levis ordered at the proper time, have repaired the prodigious disadvantages of having arrived too late, and of being obliged to form under a very superior fire of artillery.

Lieutenant-Colonel d'Alquier, commanding the brigade of La Sarre, composed of that and the Bearn battalions, and Lieutenant-Colonel Poularies, commanding the Royal Rousillon brigade, which was composed of that and the Guienne battalions, have greatly contributed to this success, the former by taking the resolution to march on Dumont's house, although in great disorder and wounded in that movement, and the second, by charging the enemy's left with signal bravery and intelligence.

The brigade of Berry and that of the Colonials, which joined that of La Sarre, seconded with the greatest courage the decisive movement of that brigade. The former was under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Trivio, who was slightly wounded on that occasion; the second, under *Sieur Dumas'* orders. Lieutenant-Colonel Trecesson, commanding the second battalion of the regiment of Berri, was mortally wounded there. Chevalier de la Corne and *Sieur de Vassan*, each commanding a battalion of Colonials, have distinguished themselves, and were both slightly wounded.

An order incorrectly delivered by an officer who has been afterwards killed, was the cause of the Brigade of La Reine, composed of that and of the Languedoc battalions, not having had as great a share in that movement as it ought.

The battalion of the Town of Montreal, under the orders of *Sieur de Repentini* displayed equal courage with the Regulars. The same eulogium is due to the greater part of the Canadians, particularly those attached to the brigade of La Reine. *Sieur de Roquemaure* had thrown *Sieur Deläas*, who commanded them, into the redoubt and wood on the right; the superior fire of the enemy dislodged him after awhile, but he soon recovered his ground and afterwards successfully charged the enemy's left flank, being seconded in that manœuvre by *Sieur de Saint Luc* who could induce only a small number of Indians to follow him.

The three little field pieces which had accompanied the army, under the orders of *Captain de Lovicourt* and *Lieutenant Duverny* of the Royal corps of artillery, did not cease firing on the English troops during the action, and have been a great assistance. Our loss has been considerable, especially in officers. The battalions of La Sarre and Bearn, who were on the left, as well as those of Berri and of the Marine, have suffered considerably. The grenadiers have been reduced to a very small number, chiefly the five companies of the left, commanded

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Brigades. — Ed.



by Captain d'Aiguebelle of those of Languedoc, as they remained exposed to the hottest fire, whilst waiting the arrival of the troops.

Chevalier de Levis has been sufficiently fortunate to escape without a wound, although on horseback throughout the entire of the action, between the fire of the enemy and that of our troops. He has been very well aided in the movements he ordered the latter to make, by Chevalier de Montreuil, Adjutant-General, and by Adjutant Delapause of the regiment of Guienne, acting assistant Quartermaster-General of the army.

The loss of the enemy, notwithstanding the advantage of their position and that of their artillery, has been more considerable than ours; we took twenty pieces of cannon from them, 2 howitzers and a great number of tools. It appears that in coming to form in front of the heights which they were occupying, their intention was only to work under cover of their lines and guns, in intrenching themselves on the heights before Quebec, in order to keep us at a distance from the heart of the place; but when they saw the grenadiers and the first brigades fall back some steps, they looked on the movement which was ordered as involuntary and believed they ought to advance so as to profit by the disorder in which they supposed we had fallen.

List of the Officers Killed and Wounded in the battle before Quebec on the 28<sup>th</sup> April.

	Brigadier de Bourlamaque; part of the calf of the leg cut by a cannon ball.	
La Reine, .....	Captain Montreuil, of the grenadiers; mortally wounded.	
	Ensign Dufay; arm broken.	
	Lieutenant Desnois,	} slightly wounded.
	Lieutenant St. Martin,	
	Lieutenant Degulier, killed.	
La Sarre, .....	Captain Palmarolle, of the grenadiers,	} mortally wounded.
	Captain Duprat,	
	Captain Forcet,	
	1st Captain Duparquet, gunshot wound in the leg.	
	Captain Beauclair, gunshot wound in the arm.	
	Captain Meritem, ditto.	
Languedoc, .....	Lieutenant Chev <sup>r</sup> de Savournin, wounded very severely in the breast.	
	Lieutenant Paonnet, of the grenadiers, ditto; dead.	
	Lieutenant Lanaudière, gunshot wound in the leg.	
	Lieutenant Premillac, leg broken.	
	Lieutenant Lasuze,	} slightly wounded.
	Lieutenant Gravet,	
	Lieutenant Lambanie,	
	Lieutenant Senneterre, slightly wounded.	
	Sub-lieutenant Domange, of the grenadiers, killed.	
	Lieutenant Duleirac, of the grenadiers, wounded.	

Royal Roussillon,..	Captain Derouin,	}	gunshot wound in the leg.
	Lieutenant Bonnevielle,		
	Lieutenant Leonard,		
	Sub-lieutenant Beausadel, of the grenadiers,	}	shoulder shattered ; dead.
	Captain D'estor, of the grenadiers,		
	Captain Dufresnoy,		
Captain Lefèvre,			
Lieutenant Grand-Jean,	}	slightly wounded.	
Lieutenant Moranbert, mortally wounded.			
Guyenne, .....	Captain Montagnet, gunshot wound in the arm.	}	slightly wounded.
	Captain Launay, of the grenadiers,		
	Captain Dublot,		
	Captain Bellot,		
	Captain Chassignolle,		
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Captain Villemontés, of the grenadiers,	}	killed.
Adjutant Valentin,			
Berry, .....	Lieutenant Carery,	}	mortally wounded.
	Lieutenant-Colonel Trecesson, commanding the 2 <sup>nd</sup> battalion ; dead.		
	Captain Ducheine,		
	Lieutenant La Malière,	}	slightly wounded.
	Adjutant Laplouze, gunshot wound in the chest.		
	Lieutenant Coupel, leg dangerously broken.	}	slightly wounded.
	Lieutenant Duguerins, ditto.		
	Sub-Lieutenant Vaudemant, ditto.		
	Lieutenant Pelissier, of the grenadiers ; arm pierced by a ball.		
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant Laudanet, fist broken.	}	slightly wounded.
	Captain Ligoïn, severe gunshot wound in the thigh.		
	Lieutenant Leclerc, severe gunshot wound in the thigh.		
	Lieutenant Dallet, gunshot wound in the arm.		
	Lieutenant-Colonel Trivio, commanding the battalion ; slightly wounded.		
Béarn,.....	Captain Pressac,	}	slightly wounded.
	Captain Cambray,		
	Captain Menard,		
	Captain Bonchamp,		
	Captain Vassal,	}	mortally wounded.
	Lieutenant Salvignac,		
	Lieutenant Totabel,		
	Lieutenant-Colonel Dalquier, commanding 2 <sup>nd</sup> battalion ; gunshot wound in the side.	}	slightly wounded.
	Captain Monredon, of the grenadiers ; gunshot wound in both thighs.		
	Lieutenant Pinsen, dangerous gunshot wound in the thigh.		
	Lieutenant Fay, of the grenadiers ; ditto.		
	Lieutenant Jacob, dangerous gunshot wound in the chest.		



Béarn—(continued),	Adjutant Malartic, Captain Bernard, Captain Seglu, Lieutenant Raimond, Lieutenant Melay, Lieutenant Jourdin,	} slightly wounded.
Troops of the Colony, or detached companies of the Marine, . . . . .	Ensign Boucherville, Captain Saint Martin, of the grenadiers, Captain Laronde, of the grenadiers, Lieutenant Varennes, Lieutenant Corbière, Captain Dubuisson, gunshot wound in the shoulder. Captain Mezières, gunshot wound in both legs. Captain D'hugues, slight gunshot wound in the head. Sub-lieutenant D'aillebout, of the grenadiers; slight gunshot wound in the leg. Ensign Hiché, gunshot wound in the side. Chevalier de la Corne, commandant of battalion, Vassan, commandant of battalion, St' Luc, commandant of the Indians, Captain Lorimier, Captain Le Borgne, Lieutenant Desnoyelles Lanoy, Lieutenant Labrevois, Ensign Chevalier Lapèrière, Ensign Herbin,	} slightly wounded.
	Reaume, commanding the Montreal battalion; killed. Lefèvre, killed. Amelin, Delisle, Prevot, of Les Ecores, Gaudet, the hand shattered. Neveu, jaw dangerously.	} mortally wounded.
	Julien des rivières, La promenade, Decarry, Maugé, Menard, Urtubisc, Pierre Lefèvre, Augé, Chevalier,	} wounded. } slightly wounded.

The siege of Quebec, which appeared almost impossible before the battle, owing to our situation and resources, commenced to appear probable when the enemy was pent up in the place.

Quebec forms a species of triangle, which occupies a very high point of land on the left bank of the river Saint Lawrence. The river defends one of its two sides which run inland; that following the escarpment of the Côte d'Abraham commands with great superiority a low flat, through which the River St. Charles winds. This Côte d'Abraham runs almost parallel with the River St. Lawrence and rejoins it at the mouth of the River Cap Rouge. The Quebec side which is bounded by that Côte and by the escarpment of the river, is alone accessible; it is defended by an enceinte of six bastions, faced (*revêtus*) and almost on a straight line. A shallow ditch, the depth of which in some places is only 5 or 6 feet, some earth collected on the counterscarp, and 6 or 7 wooden redoubts constructed by the English, protected that enceinte, the extent of which, from the River (St. Lawrence) to the Côte d'Abraham, is only about 6 or 700 toises. The ground is solid rock, which becomes almost bare in approaching the body of the place.

The ramparts of Quebec are visible from the heights which the English abandoned. Chevalier de Lévis hastened to occupy them, and Sieur de Pontleroy, engineer in chief of New France, having reconnoitered the place with Captain de Montbeillard, of the Royal Artillery and commanding that of Canada, 'twas decided to begin by a parallel [from] the heights which are in front of the bastions of Saint Louis, of the Glacière and of Cape Diamond, and to erect batteries there, which, 'twas hoped, were capable of making a breach, although the distance was 250 toises. The revêtement was badly constructed at that point.

Up to the 11th of May, day and night were employed in perfecting the parallel and building 3 batteries. One of six guns battered somewhat elantly the face and right flank of the bastion of the Glacière, another of 4 guns placed to the left, battered directly that same spot and crossed with the first: the 3<sup>rd</sup> of three guns was directed against the flank of the Saint Louis bastion, opposite the Glacière bastion; to these were added a battery of 2 mortars.

A battery of 4 guns was erected also on the left bank of the Little River Saint Charles, whence the fronts attacked would be seen in reverse; 'twas expected to annoy the besieged on their ramparts from that point, although the distance was very considerable.

The parallels and batteries could not be finished except after incredible difficulties; the work was all rock. The earth had to be brought a very great distance in sacks. The enemy soon had 60 cannon unmasked on the attacked fronts. This artillery, served with the greatest activity, not only retarded the construction of the batteries, but also prevented the workmen transporting material; the balls plunging behind the heights, left no spot protected. The troops were even obliged several times to decamp.

Finally, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May, the batteries opened, and notwithstanding the great superiority of those of the English, would have been successful in their fire had our little artillery been of a better quality. 'Twas composed of 6 iron 18 and 12-pounders, only one 24, and although the best in the Colony had been selected, the most of the guns were, on the second day unfit for service, and the remainder soon threatened to be in the same state.

Chevalier de Lévis, under these circumstances and in order not to find himself uselessly deprived of ammunition, resolved to reduce the fire of the batteries to 20 shots each in 24 hours, and to remain in that situation until the arrival of the ships, hoping that the Court would, before long, send by the river some succors in artillery and provisions, which would



enable him to terminate the siege of Quebec in a few days, as their passage, besides, was rendered quite easy in consequence of the position assumed in front of that place.

An English frigate arrived on the 9<sup>th</sup> before Quebec and brought the Governor some London newspapers which he took occasion to communicate to Chevalier de Lévis, who found only vague and uninteresting news in them.

Of the two frigates which had wintered at Quebec, one had got ready to sail on the first of May, and dropped down the river without her destination being ascertained; 'twas conjectured however, that she had left for Europe; the second had her guns on board and appeared soon ready to join the one that had just arrived.

15<sup>th</sup> At ten o'clock at night, Chevalier de Lévis learned that two men-of-war, suspected to be English, had just anchored at the end of the Island of Orleans. He did not hesitate to bethink him of retreating, being well assured that *l'attalante* and *la pomone* illy equipped, without guns and men, were not in a condition to resist the enemy's vessels and protect our transports having our provisions on board.

He immediately sent orders to these vessels to reascend the river to a place of safety. This order was conveyed and executed too late in consequence of bad weather, the river having been agitated in an extraordinary manner the whole night; he also ordered the removal of all the guns from the batteries and their transportation to the *Côte du Foulon*, where they arrived at 7 o'clock in the morning.

At day-break an English ship of the line and two frigates got under weigh and fell in the twinkling of an eye on our frigates, which were obliged to retreat. *La Pomone* ran aground in front of Sillery. Sieur Vaucelain, commanding *L'attalante*, seeing that the transports were going to be overhauled, signaled to them to run ashore at the mouth of the River Cap Rouge. He was himself obliged to do the same 4 leagues higher up, opposite Point aux trembles, where he was exposed, during two hours, to the fire of the two English frigates, and having expended all his ammunition and seriously damaged the enemy's ships, was taken prisoner without having removed the King's flag; almost all his officers were killed or wounded, as well as a great number of his men.

The vessel that sailed from Quebec with the two frigates anchored before the *Foulon* cove, and cannonaded our bateaux so vigorously, that 'twas impossible to put our siege train on board; only our ammunition could be saved; some officers were obliged to abandon their baggage.

16<sup>th</sup> The troops remained in the same position the whole day; at 9 o'clock at night, Chevalier de Lévis ordered the trenches to be evacuated, and fell back in good order with the light artillery as far as the River Cap Rouge, which he crossed on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>. He employed that and the following days in discharging the fly-boats and vessels that were stranded, and getting the provisions and ammunition out of them. The fly-boat *la Marie*, commanded by Sieur Cornille, being found serviceable, went up the river, having passed under the English frigates in the night; all the other craft were burned.

19<sup>th</sup> News received of the arrival of 8 or 10 vessels in the port of Quebec, determined him to retire behind the River Jacques Cartier, which the troops crossed on the morning of the 20<sup>th</sup>, a corps of 400 men being left at Point aux trembles.

The wind from the northeast, which prevailed since the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, became so violent during the 4 days employed in getting back the provisions and ammunition, that a great number of bateaux were lost; several of those which were conveying the baggage of the troops shared

the same fate. One of the frigates that fought *l'Attalante*, having dragged her anchors the day after the engagement, was also lost in an instant.

'Twas never expected, when leaving Montreal, that we could take Quebec with the mere resources the country was able to furnish, as that town was provided with an immense artillery and guarded by a numerous garrison, composed of good troops, under an active and experienced chief. The plan was to confine that garrison within the walls of the town sufficiently early, to deprive it of the power of constructing external works before the fronts which have been attacked, and to wait under cover of the first approaches until the arrival of the reinforcements demanded from France should enable us to continue the siege. One single French flag would have been sufficient to produce that effect.

The victory of the 28<sup>th</sup> might have afforded hopes of more prompt success, had the artillery been in a condition to produce the effect expected; the bad quality of the guns has prevented us profiting by the good dispositions of the troops, which were impatiently waiting the opening of the breach; and the want of all reinforcements from Europe has at length forced Chevalier de Levis to retire, as it was impossible for him, in a country where transportation was impracticable, except by water, to remain in the position he occupied, without the aid of the river, even though the enemy would not have had any troops by land to oppose him.

#### List of Officers Killed or Wounded during the Siege.

Captain D'hert, Adjutant of La Reine, slightly wounded.

Adjutant Boschâtel, of La Sarre, killed.

Lieutenant Pradel, of Languedoc, mortally wounded.

Lieutenant Lajustone, of Languedoc, foot cut off.

Captain Barantte, of Béarn, mortally wounded.

Captain Mazerac, of Béarn, slightly wounded.

Captain Debonne, of the Colony, killed.

Lieutenant Chevalier de Meloises, of the grenadiers, killed.

C. Adjutant Meloises, of the Colony, wounded in the hip.

Ensign Herbin, of the Colony, slightly wounded.

Lieutenant Duverny, of the Royal Artillery, slightly wounded.

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*M. de Vaudrevil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

The enemy's movements along the lakes were yet very unrecited, and M. de Vaudrevil had adopted all the precautions which depended on him.

I have paid particular attention to the Lake Ontario quarter.

M. Desandrouins, to whom I had entrusted the command of Fort Levis, has perfectly acquitted himself thereof up to the beginning of the month of April, when I recalled him to make the campaign of Quebec.



I destined M. Pouchot, Captain in the regiment of Béarn, to replace him, as this officer combined within himself the qualities of a good Engineer, and had acquired experience in managing the Indian Nations.

Although reduced to a very feeble garrison, he nevertheless performed all the work I could expect from his zeal.

He has constantly parties of Indians of La Présentation or of Mississagués.

He has also Indians who, under divers pretexts, go to Chouguin to obtain intelligence for him.

Here is what these Indians have reported to him of interest :

The Commandant of Chouaguin represented his garrison to consist of 2,000 men ; yet, our Indians saw that it had not augmented since the fall.

They perceived that refreshments were very scarce, especially rice and sugar, but goods were not very dear ; two beavers procured a French blanket, or two dollars.

The shrewdest Indians perceived that there were only 3 @ 400 men in the fort ; they could never count more than ten officers.

In the forepart of May a 20 gun-brig, built at Niagara, arrived at Chouaguin.

One of M. Pouchot's parties took on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May three Englishmen in the neighborhood of Chouaguin.<sup>1</sup>

The previous and subsequent parties could not have the same success ; the former gave up in consequence of the great quantity of brandy they fell in with on the route ; the others were unable to get any prisoners as the English did not send men abroad (*à la grande terre*), except rarely and with great precaution.

Those prisoners have reported that the vessel from Niagara was loaded with artillery, warlike stores, and was to cruise on the lake.

That another vessel was in course of construction at Niagara, but would not be ready before the month of August.

That they have heard that an army of 20,000 men were to arrive at Chouaguin at the end of May, commanded by General Amherst, that it was to pass by fort Levis ; nevertheless, an Indian assures that the Commandant of Chouaguin had told him that there was question only of 9,000 men, 3,000 of whom were to come from Orange, 3,000 from Niagara, and 3,000 who were at Chouaguin.

These prisoners have added that there was cannon at the Little Fall,<sup>2</sup> but that the bateaux were too large to pass in the river ;

That they were obliged to build others ;

That there was no army in the direction of Carillon ; that all the forces were to come by Lake Ontario ;

That 700 bateaux were built at Corlac, capable of carrying 22 men on the lake.

20<sup>th</sup> May. Some Indians have stated that there were one thousand men and 200 bateaux at Chouaguin.

Other Indians who left that post on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, have learned from the 5 Nations, that the army were beginning to muster at Fort Steniz ;<sup>3</sup> that there were to be three columns of equal force under three chiefs ;

<sup>1</sup> Three soldiers of the Royal Americana, who were fishing near the Little Rapid. *Pouchot*. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> On the Oswego river.

<sup>3</sup> Fort Stanwix ; now Fome, New-York.

That each column would be as strong as that which was last year at Niagara; that one was to land above the Galops, the other come to Fort Levis, and the third to La Présentation.

Another Indian reports that 300 English had arrived the evening before his departure from Chouaguin.

That another party had arrived next day, some of whom entered the fort and others encamped;

That there were some Militia, a battalion of Regulars and some Morargans.<sup>1</sup>

The provisions were in course of conveyance across Oneida Lake.

According to certain Indians, the plan of the English is to come and encamp around Fort Levis and to send all the Indians along the river to cut off the communication with that post.

These same Indians say, that it is Colonel Johnson and Colonel Broastrekk<sup>2</sup> who are to command the army.

Our two corvettes are armed in the best manner possible; they are cruising in the environs of Chouaguin and present a bold front.

They will fight until sunk, if necessary. Should they find an opportunity they will attack the English craft; though superior in artillery, it may be weaker in the timbers than ours.

M. Pouchot's forces, including the crews of our corvettes, consist of only 316 men.

There are some Jacobites whereof he will make use especially after the second vessel will have joined the first.

You see, my Lord, how greatly the Indians and prisoners contradict each other in their reports. I conclude, from this, that the movements of the English on Lake Ontario have been, up to the present time, as undecided as those on Lake Champlain. Nevertheless, they cannot fail to come to light. I have adopted every means possible to be informed of them more particularly than I have yet been. I have made, beforehand, the best arrangements to stop the enemy's progress. I have lost no time in communicating to M. Pouchot the plan of attack by the upper part of the river, drawn up by M. Montrezord, Chief Engineer of the department of New-York, which you transmitted to me in your letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1759, in order that he may ascertain if the plan for this campaign be the same.

I beg you, my Lord, to have the goodness to assure his Majesty that I will exhaust the very last resources of the Colony, and that, in this quarter as in all others, there is no effort I will not make to prevent the English penetrating as far as Montreal.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Obedient servant,  
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

Condition of the  
French towards the  
Beautiful river and  
the Illinois.

I have the honor to render you an account of the news I have received from M. de MacCarty, Commandant of Fort Chartres.

He observes to me that his garrison is weaker than it ever has been. In fact, the check at Niagara has cost him the élite of his men.

<sup>1</sup> Mohegans.

<sup>2</sup> Sic. Bradstreet. — Ed.



He informs me that the English were noting down the islands and the rivers which disembugue into that of the Cherakis.

In the last days of the month of June of the last year, five Chaouoinons of Charrettiér's band, came to him and told him there were forty of their cabins in the river coming to ask him for a piece of ground, as their's was not good. M. de MacCarty sent some provisions to those Indians whom he placed near Fort Massiac; they were more useful and less dangerous there, than when collected together at Souyote.<sup>1</sup>

They have taken, at different times, four prisoners, ten scalps, but being menaced by a strong party of the enemy, they have abandoned Fort Massiac in the beginning of October, and retired towards the Illinois and previously to settling there, were waiting for news from the Chaouoinons, who are at Souyote, and of what was going on at the Beautiful river.

An English prisoner reported to M. de MacCarty, that they were fortifying Carleston, which is at the confluence of two rivers; that a canal was in the course of cutting, to surround the town with water, that barracks were building there through fear of a war with Spain.

The Cherakis persevered, at least for the most part, in the desire of joining the French, it would not be difficult to attract them among the Chaouoinons, if we could supply their wants.

The English being vigilant, profit by our scarcity of goods. They have invited the Illinois Nations to go to trade at The Rock.

M. de MacCarty having no traders, fears that those Nations, notwithstanding their good dispositions, will repair to the English and introduce messages into all their villages.

M. de MacCarty writes me on the 12<sup>th</sup> of April last, that the English having had wagon loads of tar and tow conveyed to Pittsburgh, where they were building bateaux, he has caused Fort Massiac to be terraced, fraized and fortified, piece upon piece, with a good ditch.

That the fort he has built at Kaskakiés is up to the parapet; that he has made all the arrangements he has considered necessary, according to his strength, to receive the enemy.

I have strongly recommended him to be on his guard. M. de Noyan de Villers, who has been to relieve him, will be very vigilant. I would not be surprised if the English made some movements in that quarter, for, according to the English gazettes, there is a rumor of a powerful armament against Louisiana, and according to the intercepted letters, General Monkton<sup>2</sup> has proceeded against the Beautiful river.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

12th September, 1760.

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

I have neglected nothing to sound the interior of the 5 Yrokoise Nations, to penetrate their dispositions, to endeavor to divide them and to induce them to remain neutral.

<sup>1</sup> Scioto.

<sup>2</sup> See VIII, 250, note 2. — Ed.

At the close of last fall, I secretly formed an embassy from 20 different Indian Nations, which went to the 5 Yrokoise Nations to remind them of their ancient union, their close attachment to the French, their firm resolution to die before them, to reunite and wage a perpetual war against any nation that may join their enemies.

Those Nations did not dissemble how much they felt at the affair of Niagara, that they have would already taken revenge for it, had I not persuaded them that the 5 Nations had been constrained thereto, but that if such a thing should recur, nothing would be capable of stopping them.

They repeated to the Yroquois that the design of the English was to destroy them all, that at least, in a short time, the English would sue for peace from the French, and then the 5 Nations would fall a prey to the resentment and fury of all the Nations.

These ambassadors acquitted themselves of their mission, but the 5 Nations asked to confer thereupon with Colonel Johnson, who advised them to report; that all the Nations were to assemble in council at the village of the Montagués,<sup>1</sup> the place of their ancient council fire.

This Colonel, feeling uneasy regarding this negotiation, demanded of the 5 Nations all the English blood they might have in their power, otherwise they would be sorry for it.

The Cayugas sent word to their warriors to hide their axe until the middle of summer, in order to be able to speak of good business; they were to invite the other villages to do the same.

'Twould appear that the 5 Nations are devoted to the English, inasmuch as they are unwilling to do anything without the consent of Colonel Johnson. Meanwhile, if certain reports be true, they are resolved to let the English fight alone this campaign, but I have taken care not to trust them.

I have still other negotiations in progress; am getting the Indians of La Présentation particularly to act; they are relatives and allies of the 5 Yrokoise Nations.

I am on the eve of ascertaining what course they will pursue. I am far, my Lord, from daring to flatter myself that it will answer my desires.

I will do my best, and shall be agreeably surprised if they remain as quiet this campaign as they have last winter.

I am, with the most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

12th September, 1760.

Montreal, 24<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

All the garrisons belonging to our posts on the Beautiful river are retiring to Detroit with as much provisions, artillery, ammunition and merchandise as they can stow away in the bateaux; the surplus was given to the Indians.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presqu'isle followed the French to Detroit.

<sup>1</sup> Onondagas. — Ed.



All the Nations of the Beautiful river witnessed with sorrow the departure of the French. Chevalier de Portneuf sent them a message, especially to the Chaouinons, to engage them to persevere in their good dispositions.

M<sup>r</sup> Hertel, whom I had stationed at Souyoto, has kept his ground. He learned from prisoners who had been brought to him from Carolina, that the English had no other Nations than the Catabas and Taskarorins; that the [Flat] heads were at war with them; that, insensibly, all the Southern Nations, except that of the Dog (*du chien*), had declared against them, and had already laid waste Virginia and Carolina to an astonishing degree; that the English papers are giving the most touching account thereof, and announce the departure of considerable forces for the relief of those two provinces.

All those Tribes have adopted the messages I have transmitted to all our Nations, South and North, which have had a good effect. None are in favor of the French;<sup>1</sup> nevertheless, an immense number of English Belts have been distributed this winter among those Nations, and I cannot guarantee that our misfortunes, the threats and promises of the English, have not made an impression on them.

The Nations of Detroit, with a very good grace, have taken charge of a certain number of Frenchmen whom they have supported in their winter camp by hunting.

Sieur de Richarville, whom M. de Belêtre had sent with some Sauteux to the neighborhood of Niagara, killed an Englishman close to the fort, not being able to get near enough to catch him.

Another party, commanded by Sieur de Quindre, killed three Englishmen at the mouth of the Chenandas.<sup>2</sup>

A party of Hurons was surprised at the mouth of the Niagara river; one man was killed and six wounded.

The English have not rebuilt the little fort at Niagara; they have only repaired the large fort; more than three-quarters of the garrison have died this winter; it has been reinforced this spring.

The English were busy building a terrace fort at Old Fort Duquesne, and cutting a ditch 50 feet wide through Mallangueulée Point; they will not furnish any more powder to the Chaouinons, whose squaws hitherto had pretty easily obtained whatever they wanted, whilst waging war against them.

M. de Belêtre is preparing to receive the English who, I think, are not going to Detroit; it may cost them very dear, because all the Nations are disposed to join the French. M. de Macarty has dispatched provisions to M. de Belêtre.

A Mohawk and an Englishman having come among the Hurons, that Nation delivered them over to M. de Belêtre.

He had the Englishman imprisoned and left the Mohawk in the hands of the Hurons who went bail for him.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>2</sup> Now, Chippewa creek, or Welland river, Canada West. — Ed.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

September 12th, 1760.

Montreal, 26<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

I have to address you, hereunto annexed, copy,

1<sup>st</sup> Of the letter General Murray wrote on the 29<sup>th</sup> April to Chevalier de Levis, wherein he assures that he has no knowledge of the firing on those conveying the wounded; that such must have occurred through mistake; he thanks him for his civilities to the English prisoners.

2<sup>nd</sup> Of Chevalier de Levis' answer. He communicates to General Murray the resentment of his army at the fate of our prisoners who had been blown up in a house in which the English had placed powder.

3<sup>rd</sup> Of General Murray's letter, stating that this misfortune was purely accidental.

4<sup>th</sup> Of that General's letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May, announcing the departure of a Lieutenant for the purpose of making the soldiers who are convalescent at the General Hospital rejoin their regiments. He sends M<sup>r</sup> de Levis the newspapers he has received from Europe; they contain nothing satisfactory to us.

5<sup>th</sup> Of Chevalier de Levis' answer, who observes that the Cartel does not prescribe anything in respect to a besieged place, into which it does not seem natural to allow the entrance of any reinforcements; that he cannot permit those soldiers to be sent him, although he does not consider them prisoners.

6<sup>th</sup> Of General Murray's letter of the 11<sup>th</sup> May, wherein he insists on these same soldiers being sent back.

7<sup>th</sup> Of Chevalier de Levis' answer; who informs him that he dispatches a courier to me for my orders, as he does not take anything on himself.

8<sup>th</sup> Of Chevalier de Levis' letter of the 21<sup>st</sup> May, wherein he asks General Murray for provisions for our wounded, founded on the Cartel, which states, very positively, that such shall be furnished to the hospitals in the hands of one of the two belligerent parties, on paying therefor the current prices at the places where they happen to be. He notifies him that if he will not adhere to the Cartel, M<sup>r</sup> de Malartic has orders to demand his passport and to retire with his guard.

M<sup>r</sup> Murray, far from paying attention to that letter, ordered the arrest not only of our soldiers who are convalescent at the General Hospital, but even of our police guard, and had them all confined as prisoners of war.

I am, with most profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,  
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

Copy of General Murray's letters and of Chevalier de Levis' answers.

[Annexed to M. de Vaudreuil's letter of the 26 June, 1760.]

General Murray to Chevalier de Levis. 29<sup>th</sup> April, 1760.

Sir,

I am this moment informed by Colonel Yonk<sup>1</sup> that those carrying the wounded have been fired on. I can assure you, Sir, that I have no knowledge thereof, and that it must have

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 614, note.—Ed.



been by mistake. I am very grateful for the politeness you have exhibited towards the prisoners. I propose sending the provisions of our sick and our officers' baggage in a bateau as far as the General Hospital, if you have no objection to it. I request you to send me a word in answer to this point. I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), JA. MURRAY.

Chevalier de Levis' Answer.

Sir,

I have not doubted that the firing on those removing the wounded was contrary to your orders. We lost, on that occasion, only one man of the party that was conveying yours to the General Hospital. That trifling accident was well nigh causing a more serious one, having revived among our troops their resentment at the bad treatment 'tis pretended our prisoners have experienced this winter, who have been shut up in a house in which was some powder that exploded. I render you, Sir, and your nation, too much justice, to have given credit, for an instant, to so inhuman a proceeding, whereof I have already destroyed the opinion my army entertained respecting it. The strict discipline I enforce therein, and the attention I pay to restraining the Indians, leave me no doubt that all the prisoners who will fall into our hands receive all the treatment and care customary among civilized nations.

I should have wished it was in my power to procure M. Yonk and the officers and soldiers of your troops greater succors than they have had; but they have been treated the same as ours.

You will be at liberty, Sir, whenever you please, to have conveyed by water to the General Hospital, whatever provisions you will think proper to send your sick; also the officers baggage. I request you to give orders that they be accompanied by a drum to be beat, so that my guard may receive and deliver them to yours.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), Ch<sup>re</sup> DE LEVIS.

General Murray's Reply.

Sir,

I have the honor to assure you that what occurred this winter to the French prisoners has been the result of a pure accident. I am well persuaded that you have too much good sense to imagine that it arose from premeditated design. I am obliged to you for all your attentions towards the prisoners who have fallen into your hands. A drum will accompany the canoe that is to convey the provisions to the General Hospital.

I have the honor to be, with most perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), JA. MURRAY.

## General Murray to Chevalier de Levis.

10<sup>th</sup> May, 1760.

Sir,

Lieutenant Brown,<sup>1</sup> of my Regiment, is going to the General Hospital to ascertain the number of our convalescent soldiers there and to make them rejoin their regiments, as provided for by the cartel. As the opportunity offers to return you the compliment which you have had the politeness to pay last winter; I have the honor to send you the newspapers that I have lately received. Have the goodness to return them to me when you will have read them.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), JA. MURRAY.

## Chevalier de Levis' Answer.

Sir,

The cartel prescribes nothing in respect to a place besieged, into which 'tis not natural to allow the entrance of reinforcements, but it applies only to the campaign. Therefore I cannot allow myself to send you back your soldiers who are in the General Hospital fit for service, although I do not consider them prisoners.

I am obliged to you for the newspapers you have been pleased to send me. You have been surprised as well as myself, at no mention having been made of this country. I hope to have it soon in my power to send you more interesting news.

I have the honor to be with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), Ch<sup>r</sup> DE LEVIS.

## General Murray's Reply.

11<sup>th</sup> May, 1760.

Sir,

I based the requisition I have had the honor to make you in regard to our convalescents, on the 27<sup>th</sup> article of the cartel which states expressly, "that the sick will not be taken prisoners, that they will be privileged to remain in security in the hospitals, where each of the belligerents and auxiliaries will be at liberty to leave them a guard, which, as well as the sick, will be sent back under the respective passports of the Generals, by the shortest road and without molestation or arrest."

These expressions, Sir, appear to me very general, and seem to my sense to embrace all the cases of war; at least there is no exception.

You may believe that such was my idea, since I should have had the necessary time to have them brought in, as I have had sufficient to call back all the outposts.

JOHN BROWN was commissioned a Lieutenant in the 60th Royal Americans, 9th February, 1756, and promoted to be Captain 15th September, 1760. He went on half-pay in 1763, and returned to the regiment in January, 1764; became Major of the 3rd battalion 22nd September, 1775, and died in 1777. *Army Lists*. — Ed.



I am as much surprised as you are at the little attention the public appears to feel about this continent; 'tis true, however, that you have seen all the newspapers I have lately received.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), JA. MURRAY.

Chevalier de Levis' Rejoinder.

12<sup>th</sup> May, 1760.

Sir,

On the new application you make to me by the letter with which you have this day honored me, to recall to their regiments the English who lie sick in the General Hospital, I this moment dispatch a courier to the Marquis de Vaudreuil to communicate the same to him and to receive his orders on this point, it not being in my power, in any wise, to take upon me to allow them to enter Quebec. I wish, for your satisfaction, that he may not think, like me, on the article of the cartel you quote, which, as I have already had the honor to inform you has, I think, nothing to do with the case of a besieged place.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), Ch<sup>er</sup> DE LEVIS.

Chevalier de Levis to General Murray.

Jacques Cartier, 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1760.

Sir,

On the report of M. de Malartic, it appears to me that you do not intend furnishing provisions to our sick left in the hospitals near Quebec, on the faith of the cartel which states, most positively, that such will be furnished to the hospitals remaining in the possession of one of the two belligerent parties, on paying the prices of the places where they are situated. If you intend to follow it, you cannot, Sir, avoid furnishing provisions, and if, on the contrary, you will not abide by it, our hospitals are in the case of being made prisoners of war, and in such circumstances you will find yourself obliged, always, to furnish subsistence to them and then remain responsible to the two crowns for the non-execution of the cartel. Whichever course you take, Sir, I am quite at ease as to the fate of our hospitals, being very sure that you will not allow them to want for anything. Your humanity and generosity are a sure guarantee to me on that point.

If you resolve not to abide by the cartel, I order M. de Malartic to demand a passport from you and to withdraw with his guard.

I have the honor to be, with perfect esteem,

Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

(Signed), Ch<sup>er</sup> DE LEVIS.

*General Murray to the Captains of Militia.*Quebec, 27<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

Sir,

We have seen the circular dated Montreal the 15<sup>th</sup> June and signed, Vaudreuil et Bigot. As they have been pleased to address some to the Canadians, his Britannic Majesty's subjects, we think fit to submit to you the explanations they have been willing to omit.

By the arrêt rendered by the King of France on the 15<sup>th</sup> of October, 1759, he promises to pay the registered bills of exchange of 1757 and 1758, commencing three months after the peace, at the rate of 500,000 <sup>l</sup> a month, with interest; the whole payable according to the order of their maturity. As this includes the paper of all the other Colonies as well as that of Canada, it needs no great arithmetician to calculate in how many years 100 or 120 millions will be paid at the rate of six millions a year.

Mess<sup>rs</sup> Vaudreuil and Bigot's circular conveys that the bills of exchange drawn in 1759, will be paid 18 months after the peace; but the King's edict says expressly, that as regards those of 1757 and 1758 which are not registered, as well as those of 1759, they will not be examined until 18 months after the peace, his Majesty reserving to himself to order then whatever he shall see fit.

It is to be presumed that the circular letter speaks more truly when it says, that the treasury notes on ordinances (*ordinancés*) will be retired and duly paid as soon as circumstances will permit, because circumstances will never permit.

His Majesty, as it appears to us, seems to believe that the malversations of his servants have fully contributed to the bankruptcy he is obliged to submit to.

You will read this letter at the door of the church, at the issue of the mass on a holiday, and you will explain it thoroughly to the farmers; after which you will cause it to be affixed to the said door, and take care that it be not removed on any pretext whatsoever.

We are, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant, -

(Signed), JA. MURRAY

*M. de Vaudreuil to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 29 June, 1760.

My Lord,

I have received the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February last.

I can, my Lord, only refer to the exactness of the accounts Chev. de Levis has the honor to render you of all that has occurred of interest in this country since the last campaign. The brilliant affair of the 28<sup>th</sup> of April is entirely his work; our victory is due to his courage, his intrepidity and his military *coup d'œil*. The troops, the Canadians and even the Indians have done wonders. What ought I not hope for, under the eyes of a General whom they cherish and in whom they have always reposed a decided confidence?



How unfortunate it is, my Lord, that M. Berryer's just measures have been subject to delay; the succors he had destined for us, however trifling they might be, joined to the measures we had adopted, would have placed the Colony beyond danger, the sight of a single French flag, *en prime*, would have effected the surrender of Quebec.

Chevalier de Levis has acquired as much glory as if he had reconquered that place. 'Twas neither his fault nor mine if it did not return into the King's possession; we both have surmounted even impossibilities, and I doubt if there be an instance of such an expedition at so severe a season, and in such great distress for everything.

I am induced—I am obliged, my Lord, by every circumstance, to have the honor to pray you to be pleased to procure Chevalier de Levis a commission of Lieutenant-General; the importance of his services, his experience and military knowledge, entitle him to it.

I have nothing to add to what that General has the honor to inform you in regard to our situation generally. We are determined, the one and the other of us, to have recourse to the greatest extremities to preserve this Colony. I beg you, my Lord, to be pleased to assure the King thereof; nothing can mar our intimate union; it springs from our natural inclination, and essentially from our zeal for his Majesty's service.

I am, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

VAUDREUIL.

*Chevalier de Levis to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1760.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit you the relation of what has occurred since the last campaign. [I hope the King will be satisfied with all the efforts which have been made for the preservation of New France. The arrival of one single frigate in advance of the English fleet would have decided the surrender of Quebec and secured New France this year. The English squadron arrived on the first and succeeding days of May; that which was coming from France and sailed on the third, arrived the first. Our succors sailed from France only on the tenth \* New France as blockaded. The King's armies have three vessels. Some prizes, taken by these at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, which arrived too late, went into the Bay des Chaleurs and Ouristigouche, where we have a post with some remnant of Acadians. M. de Vaudreuil sent orders to have them unloaded and to have their cargoes secured as well as possible, which was guarded by two hundred of the troops of Canada, who are on board these three vessels, and have orders to cruise along the New England coast, it being impossible for the smallest succors to reach us unless peace be very promptly concluded.]

The part embraced within brackets was in cipher in the original.

\* It has not been possible to find the termination of this sentence. *Note in Paris Document XVII., 102.*

Now they are only injurious to us in consequence of the non-payment of the bills of exchange; the paper that remains with us is entirely discredited, all the farmers in despair; they have sacrificed everything for the preservation of Canada; they now find themselves ruined beyond recovery; we leave nothing untried to restore confidence, giving assurances that the paper will be paid, but 'tis to be feared that we shall no longer find the same willingness among the people, when we shall be obliged to reassemble them for our defence. On raising the siege of Quebec, we have quartered the troops throughout the rural districts, in order to be subsisted. Fifteen hundred at Point aux trembles and Jacques Cartier, under M. Dumas' orders, to observe the garrison of Quebec, which appeared struck with consternation at the defeat of the 20<sup>th</sup> of April; *five hundred* men, under M. de Bougainville's orders, on the frontier of Lake Champlain; *five hundred and forty* in Fort Levis, at the head of the Rapids, under M. Pouchot's orders; such is our actual position. We are menaced by way of the River St. Lawrence and by a considerable reinforcement that is to attack the quarters by Lake Ontario, and to penetrate as far as Montreal, whilst the Quebec garrison is to proceed up the River St. Lawrence. 'Tis reported that they will be joined by the garrison of Louisbourg, as that place is to be razed. If such be the case, and they operate simultaneously, we are irreparably lost; it will not be possible for us to resist everywhere. The river is the part most to be feared; we have no stand-point there, and nothing to prevent the frigates and their barges going up as far as Montreal. In this deplorable position, our strongest forces being in this district, we shall endeavor to concentrate them. If the enemy are not cautious in their movements, we shall profit thereby, in order to attack the body of their troops, which will be the first to advance. This is the only resource remaining. We are utterly unable to keep the field; provisions, warlike stores, everything is lacking. 'Tis a wonder that we yet exist; the troops are well disposed and courageous.

The battalions, which are in want of officers and old soldiers, do not number more than about two thousand two hundred fighting men, exclusive of nine hundred troops of the Marine.

I have not departed from the principle of acting, in regard to all matters relating to the public good, in concert with M. de Vaudreuil and also with M. Bigot, with whom I cannot but be satisfied. I am very much assisted in all matters by M. de Bourlamaque. Any testimony I may render his talents and merit cannot be sufficiently favorable.]

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chev. DE LEVIS.



*Chevalier de Levis to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Montreal, 14<sup>th</sup> July, 1760.

My Lord,

I have the honor to transmit you duplicates of my letters by a small vessel that is to sail from Acadia. Since then I have been at Isle aux Noix, on the Lake Champlain frontier, to



encourage the farmers in that quarter, whom a party of the enemy had alarmed by coming to burn the dépôt at St. Thérèse, within two leagues of Chambly, several houses and carrying off 24 country people. I have issued orders relative to the sort of war, for the defence of this frontier and of Isle aux Noix, whither I have sent a battalion to join the corps commanded by M. de Bougainville. In that tour, and in all those I have made, I have not neglected to take advantage of the confidence the Canadians show me in order to reanimate their zeal and courage, calm their alarms respecting the bills of exchange and paper money, and induce them to furnish provisions. We are obliged to fight them when preventing us completing the removal by force of the few animals they have remaining to support life, as they are in that regard in the greatest distress. The crops have a fine appearance, but if we shall be able to cut them, it remains to be seen whether we shall enjoy them, and who will eat them. We have powder only for one battle; we have no news, as yet, of the enemy; we are on the eve of events which will decide the fate of the country. Judge, my Lord, of our situation, of that of the Canadians. Whatever it be, I beg you to assure the King that I will do all in my power for the glory of his arms and the preservation this Colony to him. The battle of the month of April has secured us the Indians who appear favorably disposed towards us.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chev. DE LEVIS.

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*M. de Levis to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 7<sup>th</sup> August, 1760.

My Lord,

The courier being unable to leave since my last letter of the 14<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, I have the honor to report to you hereby, that the enemy are on the march from Quebec since the 14<sup>th</sup> of last month, with forty sail and a landing force of two thousand five hundred men; they have since received a reinforcement from Quebec, of about one thousand troops. They are at this moment at Three Rivers. The detachment which was at Des Chambeau, follows them along the north shore, their plan is, apparently, to come to Montreal or Sorel in order to facilitate their junction with M. Amherst. We possess no means of stopping them; we are making a mere defensive demonstration to retard their march.

The principal point with us is to defend Montreal and the North shore as long as we shall be able; the Canadians are frightened by the fleet; they are afraid their houses will be burned. We are on the eve of a crisis. M. Amherst has reassembled fifteen thousand at Fort Frederick; there is another considerable force collected at Fort Chouaguen to penetrate by the Rapids; there is no doubt that they are about to move with a view to simultaneous action. If they have delayed until this moment, 'tis probably with the design to wait until the season of harvest, to deprive us of the farmers, in the expectation that we shall find it difficult to collect them together at that time.

We shall act as I have had the honor to inform you in my preceding letter. We shall try every means to save the Colony, but that will require miracles our situation is so deplorable. Our armies will have nothing but bread to subsist on.

Being in want of flour, as the discredit of the contractor's notes and bills of exchange prevents his being able to procure any, I have been induced to make strong representations on that subject to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendant, offering to pledge myself personally to persuade the troops to give the little cash they might possess, and to employ in that levy, officers capable of acquitting themselves perfectly of that duty. This has produced the effect I anticipated, and has supplied us with means to procure bread for this month. The Marquis de Vaudreuil and the Intendant have also pledged themselves for this purchase.

I do not cease moving so as to be everywhere to introduce order and prepare all possible means of defence. I start this moment for Lake St. Peter.

I am with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Chev. DE LEVIS.

I have returned from the Islands of Lake St. Peter, where there is an English fleet which has been augmented by twenty sail. There are no means of stopping them at the Islands nor between that and Montreal. There is reason to believe that they are about trying to establish themselves at the mouth of the River Sorrel or that they will come to Montreal. We have just learned that a reinforcement of three of the enemy's battalions has arrived from Quebec; a fourth is expected from the garrison of Isle Royale. They are blowing up that place. The armies of Lake Ontario and Lake Champlain are in motion; the Quebec fleet coming up to Montreal will force us to abandon the frontiers. The armies will then form a junction without any obstacle; all united, they will then have at least forty thousand men in the heart of the Colony; you are aware of our strength and abilities. From that judge of what may be expected. If we do not save the Colony, we will sustain the honor of the King's arms.

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*M. Bigot to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

Montreal, 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1760.

My Lord,

Since the letter I had the honor to write you on the 12<sup>th</sup> of this month, the English fleet has arrived within three leagues of this place, where it lies at anchor waiting for a favorable wind to come higher up; it gives occupation to 2 or 3 thousand of our men on the north and south, to protect Montreal and to oppose the enemy's landing force.

Their army on Lake Champlain landed the 16<sup>th</sup> on the south shore, a league or two from Isle aux Noix, and encamped opposite the fort of that island. The enemy immediately set



to work to erect batteries to cannonade that fort, which they unmasked on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, when they opened a heavy fire.

29<sup>th</sup> <sup>1</sup> They brought cannon opposite one of our Tartanes which M. de Bougainville, who commanded on the Island, had caused to be anchored within pistol shot of the South shore, below that island. On the first volley from the cannon, the Captain cut his cable to get at a distance, and reach the North shore; but having been killed with a part of the crew, the remainder escaped by swimming, some to the enemy, others to the island. The English, thereupon rushed on board and seized that Tartane, with which they went and took the remainder of our little navy, consisting of a similar Tartane, a schooner, a *gabarre* armed with 4 guns, and 4 boats carrying an 8-pounder. The enemy's Tartane was supported by the fire of some field pieces on shore.

The English, by that means, were at liberty to convey their artillery and barges down into the River St. John, by the little South river<sup>2</sup> on which their right rested, after having had them transported a short distance by land. Were it not for the capture of our navy, the English could not, without infinite difficulty, get in the rear of Isle aux Noix, because there were two stockadoes at that island, which extended to the North and South shores and were defended by the cannon and musketry of the fort.

M. de Bougainville evacuated it on the 27<sup>th</sup> at 10 o'clock at night. He crossed to the North shore, and arrived to-day at St. Johns.

The loss of that fort, 'tis to be feared will entail that of St. John and Chambly, and the early junction of the enemy with M. Murray's fleet.

Isle aux Noix was supplied with provisions up to the 20<sup>th</sup> September, for the 1,650 men posted there, including the navy, but in consequence of the loss of the 25<sup>th</sup>, these provisions would have gone some days farther. I had made arrangements for the conveyance of some more there; they were even on the way.

Fort Levis, situated on Lake Ontario, is invested, cannonaded and bombarded by the army from Chouaguen, according to the report of Indians sent on a scout. 'Tis expected that Captain Pouchot, of the regiment of Bearn, who commands there, will not be distressed. He has provisions to the end of October.

Had M. de Bougainville been able to hold out the time that was hoped, Canada might have perhaps been saved for this year; such were the appearances, whilst at present it is in great danger. I had fully foreseen this, as I have had the honor frequently to state to you; we are all penetrated with grief in consequence. A little good fortune with good will is required, and we experience only one misfortune after another.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and Chev. de Levis have resolved to give battle to the enemy if they can find an opportunity. This is our last resource. As for myself, I leave nothing untried to provide for the wants and subsistence of our armies. This last point is so much the more difficult, as there is no one left in the country to thresh (the grain), and for the past fifteen days it is raining continually; the harvest is going to ruin, as there is no way of getting it under cover.

I am, with profound respect, my Lord, your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

BIGOT.

<sup>1</sup> Sic. 25<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The Rivière du Sud falls into the Richelieu on its east side, a little below Isle aux Noix. *Bouchette*. — Ed.

P. S. 2<sup>nd</sup> September.

On the night of the 29<sup>th</sup> of last month, after the garrison of Isle aux Noix had joined our army at Fort St. John, M. de Roquemaure, the Commandant, set fire to that fort, and retired 2 leagues on this side. He came and encamped yesterday at La prairie, a parish situate on the south shore of the River St. Lawrence, three leagues from Montreal and 5 from Fort St. John. This army consisted of 2 thousand men, before the junction of that garrison, exclusive of 4 or 500 Indians, who were not stable.

M. de Bourlamaque is still at Longueuil, 2 leagues below Montreal, observing the movements of the fleet.

Two prisoners, taken on the 31<sup>st</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> from a detachment which M. Murray had sent to occupy a position on the south shore, 8 leagues below Montreal, have assured that that General had in his fleet a landing force of upwards of three thousand men, and that he had received 1,200 men from Louisbourg. That detachment has ravished (*violé*) pillaged and burned houses and barns, and committed other disorders. The English have acted in like manner everywhere they landed.

We learned on the day before yesterday that the enemy had taken Fort Levis on the 27<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup>, and that the garrison had been carried to Chouaguen. As this news has reached us only by Indians, who, however, give it as certain, it may not be true.

BIGOT.

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*Major-General Amherst to M. de Vaudreuil.*

Camp before Montreal, 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1760.

Sir,

Major Abercombie has just communicated to me the letter with which your Excellency has honored me in answer to that I have addressed you, with the conditions on which I expect the surrender of Canada. I have already had the honor to advise you that I shall not make any alteration. I cannot depart from this resolution. You will then be pleased to decide at once, and inform me in answer whether you will accept them—Yes or No.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your Excellency's

Most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), JEFF. AMHERST.

Copy.

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.



*Protest of Chevalier de Levis against obliging the Troops to lay down their Arms.*

[ Département de la Guerre, Paris. ]

This day, the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, 1760, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New France, having communicated to us the Articles of capitulation he has proposed to the English General for the surrender of Canada, and the answers to those articles; and having seen by said answers that that General requires, as his final resolution, that the troops will lay down their arms and not serve during the present war, we have considered it our duty to represent to him, in our own name and in that of the principal officers and others of the Regular troops we command, that such Article of the capitulation could not conflict more with the King's service and the honor of his arms, and must be accepted only at the last extremity, since it deprives the State, during this entire war, of whatever services eight battalions of land forces and two of the Marine, who have acted with courage and distinction, might render it; services the State would not be deprived of were the troops prisoners of war or even taken at discretion.

In consequence, we demand of M. de Vaudreuil to break off at once all negotiation with the English General and to determine on the most vigorous defence our actual position is capable of.

We occupy the town of Montreal, which, however very bad and incapable of sustaining a siege, is safe against all surprise, and cannot be taken without cannon. 'Twould be a thing unheard of to submit to conditions so severe and so humiliating for the troops without having been cannonaded.

Besides, we have still ammunition, should the enemy wish to attack us sword in hand, and to give battle should the Marquis de Vaudreuil be willing to try his fortune, although with forces extremely disproportionate and with small hopes of success.

If the Marquis de Vaudreuil, through political motives, thinks himself obliged to surrender the Colony now, we ask of him permission to retire with the land forces to St. Helen's island, in order to sustain there, in our own name, the honor of the King's arms, resolved to expose ourselves to every sort of extremity rather than submit to conditions which appear to us so contrary thereto.

I beg the Marquis de Vaudreuil to put his answer in writing at the foot of this present Memoir.

(Signed), Chev. DE LEVIS.

Whereas the interest of the Colony does not permit us to reject the conditions proposed by the English General, which are favorable to a country whose lot is confided to me. I order Chevalier de Levis to conform himself to the said Capitulation and to make the troops lay down their arms.

VAUDREUIL.

Montreal, 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1760.

*Articles of Capitulation for the Surrender of Canada.*

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION between their Excellencies General Amherst, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's Troops and Forces in North America; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Grand Cross of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in Canada.

## ARTICLE 1.

Twenty-four hours after the signing of the present capitulation, the British General shall cause the troops of his Britannic Majesty to take possession of the gates of the town of Montreal: and the British garrison shall not enter the place 'till after the French troops shall have evacuated it.

The whole garrison of Montreal must lay down their arms, and shall not serve during the present war. Immediately after signing the present capitulation, the King's troops shall take possession of the gates, and shall post the guards necessary to preserve good order in the town.

## ARTICLE 2.

The troops and the Militia, who are in garrison in the town of Montreal shall go out by the gate of [Quebec] with all the honors of war, six pieces of cannon, and one mortar, which shall be put on board the vessel where the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall embark, with ten rounds for each piece, and the same shall be granted to the garrison of Three Rivers, as to the honors of war.

## ARTICLE 3.

The troops and Militia who are in garrison in the fort of Jacques Cartier, and in the island of St. Helen and other forts, shall be treated in the same manner and shall have the same honors; and these troops shall go to Montreal, or Three Rivers, or Quebec, be there embarked for the first sea-port in France by the shortest way. The troops, who are in our posts, situated on our frontiers, on the side of Acadia, at Detroit, Michilimakinac, and other posts, shall enjoy the same honors, and be treated in the same manner.

All these troops are not to serve during the present war, and shall likewise lay down their arms. The rest is granted.

## ARTICLE 4.

The Militia, after evacuating the above towns, forts and posts, shall return to their habitations, without being molested on any

Granted.



pretence whatever, on account of their having carried arms.

## ARTICLE 5.

The troops, who keep the field, shall raise their camp, march, drums beating, with their arms, baggage and artillery, to join the garrison of Montreal, and shall be treated, in every respect, the same. These troops, as well as the others, must lay down their arms.

## ARTICLE 6.

The subjects of his Britannic Majesty, and of his most Christian Majesty, soldiers, Militia, or seamen, who shall have deserted or left the service of their sovereign, and carried arms in North America, shall be, on both sides, pardoned for their crime; they shall be respectively returned to their country; if not, each shall remain where he is without being sought after or molested. Refused.

## ARTICLE 7.

The magazines, artillery, firelocks, sabres, ammunition of war, and, in general, everything that belongs to his most Christian Majesty, as well in the towns of Montreal and Three Rivers, as in the forts and posts mentioned in the third Article, shall be delivered up, according to exact inventories, to the Commissaries, who shall be appointed to receive the same in the name of his Britannic Majesty. Duplicates of the said inventories, in due form, shall be given to the Marquis de Vaudreuil. This is everything that can be asked on this article.

## ARTICLE 8.

The officers, soldiers, militia, seamen, and even the Indians, detained on account of their wounds or sickness, as well as in the hospital as in private houses, shall enjoy the privileges of the cartel, and be treated accordingly. The sick and wounded shall be treated the same as our own people.

## ARTICLE 9.

The British General shall engage to send back, to their own homes, the Indians and Moraigans, who make part of his armies, immediately after the signing the present. The first part refused. There never have been any cruelties committed by the Indians of our army; and good order shall be preserved.

Capitulation. And, in the mean time, the better to prevent all disorders on the part of those who may not be gone away, the said Generals shall give safeguards to such persons as shall desire them, as well in the town as in the country.

## ARTICLE 10.

His Britannic Majesty's General shall be answerable for all the disorders committed on the part of his troops, and shall oblige them to pay the damages they may commit as well in the towns as in the country.

Answered by the preceding Article.

## ARTICLE 11.

The British General shall not oblige the Marquis de Vaudreuil to leave the town of Montreal before , and no person shall be quartered in his house till he is gone. The Chevalier de Levis, Commander of the land forces and Colony troops, the Engineers, Officers of the Artillery, and Commissary of War, shall also remain at Montreal till the said day, and shall keep their lodgings there. The same shall be observed with regard to M. Bigot, Intendant, the Commissaries of Marines and Writers, whom the said M. Bigot shall have occasion for, and no person shall be lodged at the Intendant's house before he shall take his departure.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all these gentlemen, shall be masters of their houses, and shall embark when the King's ships shall be ready to sail for Europe; and all possible conveniences shall be granted them.

## ARTICLE 12.

The most convenient vessel that can be found shall be appointed to carry the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Marchioness de Vaudreuil, M. de Rigaud, the Governor of Montreal, and that General's suite by the most direct passage to the first sea-port in France; and every necessary accommodation shall be made for them. This vessel shall be properly victualed at the expense of his Britannic Majesty; and the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall take with him his papers, without their being examined; and his equipages, plate, baggage, and also those of his retinue.

Granted, except the archives which shall be necessary for the government of the country.



## ARTICLE 13.

If before, or after, the embarkation of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, news of peace should arrive, and that by treaty, Canada should remain to his most Christian Majesty, the Marquis de Vaudreuil shall return to Quebec, or Montreal; everything shall return to its former state under the dominion of his most Christian Majesty, and the present capitulation shall become null and of no effect.

Whatever the King may have done on this subject shall be obeyed.

## ARTICLE 14.

Two ships shall be appointed to carry to France Chevalier de Levis, the principal officers, and the staff of the land forces, the Engineers, officers of Artillery, and their domestics. These vessels shall likewise be victualled, and the necessary accommodations provided in them. The said officers shall take with them their papers, without being examined, and also their equippages and baggage. Such of said officers as shall be married shall have liberty to take with them their wives and children, who shall also be victualled.

Granted, except that the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and all the officers, of whatever rank they may be, shall faithfully deliver to us all the charts and plans of the country.

## ARTICLE 15.

A vessel shall also be appointed for the passage of M. Bigot, the Intendant, with his suite; in which vessel the proper accommodation shall be made for him, and the persons he shall take with him: he shall likewise embark with him his papers, which shall not be examined; his equipages, plate, baggage, and those of his suite; this vessel shall be victualled as before mentioned.

Granted, with the same reserve as in the preceding article.

## ARTICLE 16.

The British General shall also order the necessary and most convenient vessels to carry to France, M. de Longueuil, Governor of Three Rivers, the staff of the Colony and the Commissaries of the Marine; they shall embark therein their families, servants, baggage and equipages during the passage, at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 17.

The officers and soldiers, as well of the land forces as of the Colony, and also the Marine officers and seamen who are in the Colony, shall be likewise embarked for France, and sufficient and convenient vessels shall be appointed for them. The officers of the land and Marine troops who shall be married, shall take with them their families, and all of them shall have liberty to embark their servants and baggage. As to the soldiers and seamen, those who are married shall take with them their wives and children, and all of them shall have their haversacks and baggage; these vessels shall be properly and sufficiently victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty.

## ARTICLE 18.

The officers, soldiers and all the followers of the troops who shall have their baggage in the fields, may send for it before they depart, without any hindrance or molestation.

## ARTICLE 19.

An hospital ship shall be provided by the British General for such of the wounded and sick officers, soldiers and seamen as shall be in a condition to be carried to France, and shall likewise be victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. It shall be the same with regard to the other wounded and sick officers, soldiers and sailors, as soon as they shall be recovered. They shall have liberty to carry with them their wives, children, servants and baggage, and the said soldiers and sailors shall not be solicited nor forced to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty.

## ARTICLE 20.

A Commissary and one of the King's Writers shall be left to take care of the hospitals, and whatever may relate to the service of his most Christian Majesty.



## ARTICLE 21.

The British General shall also provide ships for carrying to France the Officers of the Supreme council, of justice, police, admiralty, and all other officers having commissions from his most Christian Majesty, for them, their families, servants and equipages, as well as for the other officers; and they shall likewise be victualled at the expense of his Britannic Majesty. They shall, however, be at liberty to stay in the Colony, if they think proper to settle their affairs, or to withdraw to France whenever they think fit.

Granted; but if they have papers relating to the government of the country, they are to be delivered up to us.

## ARTICLE 22.

If there are any military officers whose affairs should require their presence in the Colony till the next year, they shall have liberty to stay in it, after having obtained the permission of the Marquis de Vaudreuil for that purpose, and without being reputed prisoners of war.

All those whose private affairs shall require their stay in the country, and who shall have the Marquis de Vaudreuil's leave for so doing, shall be allowed to remain till their affairs are settled.

## ARTICLE 23.

The contractor for the King's provisions shall be at liberty to stay in Canada till next year, in order to be enabled to answer the debts he has incurred in the Colony, on account of what he has furnished; but, if he should prefer to go to France this year, he shall be obliged to leave, till next year, a person to transact his business. This private person shall preserve, and have liberty to carry off all his papers, without being inspected. His clerks shall have leave to stay in the Colony or go to France; and, in this last case, a passage and subsistence shall be allowed them on board the ships of his Britannic Majesty, for them, their families and their baggage.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 24.

The provisions and other kind of stores, which shall be found in the magazines of the Commissary, as well as in the towns of Montreal and of Three Rivers, as in the country,

Everything that is actually in the magazines, destined for the use of the troops, is to be delivered to the British Commissary, for the King's forces.

shall be preserved to him, the said provisions belonging to him, and not to the King; and he shall be at liberty to sell them to the French and English.

## ARTICLE 25.

A passage to France shall likewise be granted, on board of his Britannic Majesty's ships, as well as victuals to such officers of the India company as shall be willing to go thither, and they shall take with them their families, servants and baggage. The chief agent of the said company, in case he should choose to go to France, shall be allowed to leave such person as he shall think proper till next year, to settle the affairs of the said company, and to recover such sums as are due to them. The chief agent shall take possession of all the papers belonging to the said company, and they shall not be liable to inspection. Granted.

## ARTICLE 26.

This company shall be maintained in the property of the scarlet cloths and beavers they may have in the town of Montreal; which shall not be touched under any pretence whatever, and the necessary licences shall be given to the chief agent, to send this year his beaver to France, on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, paying the freight on the same footing as the British would pay it. Granted, with regard to what may belong to the company, or to private persons; but if his most Christian Majesty has any share in it, that must become the property of the King.

## ARTICLE 27.

The free exercise of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, shall subsist entire, in such manner that all the states and the people of the towns and countries, places and distant posts, shall continue to assemble in the churches, and to frequent the sacraments as heretofore, without being molested in any manner, directly or indirectly. These people shall be obliged by the English government to pay their priests the tithes, and all the taxes they were used to pay under the government of his most Christian Majesty. Granted, as to the free exercise of their religion; the obligation of paying the tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure.



## ARTICLE 28.

The Chapter, Priests, Curates and Missionaries, shall continue with an entire liberty, their parochial duties and functions in the town and country parishes. Granted.

## ARTICLE 29.

The Vicars-general named by the Chapter to administer the diocese during the vacancy of the Episcopal See, shall have liberty to dwell in the town or country parishes, as they shall think proper. They shall, at all times, be free to visit the different parishes of the diocese, with the ordinary ceremonies and exercise all the jurisdiction they exercised under the French dominion. They shall enjoy the same rights in case of the death of the future Bishop, of which mention will be made in the following article. Granted, except what regards the following article.

## ARTICLE 30.

If by the treaty of peace, Canada should remain in the power of his Britannic Majesty, his most Christian Majesty shall continue to name the Bishop of the Colony who shall be of the Roman communion, and under whose authority the people shall execute the Roman Religion. Refused.

## ARTICLE 31.

The Bishop shall, in case of need, establish new parishes, and provide for the rebuilding of his cathedral and his Episcopal palace; and, in the mean time, he shall have liberty to dwell in the towns or parishes as he shall judge proper. He shall be at liberty to visit his diocese with the ordinary ceremonies, and exercise all the jurisdiction which his predecessor exercised under the French Dominion, save that an oath of fidelity, or a promise to do nothing contrary to his Britannic Majesty's service may be required of him. This article is comprised under the foregoing.

## ARTICLE 32.

The communities of Nuns shall be preserved in their constitutions and privileges; they shall continue to observe their rules; they Granted.

shall be exempted from lodging any military; and it shall be forbid to molest them in their religious exercises, or to enter their convents: safe-guards shall even be given to them, if they desire them.

## ARTICLE 33.

The preceding article shall likewise be executed, with regard to the communities of Jesuits and Recollects, and of the house of the Priests of St. Sulpice, at Montreal; these last and the Jesuits, shall preserve their right to nominate to certain parishes and missions, as heretofore.

Refused, 'till the King's pleasure be known.

## ARTICLE 34.

All the communities and priests, shall preserve their movables, the property and revenues of the Seignories, and other estates which they possess in the Colony of what nature soever they may be; and the same estates shall be preserved in their privileges, rights, honors and exemptions.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 35.

If the Canons, Priests, Missionaries, the Priests of the Seminary of the foreign missions, and of St. Sulpice, as well as the Jesuits and the Recollects, choose to go to France, a passage shall be granted them in his Britannic Majesty's ships; and they shall have leave to sell, in whole, or in part, the estates and movables they possess in the Colonies, either to the French or to the English, without the least impediment or obstacle from the British government. They shall be at liberty to take with them, or send to France, the produce, of what nature soever it may be, of the goods sold, paying the freight, as mentioned in the 26th Article. And such of the said Priests, who choose to go this year, shall be victualed, during the passage at the expense of his Britannic Majesty; and they shall take with them their baggage.

They shall be masters to dispose of their estates, and to send the produce thereof, as well as their persons, and all that belongs to them, to France.



## ARTICLE 36.

If, by the treaty of peace, Canada remains to his Britannic Majesty, all the French, Canadians, Acadians, merchants, and other persons, who choose to retire to France, shall have leave to do so from the British General, who shall procure them a passage; and, nevertheless, if, from this time to that decision, any French or Canadian merchants, or other persons, shall desire to go to France, they shall likewise have leave from the British General. Both the one and the other of them shall take with them their families, servants and baggage. Granted.

## ARTICLE 37.

The Lords of Manors, the Military and Civil officers, the Canadians as well in the towns as in the country, the French, settled, or trading in the whole extent of the Colony of Canada, and all other persons whatsoever, shall preserve the entire peaceable property and possession of the goods, noble and ignoble, movable and immovable, merchandises, furs, and other effects, even their ships; they shall not be touched, nor the least damage done to them, on any pretence whatever. They shall have liberty to keep, let or sell them, as well to the French as to the British; to take away the produce of them in bills of exchange, furs, specie or other returns, whenever they shall judge proper to go to France, paying their freight, as in the 26th Article. They shall also have the furs which are in the posts above, and which belong to them, and may be on the way to Montreal; and, for this purpose, they shall have leave to send, this year, or the next, canoes, fitted out, to fetch such of the said furs as shall have remained in those posts. Granted, as in the 26th Article.

## ARTICLE 38.

All the people who have left Acadia, and who shall be found in Canada, including the frontiers of Canada on the side of Acadia, shall have the same treatment as the Canadians, and enjoy the same privileges. It is for the King to dispose of his ancient subjects; in the meantime, they shall enjoy the same privileges as the Canadians.

## ARTICLE 39.

None of the Canadians, Acadians or French, who are now in Canada and on the frontiers of the Colony on the side of Acadia, Detroit, Michillimakinac and other places and posts of the countries above, nor the married and unmarried soldiers remaining in Canada shall be carried or transported into the British Colonies or to Great Britain, and they shall not be troubled for having carried arms.

Granted, except with regard to the Canadians.<sup>1</sup>

## ARTICLE 40.

The Savages or Indians, allies of his Most Christian Majesty, shall be maintained in the lands they inhabit; if they choose to remain there, they shall not be molested, on any pretence whatsoever, for having carried arms and served his Most Christian Majesty. They shall have, as well as the French, freedom of religion, and shall keep their Missionaries. The actual Vicars-general and the Bishop, when the Episcopal See shall be filled, shall have leave to send them new Missionaries when they shall judge it necessary.

Granted, except this last article, which has been already refused.

## ARTICLE 41.

The French, Canadians and Acadians, of what state and condition soever, who shall remain in the Colony, shall not be forced to take arms against his Most Christian Majesty or his allies, directly or indirectly, on any occasion whatsoever; the British Government shall only require of them an exact neutrality.

They become subjects of the King.

## ARTICLE 42.

The French and Canadians shall continue to be governed according to the customs of Paris, and the laws and usages established for this country; and shall not be subject to any other imposts than those which were established under the French dominion.

Answered by the preceding articles, and particularly by the last.

## ARTICLE 43.

The papers of the government shall remain, without exception, in the power of the Mar-

Granted, with the reserve already made.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* Ought to be Acadians. *Knox Journal*, I, 436. — Ed.



quis de Vaudreuil, and shall go to France with him. These papers shall not be examined on any pretence whatsoever.

## ARTICLE 44.

The papers of the Intendant, of the officers of the Comptroller of the Marine, of the ancient and new Treasurers, of the King's Magazines, of the offices of the Revenues and Forges of St. Maurice, shall remain in the power of M. Bigot, the Intendant, and shall be embarked for France in the same vessel with him; these papers shall not be examined.

The same as to this article.

## ARTICLE 45.

The registers and other papers of the Supreme Council of Quebec, of the Prevôté, and admiralty of the said city; those of the Royal Jurisdictions of Three Rivers and of Montreal; those of the Seignorial Jurisdictions of the Colony; the minutes of the acts of the Notaries of the towns and of the rural districts, and, in general, the acts, and other papers that may serve to prove the estates and fortunes of the citizens, shall remain in the Colony, in the rolls of the jurisdictions on which these papers depend.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 46.

The inhabitants and merchants shall enjoy all the privileges of trade, under the same favors and conditions granted to the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, as well in the Upper countries, as in the interior.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 47.

The Negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves, in the possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belong; they shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the Colony, or to sell them; and they shall also continue to bring them up in the Roman religion.

Granted; except those who shall have been made prisoners.

## ARTICLE 48.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the General and the Staff Officers of the land forces, the Governors and Staff Officers of the different

Granted.

places of the Colony, the Military and Civil Officers, and all other persons who shall leave the Colony, or who are already absent, shall have leave to name and appoint Attorneys to act for them, and in their name, in the administration of their effects, movable, and immovable, until the peace; and if by the treaty between the two Crowns, Canada does not return under the French dominions, these officers or other persons, or Attorneys for them shall have leave to sell their manors, houses, and other estates, their movables and effects, &c., to carry away or send to France the produce thereof, either in bills of exchange, specie, furs, or other returns, as is mentioned in the 37th Article.

## ARTICLE 49.

The inhabitants and other persons who shall have suffered any damage in their goods, movable or immovable, which remained at Quebec, under the faith of the capitulation of that city, may make their representations to the British Government, who shall render them due justice against the person whom the same shall concern.

Granted.

## ARTICLE 50, and last.

The present capitulation shall be inviolably executed in all its articles, and *bona fide* on both sides, notwithstanding any infraction, and any other pretence, with regard to preceding capitulations, and without making use of reprisals.

Granted.

P. S.

## ARTICLE 51.

The British Generals shall engage, in case any Indians remain after the surrender of this town, to prevent their coming into the towns, and that they do not in any manner insult the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.

Care shall be taken that the Indians do not insult any of the subjects of his Most Christian Majesty.

## ARTICLE 52.

The troops and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty who are to go to France shall be embarked, at latest, fifteen days after the signing of the present capitulation.

Answered by the 11th article.



## ARTICLE 53.

The troops and other subjects of his Most Christian Majesty who are to go to France, shall remain lodged and encamped in the town of Montreal and other posts which they now occupy, until they shall be embarked for their departure; passports, however, shall be granted to those who shall want them, for the different places of the Colony, to go and attend to their affairs. Granted.

## ARTICLE 54.

All the officers and soldiers of the troops in the service of France, who are prisoners in New England, and who were taken in Canada, shall be sent back as soon as possible to France, where their ransom or exchange shall be treated of, agreeable to the cartel; and, if any of these officers have affairs in Canada, they shall have leave to come there. Granted.

## ARTICLE 55.

As to the officers of the Militia, the Militiamen and the Canadians, who are prisoners in New England, they shall be sent back to their countries. Granted, except what regards the Canadians.<sup>1</sup>

Done in the camp before Montreal, this 8th of September, 1760.

(Signed), JEFF. AMHERST.

Certified to be true, according to the original signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and collated by M. Appy, Secretary of M. Amherst.

True Copy.  
(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

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*M. Bernier to ———.*

Quebec, 25<sup>th</sup> September, 1760.

Sir,

As the necessity and good of the service cause me to perform actually here the duties of a Commissary of the Marine, I take the liberty to render you an account in this regard, in order that you may have the goodness to inform the Minister thereof; but to resume matters farther back, I shall say:

<sup>1</sup> *Sic. Acadiana. Knox Journal, I., 440. — Ed.*

On the morning of the 7<sup>th</sup> the town of Montreal was invested by three armies consisting of more than 32 thousand men; the principal one came by Lake Ontario under the orders of M<sup>r</sup> Amherst, Commander-in-Chief; one by Lake Champlain, commanded by Colonel Haviland, and the third from Quebec, in ships. Never was seen more beautiful military combinations or so many troops reunited on the same point and in the same instant, against a body already expiring.

8<sup>th</sup> M. de Vaudreuil concluded a general capitulation for the Colony, very favorable to the Colonists, and to all those who have any fortunes in the country. This capitulation is a voluminous work, the length of which deprives me of the pleasure I should have of annexing a copy of it hereunto.

According as the English armies advanced the farmers deserted us, and the troops alone fell back towards the centre. The few domiciliated Indians that remained with us, did not delay joining those of the enemy, serving as their guides, and being the first to massacre those who fed them the evening before.

10<sup>th</sup> I made a review of the eight battalions of Regulars; I found, sick, invalids all included, 2,200 and some odd men. I believe all the soldiers of the Colony formed into two battalions, numbered scarcely 650 men. This business finished, I started for Quebec, in order to be beforehand with our regiments there, and to make provision with the English Commissaries for their subsistence and lodging. Chevalier de Levis, who arrived also at the same time, ordered me to take the same care of the troops of the Marine and sailors, as there was no Commissary or clerk of the Marine on the spot to render them that service.

The transportation of the troops from Montreal here, was effected partly in bateaux, schooners and other craft. The troops of the Colony, embarked in bateaux, arrived some days ago. I have made the review of them in order to regulate the quantity of rations they required;

And have found:

Extract of the Review of the two battalions of the Troops of the Marine at  
Quebec, 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1760.

Officers, fifty-six, .....	56
Servants, fifty-eight, .....	58
Cadets, six, .....	6
Soldiers, seven hundred and fifty-three, .....	753
Women, forty-seven, .....	47
Children, thirty, .....	30

Gunners and bombardiers of the Marine, exclusive of the garrison of  
Three Rivers, which is 50 or 60 men.

Officer, one, .....	1
Gunners and bombardiers, fifty-one, .....	51
Women and children, five, .....	5

Total of rations to be delivered to the troops of the Marine, each day, ..... 1,007



This number is daily increasing, some of them having gone into the settlements in quest of their baggage.

As for the naval officers and seamen, it has not been possible for me, as yet, to learn their effective number.

The staff of the Regular troops is here, but the whole of that of the Colony is still at Montreal; their departure from that place, is subject to more embarrassment in consequence of their family and baggage.

Since the 20<sup>th</sup> a continual Northeast wind has prevailed which at moments has been furious; it has destroyed two schooners, on board which were some English troops, but without loss of life; we apprehend like accidents to those in which our two battalions have embarked. I, myself, run the risk of losing all my baggage and papers which are on board a vessel with the regiment of Bearn, whereof there has been no tidings.

This bad weather is the cause of the arrival, daily, here, of troops of soldiers belonging to one corps or another. The English, to hasten being rid of them, wish to put them on board according as they arrive, without considering that they thereby dismember the corps, which subjects us, and me in particular, as regards my business, to infinite labor and confusion.

Chevalier de Levis is now occupied in preventing this inconvenience by his representations.

When the troops of the Marine will embark, I shall make the review of them on the beach, and draw up a duplicate of it, one for the Major and the other I shall reserve to transmit to you.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), BERNIER.

*Chevalier de Levis to Marshal de Belle Isle.*

[Département de la Guerre, Paris.]

Rochelle, 27<sup>th</sup> November, 1760.

My Lord,

I have landed this moment; I should have wished to be able to leave immediately for Versailles, but the fatigue and even perils that I have experienced in the passage I have just made, force me to take five or six days for the reëstablishment of my health.

The only opportunity I have had this year to write to you, my Lord, was by some ships which sailed last April, from Bordeaux and put into the Bay des Chaleurs, whence the paquets from the court were brought to us. I have had the honor to answer, by those same vessels, your letters of the 28<sup>th</sup> February, to send you an account of our operations last winter, of my opening the campaign, and submitting to you my opinions on the then situation of the Colony. 'Twas at the close of the month of June.

But these vessels having been outsailed in the river of Canada by an English squadron, and afterwards defeated by a division of that same squadron, makes me fear that my letters have not reached you.

I annex hereunto a duplicate of that relation, to which I have only to add the assurance that it was not for want of courage in the troops, of union and concert in the best measures to be adopted for the King's service, of zeal and fidelity in the inhabitants no more than of prudence on the part of the chiefs, that the Colony failed to experience a more fortunate fate.

The Regular troops and those of the Colony merit this eulogium, that they have performed prodigies of valor on the 28th of April, to recover an advantage that they might have certainly gained, had bravery availed them in the stead of means. They have maintained the same character, under incredible difficulties, up to the 8<sup>th</sup> of September, when it became at length necessary to yield to numbers, and to the formidable array of three armies reunited in their combined operations; nor did this take place until after they had offered to immolate themselves, and gave evidence of their entire despair in submitting to the conditions that have been imposed upon them.

I reserve until my return to Versailles, the placing before you, my Lord, the other objects on which I had the honor to write you last June. The request I then made, those I have to submit since that time in favor of the troops, and my supplication to you to lay before his Majesty, on some favorable day, all that those troops have done and suffered for many years in so severe a climate. A more worthy result was due to their courage, but this one was predicted and foreseen for a long time.

I annex, in like manner hereunto the continuation of the narrative of the campaign, which terminated on the signing of the capitulation made by the Marquis de Vaudreuil,<sup>1</sup> wherein I had no other part than to have protested against it, in regard to what concerned the treatment shown to the Regular troops, who ought to have merited more attention from the Marquis de Vaudreuil and more esteem from General Amherst. My proceedings on that occasion have not permitted me receiving from General Amherst, or personally paying him, the civilities usual on such meeting between Generals. I have thought it my duty to manifest my resentment and not to appreciate the reasons which that English General has given for his conduct, to wit; that 'twas in satisfaction for the cruelties committed by the Indians with whom the troops had been associated.

Immediately after the town of Montreal was given up, I made the review of the eight battalions, which I found to be about two thousand two hundred men, all included, hospitals, wounded and invalids. As these troops and all the people were to repair by the river in English vessels to Quebec, where the distribution of the embarkations were to be made, I immediately dispatched M. Bougainville in order to be there before them and to maintain discipline and regularity among them, and Commissary Bernier in like manner, to coöperate with the English Commissaries in victualing and lodging them, and I have instructed him to pay the same attention to the troops of the Marine and seamen, as there was no person there to represent the Marine.

<sup>1</sup> PIERRE RIGAUD DE VAUDREUIL-CAVAGNAT, Marquis de Vaudreuil, was the 3rd son of Philip, who governed Canada from 1705 to his death in 1723, and of Louisa Elizabeth de Joybert, of Soulange, and was born at Quebec, in 1698. He married Miss d'Eschambault and served as Governor of Three Rivers; was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1743, and his administration of that Colony was long and fondly remembered by the people. In 1752 he was appointed Governor of his native country and administered its affairs down to 1760. He returned to France, poor, after a service of fifty-six years, and was thrown into the Bastille, through the efforts, it is supposed, of the friends of the late Marquis de Montcalm. The proceedings against him and others inculpated, continued from December, 1761, to the close of March, 1763. In December, of that year, he was honorably acquitted, but he did not long survive the persecution. He died in 1764, less from the effects of age than from the ingratitude of the government, in whose support he had sacrificed his entire fortune. *Garnier*. — Ed.



After the departure of the battalions from Montreal, I followed them with M. de Bourlamaque in the resolution of leaving Quebec the last, in order to obtain for them from the English chief, by my presence, all the accommodation possible for the voyage. In spite of my trouble and care, they have suffered extraordinarily, 1<sup>st</sup> Through the small number of transports the English had; 2<sup>nd</sup> In consequence of a frightful north-easter which detained them in the river 22 days in peril, and rendered many ships unfit for service, whereby the English were constrained to crowd the men into the remaining vessels, although, however, they have not exceeded their ordinary rule to put only one man per ton, to which I paid the greatest attention; 4<sup>th</sup> Finally, in consequence of the universal want of money suitable for providing themselves at the English merchants with the comforts necessary for the voyage, and the painful alternative of not having, at least the greater number, any other food than simply the sailors' ration.

After this storm, so contrary and so universal in this country, the battalions arrived piecemeal at Quebec; they had to leave in like manner, as the season admitted of no further delay, nor consequently of having any order or regularity in that embarkation.

I confined my attention to the embarkation of all belonging to the King's troops. I have given orders and instructions to each officer commanding the soldiers in each vessel; have taken a list of nearly all the ships and the number of soldiers put on board, which I enclose, and have been obliged to sail myself; I have directed M. de Bourlamaque, whose vessel was one of the last to be ready, to take the same care regarding the remaining ships, and to draw up a fresh list, on the supposition that some change would be made.

I embarked in a vessel of 200 tons, and took with me the Adjutant-General, the Assistant Quarter-Master General, Commissary Bernier, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Pontleroy, La Rochebeaucourt, the two partizan officers and the Surgeon-Major. M. de Bourlamaque took with him M. de Bougainville<sup>1</sup> and the remainder of our artillery and Engineer officers.

After having experienced much contrary wind in descending the river, being in company with M. de Vaudreuil's ship, who has with him a portion of the Colonial staff, we had off Louisbourg what is called a tempest, which separated us, and cost my vessel one of her masts and kept us two hours uncertain as to life or death, and at length, without any other accident than a very stormy time, I arrived here after a passage of 40 days.

<sup>1</sup> LOUIS ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE was son of a Notary in Paris, where he was born on the 11th November, 1729. After a regular course of study at the University, at the age of 22, he commenced the study of the law and was afterwards admitted an Advocate, but abandoning that career for the profession of arms he enrolled himself in the Black Musqueteers. In 1753 he became Adjutant of the Provincial battalion of Picardy, the year following Aid-de-Camp of General Chivert, who commanded the camp of Sarre Louis, and in the course of the winter of 1754 went to London as Secretary of Legation, when he was received a member of the Royal Society. He rejoined Chevert in 1755, and in 1756 was appointed Aid-de-Camp to General Montcalm, whom he accompanied to Canada, with the commission of Captain of Dragoons. After his return to France, in 1760, he served with the army in Germany, as Aid-de-Camp to M. Choiseul Stainville, where he distinguished himself in a manner to call forth the special notice of the King. After the peace he was engaged by the merchants of St. Malo, to form an establishment at the Malouines islands, and he accordingly received a commission of Captain in the French Navy. He sailed from St. Malo in March, 1763; but these islands were afterwards ceded to Spain. In 1766 he commenced his celebrated Voyage around the world, and to him belongs the honor of being the first French circumnavigator. He returned to St. Malo in 1769, and in 1771 published his *Voyage autour du Monde*. In 1778 and 1779 he commanded the *Guerrier*, 74, in Count d'Estaing's fleet, and was at the reduction of Savannah in the latter year, when he was promoted to the rank of Commodore; and in the year 1781 he commanded the *Auguste*, 80, in Count de Grasse's fleet, and was in the engagement of the 29th of April, against the English fleet, under the command of Hood, and in November following commanded the van, and commenced the action off the Chesapeake, when the French fleet fought that of the English under Graves. After reaching the rank of Marechal de Camp or Major-General, he retired from the public service in 1790, after a brilliant career of over forty years. He was elected member of the French Institute in 1796; next created a Senator, and afterwards Count of the Empire. He died 31st August, 1811, in the 83d year of his age. *Biographie Universelle*; *Beaumont's Naval and Military Memoirs*, VI. — Ed.

I feel it my duty, my Lord, to inform you that the English, perceiving the few transports they had to carry out the engagements of the capitulation, have proposed to me to have our battalion sent to New-York, in order to be embarked more commodiously there, which I strongly opposed, because they would have been annihilated on that route by voluntary desertion or insubordination.

I think that these battalions bring back to France nearly 15 or 1,600 men; more than 500 have quit since the capitulation.

I should wish, at your pleasure, that, in case the corps would desire to enter proceedings against the latter, all such may be suspended until I have had the honor to inform you of what I have done concerning these deserters, which may plead in their favor. This evil proceeds from an error at the very outset, which is, to have permitted them to marry, to take up land and to have promised them their discharge on the conclusion of the war in Canada. The greatest number of those deserters are settlers or such as had taken measures to settle, and who have been unwilling to abandon a state into which they were allowed to enter.

May I, my Lord, before terminating this letter represent to you the circumstances in which all the officers from the highest to the lowest, find themselves who are returning from Canada, they are absolutely without specie; each of them may truly have funds in paper but which is of no value here. Their salaries have been paid them in bills of exchange up to the first of August last; since then three months have elapsed. If it be possible, my Lord, to have them paid by the Marine from the 1<sup>st</sup> of September to the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, on the same footing as in Canada, it would be a great relief to them for the journeys and other expenses they have to undergo and whilst waiting the maturity of their bills of exchange.

All are impatiently awaiting the orders you will think proper to give for their relief at a moment so pressing when they are arriving in general need of clothes and articles of the greatest necessity.

I have found here on my arrival only the ship *Elizabeth Murry* with a portion of the regiment of Bearn, and on the same day two transports arrived with some Colonial troops. I hope we shall not delay receiving others.

I am with respect, My Lord,

Your most humble and Most obedient servant,

Chev. DE LEVIS.

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*Chevalier de Levis to ———.*

Rochelle, 27<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>bre</sup>, 1760.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit to you my detail of the operations from last winter up to the eighth of September.

The result thereof is by no means favorable, but how could it be otherwise comparing our force and means with those of the enemy?

Without endeavoring to make out of place eulogiums, I think I may say that the Marquis de Vaudreuil has employed, up to the last moment, all the resources that human prudence and experience can be capable of.



On my part, I have done everything that depended on me to second him, either by the union of the most unanimous sentiments between us both, or by executing his orders, or suggesting means which appeared to me ought to promote the good of the service.

The troops of the Colony, those of the Line, and the farmers themselves have given reiterated proofs especially on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April last, that the preservation of the Colony could not depend either on their zeal for his Majesty's glory, or their courage in defending themselves, or their willingness to endure the greatest fatigues and the privation of the most necessary articles.

'Tis a consequence of the misfortunes and fatality to which, for a certain time, that Colony was exposed, that the succors sent, this year, from France, did not arrive at the critical moment. However trifling they might be, when joined to the success gained by the King's arms on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, I believe I may assert that Quebec would have been retaken.

I will not say more, Sir, on a matter actually decided; I reserve for my arrival at Versailles the entering, if you desire it, into the details relative so the functions of the employment I have filled in that Colony; one of those to which I shall supplicate your favorable attention is that of the rewards which the officers of the Colony deserve who have served with zeal and distinction under my orders.

I have made the voyage with half my Staff in a vessel of 200 tons; we were nigh perishing in a tempest; one mast was cut away in order to save us; I am obliged to stop a few days here for the recovery of my health, having for a long time suffered very great fatigue.

Shortly after the surrender of Montreal I repaired to Quebec with M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque, to facilitate by our presence the means of procuring for all the troops the most commodious transports.

A violent gale which detained them 22 days in their passage from Montreal to Quebec and which has made some vessels unfit for service, has rendered that embarkation very difficult and has not permitted it being done with regularity; I have confined my attention to getting on board all the subjects in the King's service; as the season required despatch and my vessel was ready, I took my departure, leaving behind me M<sup>r</sup> de Bourlamaque to continue the same attention to the few remaining transports and to take a new list, supposing some changes would occur; I annex hereunto the one up to the moment of my departure.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil and M<sup>r</sup> Bigot<sup>1</sup> sailed in company with me.

<sup>1</sup> FRANÇOIS BIGOT belonged to a Guyenne family and had been *Commissaire Ordonnateur* at Louisbourg in 1745; when that fortress fell into the hands of the enemy he was accused of having contributed to the defeat of the garrison by malversation of the funds appropriated for the construction and repairs of the fortifications. Being connected with an influential family, he not only escaped all censure but was appointed Intendant of Canada 1st January, 1748, with powers considerably enlarged; they extended to Louisiana and all the dependencies of New France. On his return to France, he was accused of malversation by Cadet, the Contractor-General of Canada, and thrown into the Bastille 17th November, 1761, where he remained eleven months without being allowed to communicate with his friends. In December, 1762, a Royal commission was appointed to try all those suspected of having authorized, or connived at, the frauds said to have been flagrantly committed in Canada. More than fifty persons were accused, including the Governor, Intendant, seventeen Commandants of posts, two Commissaries of the Marine, and one Commissary of the Superior Council of Quebec. The President of this commission was M. de Sartine, at the time Lieutenant-General of police; the Reporter was M. Dupont. The trial lasted three years, and engaged the attention of all Europe. The Court decreed a restitution to the King of twelve millions of *livres*. The Marquis de Vaudreuil was acquitted of all blame. In March, 1763, Messrs. Bigot, the Intendant, Varin, the Commissary at Montreal, Bréard, the Contrôler of the navy at Quebec, who were convicted of having, during their administration, tolerated, favored and committed, themselves, the abuses, malversations and frauds charged in the indictment, received only a sentence of banishment (Mr. Bigot to Bordeaux, where he passed the remainder of his life in ease and comfort). Major Péan (*supra*, p. 85), whose wife was Bigot's mistress, and the M<sup>de</sup> Pompadour, of Canada, was mulcted in the sum of 600,000 *livres*. *Encyclopédie Méthodique: Jurisprudence* t. II., 206; *Collections Quebec Historical and Literary Society*, 1838, p. 40; *Smith's Canada*, I., 207, 220, who specifies the powers and duties of the Intendant. — Ed.

The regular troops numbered on the day of the surrender of Montreal, 2,200 men, all included, sick and invalids, and I expect 16 or 1,700 of them will return. The rest have remained in the country where they have formed settlements.

The pay has been liquidated from the 1<sup>st</sup> of January to the 1<sup>st</sup> of September in bills of exchange; I hope, Sir, that in consequence of the protection you grant to troops who have been in your department, you will be pleased to obtain for them the continuance of their pay to the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, which would be a great relief for the journeys and other expenses they have to make, and the delay attendant on their papers maturing.

I have found on my arrival here only the ship *Elizabeth Mary* with part of the regiment of Bearn, and on the same day arrived two transports with some troops of the Colony; I hope 'twill not be long before we receive others.

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), Ch<sup>re</sup> DE LEVIS.

*Return of the Embarkation of the French Troops at Quebec.*

NAMES OF THE VESSELS.	TROOPS	Officers.	Soldiers.	Sailors, Servants, Women & Children.	Date of Sailing from Quebec.
Bristol Galley,.....	Colonials, .....	10	187	43	3 8ber.
Charles Town, .....	Colonials, .....	10	178	22	3 8ber.
Yarmouth Packet, .....	Colonials, .....	8	50	19	3 8ber.
Grandville, .....	Colonials, .....	6	76	17	3 8ber.
Kingston, .....	Colonials, .....	10	126	46	5 8ber.
Elizabeth Mary, .....	Bearn, .....	10	139	57	6 8ber.
Elizabeth, .....	Bearn, .....	10	92	25	13 8ber.
Elizabeth, .....	Bearn, .....	15	102	28	These vessels were not yet ready to sail on the 13 8ber.
	Languedoc, .....	15	■	■	
Rebecca, .....	Languedoc, .....	7	54	20	
	Berry, .....	3	30	■	
Lady Mary, .....	Languedoc, .....	18	219	67	
	Royal Roussillon, .....	20	132	26	
Duke, .....	Berry, .....	20	65	■	
Brothowod, .....	La Reine, .....	19	172	38	
Mary Jane, .....	Guyenne, .....	6	67	6	
	Berry, .....	■	32	■	
	Guyenne, .....	10	113	18	13 8ber.
Annac, .....	Berry, .....	10	33	■	
Young Isaac, .....	Guyenne, .....	5	67	9	
Adventure, .....	Marquis de Vandreuil, ....	7	30	■	
Mary, .....	Chevalier de Levia, .....	9	30	100	
Joanna, .....	M. de Bourlamaque, .....	■	15 gun's	■	
James, .....	The Intendant, .....	■	■	■	
Abigail, .....	Languedoc, .....	■	61	■	
Jenny, .....	La Sarre, .....	■	200	■	
Mulberry, .....	La Sarre, .....	■	76	■	

NOTE.—The other vessels destined for the transportation of the remainder of the troops were not as yet designated.

The Kingston man-of-war, 64 guns, was to convey the troops to England, where they were to be put on board another transport.



*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

On board the Ship Adventure, in  
the Brest roads, 28<sup>th</sup> November, 1760.

My Lord,

By my letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of 7<sup>ber</sup>, I have had the honor to report to you the necessity to which I was reduced of capitulating on the 8<sup>th</sup> of last month with General Amherst, being persuaded, my Lord, that you will have appreciated the force of the motives which have obliged me to that course, I flatter myself you will have the goodness to approve my conduct to the King, and that you will have recognized therein as much of prudence as of attachment to a people whose fidelity to his Majesty has never been falsified.

The moment I arrive, I shall not lose any time, my Lord, in having the honor to transmit to you another copy of my letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> 7<sup>ber</sup>, of the capitulation and of other documents annexed thereto.

My health being feeble before I left Canada, it has not failed to suffer during the voyage, which has lasted 40 days. This circumstance obliges me to postpone my departure for a few days, but I beg you, my Lord, to be persuaded that I shall hasten it as much as will be in my power, through the anxiety I feel to appear before you. 'Twill be to me a great satisfaction to assure you *vivâ voce* of the very profound respect with which I am, my Lord,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL.

*M. de Vaudreuil to M. Berryer.*

Brest, 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1760.

My Lord,

I feel more than any one else the impression which the loss of a great country must make on the mind of a Monarch, jealous of the glory of his arms. The late events have been so much the more mortifying to me as in a defensive career, long brilliant, I was not accustomed to humiliations; but, my Lord, circumstances have been such as to render it impossible to do better; the Council of War held with all the principal officers is proof of this; the posterior representation of Chevalier de Levis<sup>1</sup> was not the effect of relief arrived or of new resources discovered, but only of the conditions imposed on the troops by the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> FRANÇOIS, afterwards Duke, DE LEVIS, belonged to the ancient house of Mirepoix, and was born in 1720 at the castle of Ajac, in Languedoc. He entered early, as Chevalier de Levis, into the military service; was Aid-de-Camp to Marshal de Levis Mirepoix, with whom he captured two battalions of the enemy, near Montalban, by persuading them that they were surrounded by the whole French army. After his return from Canada, he served as Lieutenant-General in Germany and commanded the van-guard of the army under Condé, at the battle of Johannisberg, August 30th, 1762. The peace of Versailles terminated his military career, for he was promoted to be Governor of the Province of Artois. In 1771 Chevalier de Levis had conferred on him the command of a company of the guards of Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII. He was created Marshal of France in 1783; Duke de Levis in 1784, and died at Arras in 1787, in consequence of sickness which was aggravated by the effort he made to open the sittings of the States of Artois. This Assembly, to testify their respect for the character of this brave and good man, voted that he should be interred at the public expense, and erected a monument to his memory in the cathedral at Arras. The insane fury of the populace during the Revolution destroyed, however, both church and monument. *Biographie Universelle*. — Ed.

In such a situation, the impossibility of resistance being demonstrated, ought I to sacrifice all my people and even the troops, rather than submit to conditions doubtless little honorable to the [King's] arms, but the severity of which is somewhat balanced by the interests preserved to the Colony and the Colonists. Besides, my Lord, on this occasion there was no question of making a defence; the walls of Montreal did not permit any; it became necessary, then, to attack. Would not the glory of the King's arms have been rashly compromised in view of the disproportion of numbers, and the visible impression it was producing on the soldier. I doubt not M<sup>r</sup> de Levis and the superior officers of the troops speak of it in the same terms. Notwithstanding the desire they would have felt to do better, they have never been able to prevent themselves appreciating these inconveniences, more to be dreaded for them and for the glory of arms, than the onerous conditions of the capitulation.

In regard to what I have had the honor of observing in my letters of the month of June, the uncertainty of the forces that the enemy could employ, the assurance I had received by your dispatches that the English were not sending any new forces to America, the hope of peace in the course of the campaign, founded upon all you did me the honor to observe to me; all that, my Lord, animated my confidence; its justification is in the extreme desire I felt to preserve the Colony to the King. I shall not fail, my Lord, to execute what you have prescribed to me in regard to the officers who have come with me from Canada.

I am, with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

(Signed), VAUDREUIL

P. S. The continuation of my fit of the gout detains me still here in spite of myself.

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*Observations on certain Peculations in New France.*

In 1750, the ship *L'Original* of 66<sup>5</sup> was lost at Quebec for want of order in the launching. Anchors at first, or some vessels kept in the offing to pay out a hawser to that ship, would have prevented the current in the middle of the river, whither she was propelled, carrying her to Ance des Mers, a quarter of a league above and on the same side as the ship yard; her bow was stove in on a rock at a fathom's distance from the shore; there were twenty feet of water under the stern post; there was a cable ashore on a *corps mort* for caution, which having caught, had to be cut; one of the persons, the cause of this loss, had nevertheless 8 @ 10,000 *livres* for the iron taken from *L'Original dépecé*.

There had been, at that time, and up to 1753, vessels built by a company which seized on the entire commerce and coasting trade of the Colony; this manœuvre was protected; there was sent from France in the same taste, everything necessary, or supposed to be so, to the service, without any verifications; the magazines in town and in the country, were the same; in fine, everything was carried off from the Quebec settlements that was accumulating in them down to the very shalots, to send them elsewhere; after the most severe scarcity had



raised the price of every article to the highest point, a storekeeper publicly retained at Montreal a sloop loaded with butter; this was in September, when everybody was laying up his winter supplies. The merchant began to retail his butter at eleven *sous* the pound, but the keeper of the store, quite at ease in regard to the police, offered 13 *sous* for the whole, too well assured of gaining by the speculation.

Sticks of timber belonging to the King's yard were sold at 5 @ 6<sup>s</sup> the cubic foot as damaged, to a supposed individual; this same timber was used for field carriages and other artillery necessities at 30 and some *sous*; they had become petrified, no doubt.

In 1755, when M<sup>r</sup> Dieskau was in command of the troops, two of the King's clerks were named Commissaries to that General's army, when he went to attack the George intrenchment on Lake St. Sacrament or George, on the confines of New-York. The French possessed in the vicinity, Forts Carillon and St. Frederic on Lake Champlain, 20 leagues south of Montreal; those appointments were, at first, found very proper; but things changed; these honest men were dismissed, and through connections, the office was given to a favorite officer, who knew enough to give the stores, where he realized what he pleased, a preference over his profession. Bad articles were delivered to the troops, who gave strong proofs of their sensibility of the fact. When M<sup>r</sup> Dieskau was repulsed from that intrenchment, some Indians went at Carillon to notify this confidant of the stores thereof, adding: Comrade, the French are all dead. He left incontinently the frontier fort, and fell back on Saint Frederic. Repose is necessary in trade.

The consumptions were beyond measure, and the transportation of goods, which were not furnished, was so much the more onerous, as the major part was often stolen or dissipated, no one being responsible for what he had in his charge.

In January, 1760, it was difficult to get a Montreal clerk to be responsible for the clothing of the troops and for other indispensable articles of great scarcity, destined for Isle aux Noix. This commissary made bales, and saw bales made, of them, conducted them carefully because he was forced to do so; returned from his mission in three days, without stopping on the way, for which he was applauded; previously it required a month, and the robberies succeeded each other in the stoppages and on the road; but a *procès-verbal* of a bale or puncheon  $\frac{1}{4}$  @  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{3}{4}$  empty of the goods, provisions or liquors they contained or should contain at starting, was all the satisfaction for the robbery.

Had provisions, &c., been economised at the beginning of this war, they would not have fallen short so early; at the posts on Lake Champlain, the horses were fed on bread; 'tis true 'twas the surplus of the rations of two pounds, which quantity many do not eat, and the contractor does not give tickets of savings, because bread was yet cheap; but it would have been proper to have baked and delivered only what could be eaten and that the King or the contractor should have credited the soldiers with the overplus at the current price of provisions, in order to economise this object so important in a country where 'twas to be feared the enemy would cut off all communication with France, whence the most of the provisions were brought during the war; there were in the Colony regiments to spare and legions of Indians came down to Quebec, a distance of 1,200 leagues. So little economy was observed in this regard, that the best tables and the greatest facilities, which was not the case everywhere, were to be found with those entrusted with the King's provisions. That will be too much the case always, if striking examples are not made; and the superiors of those fellows must absolutely have neglected the King's interests or be partners in the waste and plunder.

This conduct, which creates a scarcity of everything at once, has given rise to mutinies among the troops; one occurred in 1758 or 1759 at Carillon, one in 1760 at Isle aux Noix; it follows that no parties have been sent out which were occasioning extraordinary consumptions. The Indians never bring back any part of what they receive for a scouting or war expedition; a month's provisions are devoured in 8 days or less, if they return sooner. The Canadians might have easily waged this war. The same defect has prevented the English being harassed during the winter of '59 @ '60 in the environs of Quebec; who, unable to obtain a cord of wood for fuel and the ovens, would have been obliged to surrender.

It has been generally asserted, at the time Quebec was besieged by the French in the spring of 1760, a single ship would have accomplished that object; the English appeared in the roadstead the first, the siege was raised; had it been the French, the enemy would have surrendered voluntarily or by force, notwithstanding the scarcity of ammunition. Then, a French fleet, over lazy, was obliged to take refuge in the Bay of Chaleurs in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence, not being able to get up to Quebec. The effects of this fleet ought to have been delivered in greater quantity to the Acadians, wandering and wretched for five years. The enemy profited by this want of vigilance; 'tis no less certain that they would not after the capitulation, have met the crowd at the sortie from the post of Ristigouche, had consent been previously given to the baking of a supply of biscuit in case of accident. In fact, that post would have been rather evacuated when orders were sent to return to France; previously the coasts of Acadia cost the King considerable, although it was a time when the advance to the farmer consisted of the bit for a bridle, spurs, fans, &c.

In 1758, Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario contained all the provisions, merchandise, ammunition and the presents for the posts of the Upper country, but being guarded only by 45 men, Mr de Montcalm expressed his impatience and apprehension on this point; that post required much more people; an English army of 4,000 men which was long known to be in the vicinity, laid siege to it and immediately captured it; half the people that had to be levied in the district of Montreal, when this news arrived, would have sufficed to preserve that precious object; the enemy burnt, sunk, and, in addition, carried off the fleet of schooners detained in port.

At the close of 1758, preparations were making at Detroit, a most considerable post situated between Lake Erie and Lake Huron, to send provisions for the relief of Niagara, to the Beautiful river, whence they were ordinarily forwarded; this plan approved at first, was afterwards set aside, as these provisions, &c., were required for the private and invincible trade of some person in that very post itself, and at those of the Mis-à-vis and Ouyatanons quite near. In the spring of 1759, 150 Militia, almost all belonging to Fort Duquesne, who had wintered at Detroit, were also detained under pretext of the necessity of making a ditch around the stockaded fort which tumbled down immediately; authority was abused; there was no cause for apprehension, 1,800<sup>l</sup> of a tax on the entire post, but the workmen were paid, in fact, out of the King's stores. Had those Militia and several farmers gone early to the relief of Fort Machault, a frontier post on the Oyo and had the provisions destined for it been forwarded there at the same time, Fort Niagara, the key of the Upper posts, would not have been stripped, for the sake of peltries, of 400 of the best men, and of provisions for the Beautiful river; that fort was immediately afterwards besieged, it held out 15 @ 17 days, but 'twould have successfully resisted had the force not been divided; that post taken, all the others fall of course.



At Detroit the people desolated by their taxes, wished to abandon their farms; those only were permitted to do so who ceded them to the receiver of the land tax. The letters were intercepted by the Commandant for fear the Court would be informed of these manœuvres. Nephew du Cours is storekeeper.

At Montreal, in 1760, some honest people paid for articles belonging to the King 4<sup>c</sup> p<sup>c</sup> above the price in France, to replace those they had lost in the service and others were giving only cent per cent for their ordinary necessities. 'Tis pretended also, that the old levy of wheat was very critical.

One of the contractor's clerks, conducting a large quantity of provisions and ammunition from Montreal to Frontenac, on the river, wished the Captain of the transport between that and Niagara to take charge of his provisions according to the invoice, of which he was the bearer. The casks and barrels appeared full, but they were not so, in fact, by a great deal; part of the flour was rotten, and moreover, stove in at one end. This Captain was advised not to take charge of anything for the King, for whom ordinarily supplies were taken at Frontenac on his account, for, as things would turn out, 'twould be necessary to explain that such barrels were only half full, &c. The clerk did not wish that; he was answered that the Commandant of Niagara would make his remarks on the invoice; he had the hardihood to say that he should surely take some out; at all events this half postille [*a*]. He was one of those men of whom there are hundreds, who, from being half naked on coming to Canada, have had 100,000 *francs* 100,000 *écus* 2 @ 3 years after.

In the spring of 1759, 2 months before the siege of Niagara, there was at the River aux Bœufs only very bad bread, and a pound a day at that; no brandy for the detachment for Fort Machault, and, at the same time, the Indians remarked: "'Tis not the French who are fighting, 'tis we;" 50 men, without succor, formed the garrison of the latter fort. Again, Detroit could then do without men and provisions in that quarter; navigation being open since the beginning of March for other things, ought to have been for that in preference.

At the Little Fort of Niagara, the Carrying place was worth whatever one pleased; the effects of which the King was to pay the freight, being estimated by him who received the pay therefor himself.

The workmen of the fort were rather employed in the spring of 1759, at that portage, in making shoes and in private speculation; they were not the less paid by the King.

Entire families of adopted Indians were going for a Frenchman, the Com<sup>t</sup> of the Little Fort, to make *la taille* at the Large Fort of Niagara; this was permitted only to the Indians themselves; they obtained for peltry, worth about a beaver, a pot and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of brandy, which cost only 35 *sous* the pot.

This beaver was often paid at the Little Fort by Indians for a loaf, no doubt, from the stores, and brandy, disbursed so sparingly by the King to the Nations, was then worth 2 *Louis*. The Commissary's clerk and those attached to that Frenchman, have been seen making the most rapid trade at the Little Fort; liquors, bread, ornaments adapted to those Nations, were selling in abundance for peltries, which ought not to be the case there.

In the beginning of the autumn of 1759, at the close of the siege of Quebec, the General of the French troops was defeated and killed when the enemy landed at l'Ance des mers, a very precipitous hill. That General made very great efforts. General Wolf was killed also, but

<sup>1</sup> 400 per cent.

[*a*] See in this connection the note which has been sent me after all. 'Tis at the end of the Memoir. — Ed.

about 3,000 men, whom the former had by platoons, were forced to give way before 5,000 picked soldiers; their landing was a feint. Quebec was to receive in the night from 3 Rivers some bateaux of provisions; the enemy was aware of the fact; whilst approaching in barges at day-break, they answered the sentinel on shore:—This is flour from three Rivers—a landing is effected and the guard seized. This happened within musket-shot of Quebec; the major part of the troops in the general camp at Beauport,  $\frac{1}{2}$  a league below that town, received orders to abandon baggage and ammunition to go, partly in disorder, through the woods to Jacques Cartier, instead of helping M<sup>r</sup> de Montcalm, and Quebec was surrendered to the English without firing a shot. Such is the general opinion; 'twas thought, perhaps, that provisions would fail; many inhabitants of the town had considerable, notwithstanding. Biscuit was promised from Jacques Cartier; perhaps people wish it. 'Tis also asserted that there were letters; one to capitulate; another to make a defence, and certainly the enemy would not be any better able than the French to open the trench, earth being scanty towards the country, which is a cape.

The general capitulation concluded at Montreal has been foreseen by the French who were not too well stocked with means to resist the enemy, as almost all the warlike stores had remained at Quebec. The Nations were discouraged by the fall of Niagara, where they procured all their necessaries. Nevertheless, General Muré, the Commandant of Quebec, permitted, notwithstanding his barbarity, but he was interested, that refreshments and liquors should be taken from his quarters for certain French favorites at Montreal.

The troops were no less in total want of brandy and salt at the posts.

At that of La Présentation, where great waste prevailed, people reformed by passing the supplying of fire-wood by the King; as regards the baking of bread for the Nations, the provision contractor had caused his traveling deputy to establish that fraudulent practice.

It may be added to the article of the 50 lucky fellows, that some have had millions nearly; that is to say, more or less simple clerks were keeping their tables, clothes, carriages, and spending like Lords in times of great distress. There are some who at present are issuing bills of exchange at any price people please, because they have plenty of them. 'Twere proper that such things were marked, in order that the most legitimate may be liquidated at their price.

Many farms and houses in Canada and in France have sprung out of these fortunes.

In regard to the Little Niagara fort, it may be said, that some accommodating Squaws have cost the King very dear at some of the posts.

#### ARTICLE ON ACADIA.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> July, 1760, Abbé Maniac, the Missionary of the *Bay des Ouyes*, or Miramichi, went over suddenly to the English with 15 Acadian families and some Indians; he had abandoned a rich chapel and published, some time previously, at the church door, to the Acadians that he had orders from the enemy to enjoin on them, on pain of punishment, to denounce all the movements of the French that they should be informed of.

This Abbé had, in September, the audacity to write to Beausejour, that having Micmacks in that quarter, he had pursued his object; he was their Missionary.



*Memoir on the Boundaries of Canada. By M. Dumas.*

'Tis supposed that the plenipotentiaries named for the future Congress, are incapable of adopting the frivolous ideas entertained in France respecting our possessions in Canada; statesmen have notions different from the simple vulgar. The French are too volatile and too superficial to trouble themselves about the future; but Ministers whom wisdom has selected and ability directs, will, of themselves, observe that the interests of commerce, the progress of navigation, the good of the State and the King's glory necessarily require that the restitution of Canada be laid down as a preliminary in the Treaty of peace.

In more favorable conjunctures, we would be justified in demanding of the English damages corresponding to the enormous depredation of our Marine, as well commercial as national, but the circumstances which will exist at the conclusion of the peace, are to decide the sacrifices we shall be obliged to make, or the advantages which are possibly to result therefrom.

Commerce has changed the face of Europe; it is now evident that in the long run the more commercial nation will become the more powerful.

We can no longer dispense with America without falling sensibly from our state of splendor.

On the restitution of Canada depends the fate of the rest of our Colonies.

These principles, clearer than the day, once admitted, that restitution ought to form the basis and foundation of the Treaty of peace.

But will the work of our Ministers be durable? For want of local knowledge, will they be in a condition to manage, beneficially, the interests of the King and Nation in this regard? Will they prevent the subterfuges in which English trickery will not fail to envelop them? If the English desire peace, do they desire it to be lasting? Will they renounce that system of maritime despotism which constitutes the sole object of their policy? Will they not preserve a constant hankering to render themselves masters of the whole of America? And will they not allow it to appear, when we shall be least on our guard? Incapable of accomplishing that project now, in consequence of the exhaustion of their finances, will they not renew it at another time? In front of an enemy so active, so ambitious, so enterprising, conjectures are as good as demonstrations; the past cannot render us too cautious for the future.

By a fatality which cannot be comprehended, the English were better acquainted than we before the war, with the topographical map of our possessions. Aided by similar help, what advantage do they not possess to cheat us? To this object, then, should be directed all the prudence and sagacity of our plenipotentiaries.

## BOUNDARIES.

I limit their labors, respecting Canada, to four general objects:

- 1<sup>st</sup> The entire property of both shores of the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- 2<sup>nd</sup> The property of the lakes and rivers which form the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana; they consist of Lake Ontario, Lake Erié and the Ohio.
- 3<sup>rd</sup> That neither of the two Nations can form any establishments on the rivers watering the possessions of the other.
- 4<sup>th</sup> That both Colonies shall exist and increase by population, without covering their frontiers with advanced posts, which is a principal of jealousy, suspicion and distrust; an occasion always at hand or a pretext often specious, for a rupture between the two Nations.

As for the first article; to cede to the English, as they pretend, the entire peninsula of Acadia is to reduce ourselves, evidently, to a precarious possession. That peninsula is susceptible of an immense population; its position is one of the most advantageous both for the erection of fortifications and of posts there. Solid settlements, of every description, can be found there; agriculture can be followed with the greatest success. In vain would France flatter herself that she would preserve, in peace, the possession of the mouth of the river, if the English obtained the entire cession of that peninsula. Already masters of Newfoundland, they should grant us the property of a country whereof they would guard the entrance.

The Peace will scarcely be signed, when the activity of that ambitious people will be revived; soon will they be seen establishing themselves on the North side of that peninsula and neglecting the remainder, if necessary, in order to transport to that quarter all their industry in favor of plantations.

What service would not the plenipotentiaries be rendering the State, if by their ability they would induce the English to consent to a division of that peninsula, so that France should preserve the property of the Northern part, from Cape Canso to Minas?

But if their zeal become useless; if English firmness leave no hope on that point, they ought to be prepared to rather break all conference than to give up one inch of ground on that continent. 'Tis evident that our Colony would lose thereby all communication with the metropolis; we should no longer possess the free entrance of the river, except so far as the English would think proper. The lines of demarcation which separate the respective possessions on the map, annexed to this Memoir,<sup>1</sup> are drawn in accordance with the largest sacrifices that it is possible for France to make. 'Tis for the plenipotentiaries to take advantage of favorable events to obtain the best terms; but in all possible reverses 'twill be more advantageous for the King and the State to renounce Canada and consequently Louisiana, which cannot exist without it, than to cede an inch of territory beyond that division.

The blue color indicates the French possessions.

The red indicates the British possessions.

The green, what can be ceded towards Hudson's bay; should events require France to make further additional sacrifices.

I have said, and repeat it, Louisiana cannot exist for us without Canada. But 'tis more advantageous for France promptly to cede these two Colonies to the English, than to accept conditions worse than those indicated by the lines drawn on that map.

On this hypothesis, let the River Pentagouet be the boundary of the English possessions on the continent on the N. E., and let them be precluded from settling only the right bank.

Let the River St. John bound the French settlements and let them be precluded from settling only the left bank.

The territory between these two rivers shall perpetually remain neutral and undivided between both nations, as marked on the map by the yellow color.

The second object of the labor of our plenipotentiaries relative to Canada, regards the communication of that Colony with Louisiana. The projects of the English would be accomplished beyond their hopes, were the freedom of that communication not stipulated and solidly established by the treaty of peace; 'twould be separating two Colonies which cannot sustain themselves except by their immediate affinity. Now, that communication can

<sup>1</sup> The map is wanting. — Ed.



occur only by the Ohio; every other route renders it very difficult, often even impracticable. 'Tis essential then to insist strongly on the entire possession of the Ohio.

That river, navigable throughout all its course for very large craft, threatens Louisiana afar, and combines the advantage of distance in concealing preparations, with that of extreme rapidity of current for promptitude of execution.

To make the Ohio the boundary of the respective Colonies, is to surrender it entirely to the English. In fact, already the English population is advancing towards that river, it has only one step to take to clear the Apalachies, and that step would be taken on the day after the signing of the treaty. The left bank of the Ohio would be under English cultivation in less than four years, whilst our population would not reach that point in the space of a century. Who does not perceive in that explanation the approaching and inevitable fall of Louisiana?

The entire possession of the Ohio cannot then be too much insisted on, the Apalachies constituting the limits; but if events were such as to force us to give way on that important article, the only middle course to adopt is marked on the map by the yellow color; namely, to leave the course of that river neutral, unsettled, without ownership, free to both nations to convey on it their goods for movable trade, with express reservation to France of the communication between both those Colonies.

The possession of Lakes Ontario and Erié, which is the consequence of that communication, is a point of the greatest interest to us, the rather as for want thereof those lakes assure another passage by the Miamis and Ouabache rivers, more difficult, more uncertain, but which furnishes nevertheless, a resource in times of misfortune. I admit that very favorable events would be required to reduce the English to abandon the South shore of Lake Ontario of which they are a long time in possession through Fort Choueguen; a possession usurped but constant and, as it were, unopposed; an empty protest by the French government, when the first foundations of that post were laid is the only contradiction they have experienced.

If circumstances were such, on the conclusion of the peace, as that France had to make good its advantages, that would be the moment to protest against that usurpation. This important object merits the greatest attention of our plenipotentiaries. It is sufficient to consider the course of the waters to perceive that that Lake commands the whole of Canada. General Amherst has found no route more certain for invasion; the event has not over justified his principles and mine.

If, on the contrary, we are reduced to take back Canada in the same condition that we possessed it before the war, France might consent to confine its cultivated settlements to the North shore of Lake Ontario, leaving the South shore free from the Bay of Niaouré to the River Niagara.

The English would preserve the freedom of conveying their merchandise for movable trade to the mouth of the Chouaguen river, and could extend themselves only to the Onondaga river on one side and as far as the River à la Famine on the other.

But nothing should make France give up the property of the soil, so that the freedom of trade granted to the English, could not at any time invest them with a title thereto.

Let their possessions be always confined to the heads of the rivers by which they are watered, and let the height of land be constantly the limit between the two nations.

The entire possession of Lake Erie ought to belong to France incontestably up to the head waters of the streams that empty into that lake on the South side; the rivers flowing towards the Ohio are included in the neutrality proposed by that river.

The 3<sup>d</sup> object proposed at the head of this Memoir will be rendered clearer by a brief reflection.

The English are ten to our one in America. But if passing the height of lands, we should push our posts as far as the heads of the rivers which water the English Colonies, all their superiority in numbers, means and resources would not guarantee them against an invasion when it should please us to attempt it.

He who meditates an expedition prepares it secretly, and when 'tis time to put it in execution, if he have in his favor the current of the stream which conveys him with rapidity, he surprises his enemy and infallibly succeeds; the same is not the case where the aggressor has to ascend the rivers, has portages to make, lakes to traverse and mountains to pass; the immense preparations necessary to be made for that purpose, discover the movement, and the slowness of the execution affords time to the menaced province to place itself in a state of defence.

The English Colonies are in the latter position in respect to Canada, and Canada would be in the first relative to the English Colonies were the English to advance their settlements on Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario or the Ohio.

I am fully convinced, and every man of sense who is conversant with the manner in which war can be carried on in that country, will agree with me that all the resources of the state will never preserve Canada if the English are once settled at the heads of our rivers. 'Tis, again, one of the conditions which must never be consented to. Should peace be concluded under unfavorable circumstances to France, I point out the only middle course to be adopted, which is the neutrality of certain districts; such might Lake St. Sacrament be without great prejudice to us, provided the English confine their settlements to the sources of the waters flowing into the River of Orange.

Come we now to the fourth principle :

I know nothing more useless in that country than forts to cover the frontiers ; they are equally a burthen to both Nations, which have an equal interest in demolishing them ; they are, in time of peace, a source of useless expense, and experience has demonstrated that, in time of war, they would be good for nothing. These frontier posts are adapted only to create difficulties, to afford umbrage and sometimes furnish pretexts for a rupture.

They would favor that Nation which would preserve the desire to seize the possessions of the other. By aid of those stand-points, it would pounce on its enemy when least expected, whilst every considerable enterprise becomes more difficult, more tedious, were they no longer in existence. If entrepôts must be established, the step forward is a cry "To arms!"

The French plenipotentiaries will labor usefully for that Colony, and more profitably still for the Royal Treasury, if they agree with the British Ministers on not preserving any post on the frontiers on either side ; thus, Choueguen and Niagara will be demolished.

That does not exclude useful settlements in the interior of the possessions, either relatively to trade or otherwise, which each Nation is to be at liberty to direct, according to its interests ; but merely on what is called frontier, an outlet which may tend to supply means of an invasion.

To place matters at the worst, if the fortune of war be unfavorable to France this campaign, and peace be concluded in an unpropitious moment for us :

If, in order to obtain the conditions I propose, we be under the necessity of making new sacrifices in any part of Canada, the least dangerous for us would be to allow more extent to the English possessions in the direction of Hudson's bay. Let us cede to them the whole of Lake Superior rather than one inch of territory in the south part, at this side the height



of land or the Apalachies. That sacrifice, which is to be made by France at the most critical moment, is marked by the green color on the map.

Anything beyond those lines of demarcation, and France must give up Canada, inasmuch as it is evident she cannot preserve it; moreover, to maintain ourselves in that state, the Minister must essentially and constantly occupy himself therewith, but above all things, must men be carefully selected, to whom the government, the police and finances are to be confided.

Otherwise, we shall labor for our enemies. Canada, bathed in the blood of our unfortunate Colonists, will soon be the appendage of the English. Our clearances, our settlements, our villages, will be so much fruit to be gathered by them when they have arrived at maturity.

Let the height of land and the Apalachies be the limits between the two peoples! Nature appears to have marked them expressly. The caprice of man cannot change that barrier always permanent and always ready to protest against the usurper. People aspire to a factitious peace when they seek to establish it on arbitrary lines which the revolutions of time or the interests of men can destroy. 'Tis, perhaps, a fault into which have fallen our ablest negotiators, yet 'tis the most important object of a treaty of peace, since it destroys or foment the fatal germ which is the occasion of most wars.

The height of land and the Apalachies once determined on as the line of separation between the two Colonies, the modification, the compromises I propose by neutralizing certain districts, may be admitted according as circumstances will be more or less favorable to France, when peace will be concluded.

One reflection more remains to be submitted, which, although not bearing directly on the boundaries, is, nevertheless, very intimately connected with them.

Considering the enormous expense entailed on us by the service of Indians in the war, I have always thought that the King would maintain at much less expense in Canada a permanent corps of troops capable of defending it at all times, and when I have weighed, with reflection, the utility of their assistance, I have found it to be only one of opinion and prejudice. But this prejudice is founded on the terror inspired by their cruelty and barbarity in their customs; it consequently will preserve its power.

This terror will be always very useful to the Nation which will be best able to manage the alliance and attachment of those people. We possess one real advantage over the English in this regard; let us carefully avoid doing it the smallest damage by any convention with our enemies which could cause the Indians to suspect our alliance and good faith. However simple and natural such an accord might be, the English would not fail to present it to the Indians in a light that would render it odious to them. These people are proud, jealous, suspicious and vindictive; an appearance of defection on our part, after all the blood they have poured out in our defence, would render them irreconcilable to us from generation to generation, and that would be the greatest of misfortunes for both our Colonies. Our plenipotentiaries ought to be distrustful on this point. I am fully convinced that the British Ministers will set snares for them on this point, which is of more importance for them in America than the gain of many battles.

As for the rest, a Governor-General, instructed and attentive, will know how to maintain the alliance of all the people of this continent in peace as in war, without those enormous expenses which knavery conducts and ignorance tolerates.

(Signed), DUMAS.<sup>1</sup>

Paris, 5<sup>th</sup> April, 1761.

<sup>1</sup> He became, after his return to Europe, Governor of the Islands of France and Bourbon. — Ed.

*M. Bourlamaque to M. Accaron.*

My Lord,

I take the liberty to address you a Memoir on Canada. You will be able to see the objects treated therein by a recapitulation at the end of the Memoir. 'Tis the fruit of my inactivity since I returned from Malta, and of my information acquired in that Colony during the five years that I have been employed there. 'Tis true that actual circumstances do not permit of this Memoir being of any utility. But independent of the public not being able to penetrate the views of those who govern, these circumstances may change, and I have thought it my duty at all hazards to render you an account of my labors and ideas. At the worst, this Memoir will let you know the desire I feel to be useful and my zeal for all that appertains to the King's service.

I am with respect,

My Lord,

Your most humble and

Most obedient servant,

Paris, 1<sup>st</sup> August, 1762.

BOURLAMAQUE.<sup>1</sup>

*Memoir on Canada by M. de Bourlamaque.*

Were an opinion to be formed respecting this Colony from the expenses which it has occasioned during the war, and the profits derived from it since its establishment, its possession would appear disadvantageous to France. But in seeking for the causes of those expenses and the sources of those profits, it will be easy to convince oneself that the errors of administration have produced the one and dried up the other.

It is not pretended, however to enter into the detail of those errors, and still less to cast suspicions on the conduct of those who have been charged therewith; but it can be asserted without rashness that since the commencement of the century, Canada has been governed on false principles both as to its increase and its commerce, either because those who had the administration thereof have been wanting in sagacity, union and that tone of truth so necessary to instruct Ministers on distant objects, or that the Court has paid too little attention to the resources and interests of the country.

The military department has not been treated more successfully; no arrangement during the peace, no frontier solidly established nor even recognized, no reasonable project for defence or attack; a few troops but without form, instruction or discipline; no magazines, and the sole resource, a blind confidence which, united to the base apprehension of displeasing, promised successes instead of pointing out wants.

Hence it has arisen, that the war could be sustained only so long as the enemy would be weak or ill conducted. For, although the efforts of the troops and the fidelity of the inhabitants have retarded the loss of the Colony up to the moment of the most frightful scarcity, it can, nevertheless, be asserted that the second campaign would have been the term of

<sup>1</sup> This officer died in 1764, Governor of the Island of Guadalupe. *Garneau*, III., 361. — *Ed.*



the defence, had the enemy, who were infinitely more numerous, had, at the commencement of the war, chiefs of the slightest experience.

I do not speak here of private interest and cupidity, shameful vices which cannot be attributed to people in office, but which do not fail to injure the public good, by infecting subalterns, whenever the chiefs want sagacity or firmness.

Honors almost equal and an equal authority between the Governor and Intendant, might well have sometimes been a source of abuse. If these two men are equally capable, they will be enemies, because it is the part of humanity not to desire any one to participate glory and favor; and each of them will seek, perhaps, to degrade the views of his colleague, either directly or by underhand means. If one of them be superior in talent, the weaker will equally endeavor to injure him, because vanity and jealousy are still more frequent among men of middling minds than among others, or else he will become his creature and echo. 'Twould be necessary then to place confidence in only one or divide it among three.

When the French commenced settling Canada, the natives of the country waged a cruel and obstinate war against them; thence, the Colonists accustomed themselves to entertain a great respect for the Indians. It has since existed notwithstanding their weakness and the augmentation of the forces of the Colony. 'Twas believed, up to the last moment, and an effort was made to persuade the Court, that their alliance was almost sufficient to repel the English. The expenses have been prodigal in order to please them; or that confidence has at least served as a pretext for excessive expenditure. Experience ought to have corrected the error as to the aid to be expected from them. The Indians are good for *petite guerre*, and when well disposed, a General will derive great benefit from them in the way of obtaining intelligence and making prisoners; but this is all. The best are at most huzzars; besides, they act well in their way only when one is in possession of a decided superiority. They cost a great deal, furnish an army, are importunate and occupy too much of the Chief's time, and although despised by the soldier, are capable of discouraging him on every occasion. I believe it to be essential, then, to preserve the alliance of the Indians, as much for the interest of our trade as to constitute members in war; but we must not either fear them, or rely too much on their assistance; by treating them with justice and firmness, they will be rendered much better. Complaisance renders them insolent, very costly and less useful.

We shall omit here the advantages the possession of Canada will confer, as regards the navy, which requires sailors experienced by commerce; the benefit to be derived from it by our manufactures to which Colonial luxury assures the sale of old fashioned goods; we shall confine ourselves to giving an idea of the useful productions which the Kingdom can obtain from that country.

The soil of Canada produces grain of every description in abundance; if cultivated ever so little, 'twill furnish much more than is necessary for its inhabitants. Sufficient might be exported to feed our American islands and even the maritime provinces of the Kingdom, which are sometimes in want thereof. Hemp grows there quite well; cattle are abundant, and will furnish, when required, hides, salted provisions and wool, much superior to those of France, and almost equal to those of England. This last particular especially merits great consideration. Cod is caught at the mouth of the River St. Lawrence and on the western shores of the Gulf. In Canada are found building timber, which will pass as very good when well selected, if private interest does not succeed in depreciating it; in all cases, the commercial navy will purchase its ships there, as the English do in New England. The slave trade will not be more

difficult for us there than for our neighbors. Tar and the gums are abundant. Mines of iron are found there, demanding only good management, and even lead in the districts bordering on the River Mississippi.

The major part of the above objects have been of little consideration up to this time, because no permanent measure has ever been adopted to increase the cultivation of the soil and the cattle—sources of inexhaustible wealth for that country. The iron mines and ship building have not been of any great use; the extraordinary price of labor has absorbed the profits thereof. Doubtless it has not been perceived that this has been caused by the negligence of the government, for it is not with a Colony which produces the materials of subsistence, as with our American islands. Labor may be a little dearer there than in Europe, but 'twill never be so high as it has been in Canada whenever the credit of specie will be maintained and attention paid to primary matters. Monopoly has been sometimes seen to invade the commerce of primary productions in the interior and produce a scarcity on an abundant soil, but which, like all others, experiences years of sterility.

The fur trade, which appeared alone to fix attention, will doubtless be more considerable when the posts where the Indian trade is carried on, shall no longer be in the hands of private individuals who, fixing an arbitrary price on the goods they furnish and on those they receive, discourage the Hunter, and excite in him the desire to convey his skins to the foreigner. The monopoly of the beaver conferred on the Company of the Indies must be prejudicial, for every privilege of that description is a licensed monopoly, and the license does not remedy frauds.

The rage for extending its power afar has always exhausted the strength of Canada. The interior of a country, rich in all sorts of productions and bare of farmers, has been neglected, to go and plant new settlements of no use, and without any communication; the expenses thereof have been immense; agriculture has been thereby arrested; the most robust youth annually destroyed, and only a small number of private individuals benefitted, who have found therein the source of their fortune at the King's expense.

On this occasion, we cannot avoid saying, that whatever limits the English prescribe to us in that part of the world, as long as France shall retain both banks of the River St. Lawrence and the tributary streams, from its mouth to Lake Ontario, and the power of trading with the Indian Nations by the lakes and the Grand river, even without any property in those lakes, we shall have lost nothing except chimeras and shall not be deprived of the source of real wealth.

As for the rest, I do not deny that it would be more advantageous to the French to possess, alone, posts on the Lakes, to exclude the English from all commerce in that quarter; but this advantage would have reference only to peltries, and our loss in this respect, in consequence of more confined boundaries, would be of little moment, in comparison with what would remain ours in the interior of the country. Those who pretend that, if a treaty of peace reduce our boundaries ever so little, 'twould be better to cede the entire Colony, understand very imperfectly the advantages that might accrue to it from a good administration, and, doubtless, reason as some Canadians do, who, having spent their lives trading with Indians, know no other interest and direct all their views to that.

'Twere useless to demonstrate the advantage the possession of Canada would confer on France, if the impossibility of defending it oblige us to expect the destruction of our hopes at the first moment of a rupture; but fortunately, nature has endowed that country with means of defence. The only question is, to employ the season of peace in turning them to advantage.



Canada is open to attack only from Lake Ontario, Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence.

I suppose the English masters of the sea; but I suppose at the same time, that the Governor has taken care to form magazines of provisions in sufficient abundance to feed the troops during a campaign, should a year of barrenness occur in the course of the war. I suppose, again, that arms and ammunition have been sent him before the means of transportation are intercepted. Thus, 'tis for him to form his plan of defence, independent of aid from Europe.

'Tis necessary that he have this plan before his eyes the very moment France will reënter into possession of Canada, and that he lose not a single day, without working at its execution.

On the Lake Ontario side no great fear need be entertained, if people are willing to remain at the Rapids of Cataracoui. That frontier will be impenetrable, if ever so little advantage be taken of the favorable positions those Rapids afford. A few properly located forts and troops very inferior to the assailants, will be sufficient for defence. 'Tis true that in 1760, Major-General Amherst who was Commander-in-Chief of the English troops, selected that frontier to attack Canada, with the main army. He was aware of it being impossible for us to send any troops there, and of the resolution of the domiciliated Indians of the Colony to abandon our alliance; besides he dreaded, or feigned to dread, the post of Isle aux Noix which he had respected the preceding year, and wished to prove that, if he had not completed the conquest of Canada in 1759, the fault ought to be imputed to Brigadier Gages whom he had commissioned to penetrate by those Rapids. However that may be, that choice of attack does little honor to his military knowledge; the defection of the Indians and of the corps of Militia to whom the defence of the Rapids had been confided, saved his army from utter annihilation,

On the Lake Champlain side, Ile aux Noix furnishes an excellent post. It is situated in the middle of the River St. John, and if ramparts and casemates are constructed there, it may be guaranteed as impregnable. 'Tis true that it defends only the channel of the river, and that both banks may be traveled beyond the range of cannon shot. But the country is most of the time overflown and passable only in extremely dry seasons. There will, then, remain the resource of amusing the enemy in the woods by a flying camp, which will draw subsistence by the River St. John or the River St. Lawrence, whilst the enemy will be obliged to make his transportation by wagons in a country intersected by marshes and creeks with a fort in his rear. A very inferior corps will then possess a great advantage to prolong the campaign until the arrival of forces capable of fighting him on the setting in of the rains which overflow the country. 'Tis necessary, moreover, to have a fort on the same river in the rear of Ile aux Noix, and some small armed vessels which will find shelter at that Island, secure its communication with the lower part of the river, and prevent the enemy throwing bateaux below Ile aux Noix, after having made the portage in front of that island. It may be asserted even that if we could have a superior navy on Lake Champlain, 'twould be very difficult for the enemy to undertake anything this side the lake.

I now suppose that the enemy, notwithstanding those difficulties, are strong enough and fortunate enough to render themselves masters of the country between Lake Champlain and the River St. Lawrence; the worst will be to evacuate all the settlements in that quarter, and to remove the farmers and cattle to the left bank of the river. These settlements will be laid waste, the river Chambly will experience some incursions of light troops, but so long as Ile aux Noix will hold out, as the enemy has no bateaux to cross the river, we shall be

very sure to see him repass Lake Champlain at the close of the campaign, for, even though he should have sufficient pioneers to make a firm road to the bank of the river, and sufficient horses to transport bateaux and cannon, two or three armed bateaux on the River St. Lawrence would be sufficient to render the passage of it absolutely impossible for him.

In this plan for the defence of the Colony on the side of the lakes, I have reduced its boundaries greatly below what they were before this war, and I do not suppose any solid post at Niagara, Frontenac or at St. Frederic, because I do not think it possible to have during the peace, either the time or the means to give these posts the necessary strength. Besides 'tis the settlements of the Colony that require to be defended. These do not extend beyond the Rapids of Cataracoui and terminate five leagues below Ile aux Noix. To draw one's forces within a smaller compass in order to augment them, is an axiom so much the more true, as in the case under consideration, it will not produce any loss, and 'twere desirable that it had been practiced in the war which Canada had just sustained. Yet forts can be built at Niagara, Frontenac and St. Frederic when more essential objects will have been attended to.

On the sea side the River St. Lawrence affords no defence up to Quebec. It has often been remarked that there were islands or capes adapted to the closing the passage of the river. This is a mistake; a thousand fortresses below that town will not be able to prevent the enemy's ships reascending it. And even between Quebec and Point Levis, although the river be at that place only 600 toises wide, to stop ships there would require batteries on both sides of the river, which is an impossibility, because no fortress can be erected opposite Quebec that would not be excessively commanded. It would stay the enemy only the very brief time required to reduce it. Therefore, we shall be always restricted to the batteries of Quebec, and however formidable these may be, they will not stop ships which will take advantage of the wind and tide.

These inconveniences must not prevent Quebec being regarded as Canada's essential point of defence. A fortress can be constructed there capable of sustaining a long siege, and be abandoned to its own resources when the enemy will have forced the landing and acquired a decided superiority; then he will stop to besiege it, or endeavor to penetrate into the country. If he undertake the siege, supposing he have time to terminate it before the departure of the ships, and sufficient force cannot be mustered to oblige him to raise it, he will be very bold if he hazard leaving a garrison in Quebec during the winter. The French troops cantoned around the town will not permit that garrison to quit the covert-way without fighting. How can it be able to provide immense quantities of fuel necessary to pass the cold season? Where will it find cattle for the sick, who cannot be fed on salt meat? This plan of forming cantonments around Quebec was proposed in 1759, and would have forced the English to surrender the place in the midst of winter; but the Governor and Intendant, before whom it was laid, assured that the Colony was absolutely unable to furnish provisions necessary to feed the troops in those cantonments.

Should the enemy, instead of laying siege to Quebec, content himself with blockading its garrison with a portion of his army and undertake to penetrate into the interior of the country, then the defeated troops will retire ten leagues above Quebec, across the River Jacques Cartier, which forms an impenetrable barrier and covers, by land, all the left bank of the River St. Lawrence. The right bank, which is less important, is intersected, at nearly the same distance, by rivers and positions easily maintained, and the troops posted on those two banks will be able to sustain themselves and keep up a communication by crossing the river.



But 'tis not sufficient to be posted on both sides of the river, which is so wide that the enemy would easily remount it, without any opposition from the land batteries. 'Tis necessary to provide, before the war, some flat-bottomed frigates; that is to say, drawing 8 or 9 feet of water, each armed with 18 or 20 twenty-four pounders. They will fight advantageously those of the enemy, who will not dare compromise his ships of the Line in a river where the want of water would expose them to run aground at each instant.

If, nevertheless, the knowledge of the country had given him the idea of getting similar vessels built superior in number, the Richelieu Rapids, 14 leagues above Quebec, would still be remaining to stop them. Ships can remount that part of the river only one by one and with the aid of a strong wind. Four frigates anchored above those Rapids would easily destroy a hundred ships, one after the other. The troops, by fortifying themselves at those Rapids, will be able to prolong the campaign until bad weather sets in, and if Quebec hold out, the campaign will always wind up by the departure of the enemy.

'Tis to be observed that I have placed things at the worst; that I abandon Canada to its own resources, and that it is not to receive any succor from France; for, were a squadron sent before the arrival of the enemy, 'twould be morally impossible for the latter to remount the river above Quebec, even after having beaten that squadron, because its *debris* reunited with the navy of the country and placed in proper positions, would suffice to render the navigation of the river impracticable.

Neither have I mentioned the numberless defensive stratagems that may be employed, such as fire-ships (*brulots*) rafts and artificial fires, chains and gun-boats. I have supposed that the troops destined to prevent the landing have been defeated, and have remained very inferior to the enemy. 'Tis, nevertheless, improbable that the latter could transport a number of troops considerable enough to render the defensive very disproportionate.

This is so much the more true, as the three corps of troops which are to defend Canada, if it be simultaneously attacked on its three frontiers, have the advantage of being able to form a junction again whenever judged proper, in order to fight the enemy whose position will be the more uneasy, and afterwards return, each to its own district; whilst the enemy cannot establish any communication, nor even any precise concert between the different corps he will put in motion.

I think I may conclude, without rashness, that, in fortifying Quebec in a respectable manner, which is quite possible, the worst that will happen will be, after many reverses, to behold one-fourth of the settlements of the Colony destroyed. But the departure of the enemy will always leave the property thereof to the King, and as timber is very abundant there, this loss will soon be repaired. 'Tis even to be supposed that the enemy have the inhumanity and the opportunity to burn all the settlements he will have overrun. In regard to the grain and cattle, they will be sent up to parts where the enemy cannot penetrate. The destruction just mentioned need not even be feared, could a considerable number of flat-bottomed frigates and gun-boats be constructed previous to the war, in order to possess a superior Marine before Quebec.

I shall remark on this occasion what occurred in the campaign of 1759, which opened on our side without any preparations for Quebec. That town was not capable of sustaining a siege. No precaution was taken beforehand to close the river. A few merchant frigates, armed and commanded by some privateering officers, constituted our whole navy. The fire-ships were badly managed and were too few. The passage of the river below Quebec was not contested. The army, which opposed the landing, amounted to not more than 3,000

Regulars; the Militia who were joined to them were excessively diminished by desertion. The English, after having been repulsed on landing, surprised above Quebec a height that might have been very easily defended, and, having formed with great promptness, defeated on the 13<sup>th</sup> September our little army, which retired behind the River Jacques Cartier, without provisions, ammunition, artillery or tents. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec opened his gates to the English without having been attacked. All these advantages did not give them confidence enough to dare ascend any higher than Quebec, although there were still six weeks of campaign. They contented themselves with posting a garrison in that place during the winter. Had Quebec been in a condition to sustain a siege of three months, what advantage would the English have derived from their landing and from the victory of the thirteenth of September?

After having disposed of the utility Canada may be to the Kingdom, and of the possibility of placing it in a position to defend itself, I proceed to hazard my ideas on the manner it ought to be governed and the expenses it would occasion during the peace.

'Tis necessary that the Governor of that Colony be a Military man, in order to be able to dispose it to sustain a war; a statesman, to promote agriculture, trade and the industry of the inhabitants; of a firm and active character, laborious himself and seeing to everything; jealous of the public good; an enemy of rogues and irreproachable as to interest. 'Tis proper the Court should fix a sum for the expenses of the Military, Marine and fortifications, the expenditure whereof should be left to his judgment.

'Tis no less essential that the Intendant should be an honest man, economical, enlightened, instructed in every department of government, police, justice, finance, agriculture, population, trade, industry, details of Marine, &c., vigilant of the King's interests and of those of his country; severe on the subject of swindling, and submissive to the authority of the Governor-General in all cases wherein the council hereinafter [mentioned] would not be assembled.

The head of the church ought to be a Bishop, who combines with the talents of a pastor, the knowledge of the most essential departments of the civil and political administration, and who is sufficiently enlightened to prevent religion being, in his hands, an obstacle to the good of the Colony.

The Court may invest the Governor-General with all authority when he will be such as above described; but as 'twill be necessary to secure the liberty of the citizen, and to provide against vexations, as well as against enterprizes which too extended a confidence might engage him to undertake of his own motion, there shall be appointed a Council of State, composed of the Governor-General, Bishop and Intendant. This Council shall meet whenever one of the three shall require it. Business shall be disposed of by a plurality of votes. Its decisions shall be recorded; copy of the registers shall be furnished each of the members to be sent to the Court, each of the three being responsible for his opinions.

There shall be a Secretary of the Council of State, whose duty it shall be to make a minute of the business to be discussed; to keep the register and do the writing, and make whatever copies appertain thereto.

Every citizen of the Colony who will have reason to complain of the Governor-General, shall be at liberty to apply to the Bishop or the Intendant, who, on the information they will take of the grievance, shall be entitled to cause the Council of State to be summoned, if the case appear to them worth the trouble.



They shall, one and the other, be at liberty to have the Council convoked whenever they will perceive that the Governor-General (military expenses excepted) will be guilty of innovation, which would appear to them in conflict with the public good or the King's interests, or whenever they will have, themselves, any useful novelty to propose.

The Governor-General shall assemble the Council of State also whenever he will consider himself obliged to make essential innovations, and conform to its decision, before having received the consent of the Court thereto. In regard to military matters, he shall render an account thereof only to the Court, whose instructions will serve him as a rule.

Justice shall be administered as usual in the Superior Council.

There shall be established at Quebec a Chamber of commerce whose deliberations and decisions shall be subject to the revision of the Council of State, which will not prevent such Chamber of commerce reporting directly to the Court its decisions or whatever propositions it will have submitted to the Council of State.

It shall be composed of the most experienced merchants, and there shall be allowed, on the report of the Governor-General, some honorary reward to the members of that Board who will have proposed the most useful means to increase the trade of the country relatively to the interest of the Kingdom.

The Chamber of Commerce shall pay attention to prevent monopolies and enlighten the government on this head. The Council of State shall be considered sovereign in this matter.

The Council of State shall be privileged to impose a tax on provisions and merchandises, both foreign and domestic, if it observe that they are rated at too high a price.

No other money shall be current in the Colony except that of printed paper and of the same form as was in circulation there formerly, with this difference, that the notes (*ordonnances*) shall be stamped and signed not only by the Intendant, but also by the Governor-General and a Commissary or Comptroller appointed for that purpose.

The notes (*ordonnances*) shall be carried, as formerly, to the Treasury annually, before the departure of the ships, in order to be withdrawn by the Treasurer and replaced by bills of exchange at one or two terms in favor of those who shall bring them in.

A minute shall be drawn up of the notes (*ordonnances*) converted into bills of exchange, which shall be signed by the Intendant, Comptroller, Treasurer, and countersigned (*visé*) by the Governor-General; which minute shall be transmitted to Court.

The notes which will have been withdrawn shall be burnt and the minute of their numbers preserved, in order to be replaced under the same title, according as needs shall be.

All the fixed expenses shall be regulated by returns from the Court. Extraordinary or unforeseen expenses shall not be approved, if not clothed with the authority of the Council of State, unless they regard the Indians or Military department.

Although the military expenses be entirely referred to the prudence of the Governor-General, the Intendant and, under him, the principal clerks (*officiers de plume*) are authorized and obliged to take an exact and detailed knowledge thereof; not to oppose the plans which regard war and may be within his resort, but to instruct the Governor as to the prevarications he may overlook, and the Court on those the Governor would not perceive.

Goldsmiths shall be forbidden to melt gold or silver coin, and with this view, shall be obliged to render an account of the materials they will employ and of the work they will deliver.

As efforts should be made to give the most advantageous circulation to the paper money, it would be for the King's interest to withdraw from Canada the gold and silver coin which the English will possibly leave there; and to this end, as soon as there shall be in circulation sufficient paper money for daily trade, a Bank should be established which would convert gold and silver coin into bills of exchange payable at sight, with a moderate premium. This operation would prevent gold and silver coin depreciating the value of the notes, or passing by means of smugglers into foreign countries.

The Governor-General shall, the first year, order a Census to be taken of the inhabitants of the Colony in the towns and in the rural districts; a return of the acres of land under cultivation; their average annual produce; the quantity of horses and cattle, and on the knowledge he will acquire of the situation of the country in this regard, shall, in concert with the Council of State, form regulations for the increase of agriculture, population and cattle. He shall even be authorized to make advances, at the King's expense, to the poorer classes.

The troops being able, with very few exceptions, to meet, in time of peace, all the wants of the service, the farmers shall return to their farms in order to cultivate them, but those who will volunteer to be employed on the King's works and in voyages, shall be admitted and favored by the government.

As the inhabitants of the rural districts shall be no more diverted from their labors, they will be at liberty to devote themselves entirely to the cultivation of their lands and to the increase of their cattle. But the Canadian being naturally lazy and working precisely only to furnish himself with necessaries, it would be proper to force him to reasonable labor by some impost which obliges him to draw from his land what may naturally be expected from it. This impost ought to be in provisions, and the best manner of levying it would be to oblige the farmers to feed a part of the soldiers whom the King will keep there. This plan will be explained hereafter.

Spruce beer being the natural drink of the country, molasses, which is necessary for its manufacture, shall pay only little or no impost duty. Wines and brandies shall pay seven or eight per cent. Merchandises of the greatest necessity shall be taxed five or six per cent, and those of luxury shall pay higher import duty in proportion to their uselessness.

Taverns in the towns and suburbs shall pay license.

The fees of verification (*droit de controle*) on all instruments (*actes*), also the mutation fines (*droit de lods et ventes*), shall be strictly levied.

Magazines of salt shall be established in the towns and principal forts. The King's ships shall import it from France, and it shall be sold for his profit, at a very low price, in order to encourage the Colonist to manufacture salt provisions, the trade in which would be very profitable to the country.

The King's ships shall also carry gunpowder, which shall be sold to the inhabitants at the same price as in France.

Experienced overseers shall be sent to Canada to work the Iron mines near Three Rivers, who shall furnish iron, shell and shot necessary for the artillery, and whatever will not eventually be consumed in the King's service, shall be sold to private persons.

Officers of the Regular troops, Commissaries or other persons in the King's service, shall not be permitted to pursue any trade of what nature soever it may be, directly or indirectly, by themselves, their wives, children or domestics; neither shall they be at liberty to enter into any speculation nor to furnish horses and carriages for the service, transports for voyages by



sea, or on the lakes and River (St. Lawrence); nor to take charge of any improvements, furnish any merchandise or provisions, of what nature soever the same may be. This article must be strictly observed, as it is of great consequence. Officers and others in the King's service shall be at liberty only to improve farms, take tracts of land (*concessions*) and sell the produce thereof of every description.

'Twould be proper to attract foreign families to Canada without regard to religion; that Colony would be thereby augmented without damage to the Kingdom, and the small number of Protestants, whom that toleration would introduce there, would never be considerable enough to injure the religion of the ancient inhabitants; the odds are that most of those families would soon embrace the dominant religion. They might, however, be constrained to have their children baptized.

These families would be conveyed to Canada in the King's ships; lands would be granted them on arriving, and the Governor authorized to make them advances in cattle, implements, grain and subsistence, which advances will be repaid at a fixed time.

All grants formerly made to private individuals and not improved, shall be annulled at the end of three years, if said individuals have not placed any settlers on them, and the King shall be at liberty to grant the land to other persons.

The posts at which trade is carried on with the Indians, shall no longer be granted to individuals. Trade there shall be free to every one, and no fees shall be exacted from those who will send canoes thither.

Commandants of posts shall be relieved at least every two years; they shall not be at liberty to carry on any sort of trade thereat, either in merchandise or in furs. They shall receive only such presents as the Indians may make them; it being well understood that the King shall not be obliged to make them any other compensation, and that the Belts which the Indians will give shall belong to the King.

The garrisons of the forts shall be relieved every year, and the provisions necessary for the year, and the goods intended for the Indians, shall be sent thither at the same time. A clerk or commissary shall be appointed to convey them and he will be responsible for them.

The canoes that are to carry these provisions and merchandise shall be armed by the soldiers belonging to the new garrison, and if the number be insufficient, some others shall be detached who will return with the canoes. When navigation will be difficult, as it is for all distant posts, Militia will be detailed to pilot and instruct the soldiers.

The Governor-General shall adopt the best measures to save the King from purchasing at the posts, the goods necessary for Indian presents. He will regulate those presents, and as this department has been the source of very costly frauds, he shall take care to be informed by trustworthy agents, of the number of Indians who will visit the posts, and he shall be authorized to make gratuities to the commanders who will conduct themselves properly, and to punish, with the greatest rigor, those who shall have proved unfaithful.

He shall regulate the prices of goods at the posts, and take care that the commandants prevent monopoly at them.

He shall fix the places where trade will be carried on with the Indians, and shall reduce the number of the posts as much as possible, especially those more distant. It is sufficient to prevent the Indians trading with the English, and for that purpose he shall regard, as a principle, to procure for them the best and cheapest goods possible.

Could we possess, on this point, an advantage over the English, the Indians would be easily attracted with their packets to places less distant from the Colony.

Care should be taken to prevent Canadian and French vagabonds (*libertins*) being received among the Indians, because, once adopted by them, they are lost to the State.

The King having discharged what remained of the soldiers belonging to the troops of Canada, after the reduction of that country, it is impossible to reorganize those troops, which would be composed of new levies and consequently incapable of waging war. It appears indispensable to transfer to that Colony some Infantry regiments which shall remain in garrison there during three or four years. And as the officers of those regiments would be deprived of the privilege of visiting, from time to time, their families, from whom they derive their resources, it would be right that the King indemnify them by a more liberal pay. This will be stated by and by.

The finances would gain by this arrangement. The King would not be obliged to keep up a greater number of troops during the peace, and would, consequently, save the expense of those he keeps up in Canada. 'Tis true that when war would break out, 'twould be necessary to fill up this void by augmentations. But this would be less inconvenient than to confide the defence of a Colony to soldiers who have never been in the field.

Canada requires a small corps of artillery, composed of gunners, bombardiers, artificers and workmen. This corps cannot be less than two hundred men during the peace, and will be increased in time of war.

There shall be stationed in the Colony, one Chief-Engineer and 4 ordinary ones. The number will possibly be less when no more fortifications will be constructed.

It would be proper to form, in Canada, a troop of volunteer Chasseurs, commanded by Canadian officers conversant with the language of the Indians. This troop, destined for skirmishing (*petite guerre*), would serve in time of peace in collecting together the stragglers (*libertins*) who ordinarily give themselves up to the Indians, and would be employed in such services as correspond with its organization. It would suffice for it to number 160 men during peace; in war it might be easily increased to three or four hundred men; the people of the country being very well adapted for this service.

'Twould, besides, be necessary to keep up a corps of sailors there, who would serve in time of peace in lake and river transportation, and during the war, would man the ships destined to defend the entrance into the Colony. It could, in time of peace, be merely 150 or 200 men, who, having acquired the knowledge of the navigation of the country, would be officers of a crew during the war. The expense of their maintenance would be advantageously compensated by the continual and necessary transportation, the expense whereof they would save to the King.

The Militia of Canada are very good. That country possesses a much greater number of naturally brave men than other countries, from whom, when reduced to obedience, great advantage can be derived in war. The Canadian is an enemy to constraint, and inconstant, but very docile when he meets firmness and justice in his officers. He prefers skirmishing (*la petite guerre*) and is well adapted to it. Yet it will not be difficult to make him fight according to order when supported by Regulars, if his love of glory, which is natural to the inhabitants of Canada, be flattered.

In war time, 8,000 good Militia can be put under arms; but 'tis necessary that the levies be made with care and rigorously. There are no tricks and intrigues which good men will not



employ to get the bad to march in their stead. In critical times the levy can be raised to 11 @ 12,000 men; and if population be attended to during peace, 'tis to be hoped that at the end of twenty years, the Militia will be one-third more numerous.

On the ordinary strength of the battalions in time of peace, 'twould be necessary that there should be constantly in Canada twelve battalions of old troops; this would give about six thousand men, which would be few were the Colony attacked before it had received any succors from France. 'Tis to be supposed, however, that before the entrance were closed on transports, time will be afforded to convey some new battalions thither, or at least the ordinary augmentation, which is 160 men per battalion; then, there would be 8,000 infantry, which, joined to the Militia, would suffice to preserve the country, when the lines of defence would be contracted, as proposed, it being understood that the Court will send a stronger force thither, if possible, and endeavor to repair the annual losses by risking small convoys, which will hardly ever be intercepted if dispatched towards the end of February.

'Twere desirable that among the twelve battalions there should always be two or three of German troops, the soldiers of which would be allowed to marry in the country after three years' service; this would be the means of augmenting the population without affecting that of the Kingdom injuriously. Besides, these battalions would be a decoy for the bushrangers and vagabonds of the English Colonies, where there are a great number of Germans.

If the capitulation of our German regiments, or the difficulty of recruits should prevent their conveyance to Canada, the French battalions which might go there, may be allowed to enlist into each company a certain number of Germans whom they would leave in the country.

Perhaps the condition of Canada, when it will return under the King's rule, will not allow of the twelve battalions being sent thither at once. It might be inconvenient to procure quarters and subsistence for the officers. In that case, 'twere well to send only eight or ten the first and second years, during which arrangements might be made for the reception of the rest.

'Twould be proper to allow each Captain a gratuity of 400<sup>l</sup> per annum, and each Lieutenant 250<sup>l</sup>; the superior officers in proportion.

As the soldier is to be victualed by the King or the farmer, 3 *sous* 6 *deniers* a day will be stopped from his pay; he will have 2 *sous* remaining.

The King will retain also the stock purse (*la masse*) and supply the clothing.

The soldier's ration in Canada cannot be less than 28 ounces of bread, 6 ounces of peas and 8 ounces of salt meat, or 12 ounces of fresh meat. The air of the country requires more food than that of France. This ration will cost at most 8<sup>s</sup>.

Foreign goods and provisions being dearer in Canada than in France, 'twould be proper that the King should grant officers the privilege of carying gratis on board his ships as much as 25 tons per battalion. The same favor will be allowed as formerly to the Governor-General and Intendant; it may be extended to the staff of forts and to Commissaries; this would amount to 450 tons, which would be an inconsiderable object when divided among the ships the King will dispatch annually to Canada.

The troops will be permitted to leave in France one officer per regiment in the ports of the Kingdom to take charge of the correspondence, and make purchases and attend to commissions for the officers.

The soldier's clothing will be the same as in France, adding merely a blanket and jacket every two years, a pair of cloth gaiters, a pair of mittens and six pairs of shoes every year.

Hereafter outfits shall not be furnished soldiers going on any war expedition, nor to officers nor servants. The Militia who will serve shall receive only one pair of shoes per month, one pair of leggings and a *braguet* per campaign, a jacket and pair of leggings to those on duty in winter. The expense of outfits has always been very considerable and useless. One soldier has no need of two suits. Servants ought to be supported by their masters. In regard to Militiamen, they must be obliged to carry wherewith to clothe themselves during the campaign; the people of Canada are in sufficiently easy circumstances to dispense with this allowance, except an aid to the poorest sort, by way of a gratuity.

When the troops will be detached throughout distant forts or encamped in uninhabited frontiers, and, when on the march, the officer shall receive one ration for himself, similar to the soldiers, and one for his servant, it being well understood that such is to be given only to the effectives; in every other case, he shall support himself on his pay.

Artillery officers shall no longer possess the privilege of passage nor of powder (*droit de voyage ni de poudre*).

Persons who travel shall no longer be allowed certificates of their expenses to be paid on pretence of service; those who make bonâ fide journeys, in extraordinary cases, by order of the Governor-General, shall be indemnified for their disbursements by gratuities, and great attention shall be paid thereto.

As the Governors of Montreal and Three Rivers are useless in time of peace, and can be advantageously replaced in time of war by the superior officers of the battalions, 'twill be well to suppress those governments. Each of the three towns shall have only one King's Lieutenant, one Major and one Adjutant.

The posts of Major and Adjutant in these towns shall be given to active and intelligent officers, because they will have charge of the detail of the Militia under the King's Lieutenant and the Governor-General.

The latter shall be Inspector of the troops; there shall not, in future, be any Major-General Inspector Commandant of the troops—an improper office, which is expensive, embarrassing and good for nothing.

Recruits shall be furnished by the King and conveyed in his ships, according to the returns the Governor-General shall transmit at the close of autumn.

Each of the King's Lieutenants shall cause the Major to keep an exact roll of the Militia within his government between the ages of 18 and 60, wherein those who are married shall be designated, the whole to be divided into three classes—good, middling and bad.

The King's Lieutenants shall make, twice a year, the review of the Militia at the beginning and at the end of summer. The Governor-General shall be present at one of these reviews; each Militiaman shall be obliged to have a good musket, a powder-horn and a shot bag.

'Twill be necessary that the King should have conveyed to Canada 400 master and journeymen mechanics of all trades, especially for the forges and ship yards, who will be victualled at the King's expense during the first years, and not be employed except at public works.

'Twill be necessary to have tools of all sorts also sent out in sufficient quantity, and a supply of iron for the first year, until the forges can furnish some.

It is most important to have buildings erected for the artillery stores, as the air of Canada is very destructive, Timber being abundant, this expense will be trifling.



The provisions necessary for the subsistence of the troops cannot be expected to be found in Canada the first year; fifteen or twenty thousand barrels of flour and four or five thousand barrels of pork will have to be sent from France; this will not augment the expense.

We now proceed to enter upon the detail of the expenses that Canada will occasion the King during each year of peace, including what will have to be done there to place it in a state of defence.

The annexed table will show what salary is proposed to be given to the Governor-General, the Intendant, the Staff, Civil officers and those of justice. They ought to appear sufficient to every disinterested man who has a perfect knowledge of the country.

200,000<sup>l</sup>, which we propose for Indian presents, will be more than sufficient in the hands of an enlightened Governor who attends to the King's interests.

150,000<sup>l</sup> for extraordinary expenses will meet unforeseen items, gratuities for subjects who will distinguish themselves and any advances to be made to new settlers during the first years of the peace.

The Governor shall be obliged to render an exact account of these two items, and furnish thorough information thereof to the Intendant, who, however, will not be at liberty to refuse to discharge, in this regard, the Governor-General's orders.

200,000<sup>l</sup> for the expense of management and clerks ought to suffice, if the Intendant be economical and experienced, the rather as the ration, which we have estimated at 8 *sous*, will cost less, if the purchases be judiciously made, and the milling, curing and fattening be well managed. The Intendant shall be obliged to render an account to the Governor-General of this department as well as of all other details of finance.

Recruits will not cost the King anything, because he will find, from the non-completes and gratuities, a profit in pay and subsistence that will suffice for this item.

The Hospitals and Missions have endowments in Canada. If these are not sufficient for the support of the Clergy and the Nuns, for the attendance on sick soldiers, by giving up the price of the ration, and for the support of the Missionaries of the Colony, some pensions on the livings will supply any want without taxing the King.

It remains to enter into the detail of the expenses to be incurred for the fortifications, artillery, royal buildings, forges and ship building.

As the materials to be used in these different objects exist in the country, the expense cannot be better estimated than by calculating the workmanship.

People can work in Canada only from the 15<sup>th</sup> of May to the 15<sup>th</sup> of October. The cold, during the remainder of the year, is excessive.

During those five months the troops will be in camp in those places which are to be fortified; during winter they will be quartered on the farmers, except the garrisons for the towns and forts; these may be estimated at 1,500 men.

From the five working months must be deducted the Sundays and principal holidays, there remains 130 days.

12 battalions in camp will be able to furnish 2,500 workmen who will be paid at the rate of 12 *sous* each working day.

1,200 volunteer workmen can be drawn from the towns and country, who will be fed and receive 10 *sous* per day.

All these items are calculated in the annexed table.

The soldiers in camp will be fed, for five months in the year, at the King's expense. The 1,500 men in garrison also during the winter months. But the remainder will be fed at the farmers, on whom he will be quartered, and at the expense of said farmer, who, with trifling labor, will be able to derive from his farm wherewith to feed his lodger, the rather as those who will not lodge any men will contribute their share of the subsistence, according to the rolls which shall be drawn up for this purpose in each parish, and this sort of tax will be the only one that the Canadian will pay the King.

A number of horses, sufficient for the works of the fortifications and artillery, shall be purchased or hired on the King's account. About 300 will be required which can be found without any difficulty in a country where there are too many. This expense, and the other extraordinary disbursements for the works, have been estimated at 120,000<sup>l</sup>.

The King retaining 3 *sous* 6 *den.* a day from the soldier's pay, there have been properly deducted from the total of the expenses, 415,187<sup>l</sup>, since this sum will return into the extraordinaries of war, or be employed in the receipt of the Colonial treasurer. The annual expense will therefore be only 2,005,773<sup>l</sup>.

If we calculate what the King is to receive from the import duties on all liquors and dry goods, tavern licenses in the towns, from the registry, mutation fines, the sale of salt and powder, and from the grants of land, this sum will exceed 500,000<sup>l</sup>, and increase, annually, in in proportion to the population. Thus, there will remain about 1,500,000<sup>l</sup> to be provided for each year for Canada, which sum will not begin to be paid, only the second year, at the maturity of the bills of exchange; a part of that sum even will return the first year in the country in paper money.

'Tis easy to see by the table that more than one-half of that sum will be employed in the fortifications and other works belonging to the King, and consequently will be no longer required when those will be completed.

If higher views determine the King to release his Canadian subjects from every species of import for some years, the farmers would then have to be paid for subsisting the soldiers who would be quartered on them, and this could not be less than 5 *sous* a day, which would amount to 258,000<sup>l</sup>, to be added to the above sum.

In regard to the duration of the works, it appears impossible to determine that at present; yet, we may promise ourselves that, in five or six years at most, the three frontiers will be in a state of defence, if care be taken that the 4,000 men destined for those works be well employed.

It is not pretended that the table of expenses is free from omissions, but such would be trifling.

The warlike stores, the guns and artillery furniture with which Canada must necessarily be provided, are not included in this estimate; neither the implements of every description, and cordage for the navy which must be sent thither until the Colony be able to furnish them. The article of artillery would be very considerable if the King were obliged to purchase it in one year. But we could, the very first year of the peace, begin to make this provision by dismantling those places in the Kingdom nearest the sea, which will be afterwards supplied at leisure. The expense, though heavy in itself, will, in this way, be light.

The estimate for this provision will be furnished, if necessary.

We shall not treat here of the profits which the King's finances and the State will derive indirectly from Canada in the way of trade. But 'tis to be presumed that if that Colony be well governed, it will amply indemnify for the 1,500,000<sup>l</sup> it will have cost during the first years of the peace.



Many things proposed in this Memoir may be objected to ; especially, by those who know little of Canada, or by those who have private interests there. Those objections might be answered in advance, but they would have swelled into a volume. The only object of this Memoir, which is already too long, is to fix the mind on the expense Canada would occasion and the means of governing it well. Nothing is put forth but what is established on solid reasons or experience.

Expense of Canada during the first year of the Peace.

Gratuities to the officers of battalions and artillery, engineers and constructors, . . . .	" 190,000
Gratuities to Commandants of distant posts, . . . . .	25,000
Blankets, jackets, &c., to soldiers and gunners, . . . . .	85,000
Salary of Governor-General, . . . . .	50,000
" " Intendant, . . . . .	25,000
" " Clerk of the Council, . . . . .	3,000
" " 3 King's Lieutenants, @ 5,000 <sup>l</sup> each, . . . . .	15,000
" " 3 Majors, @ 3,000 <sup>l</sup> each, . . . . .	9,000
" " 3 Adjutants, @ 1,200 <sup>l</sup> each, . . . . .	3,600
" " Captain of the port of Quebec, . . . . .	2,000
" " Commissaries, Controllers and principal storekeepers, . . . . .	35,000
" " Officers of justice for the Council and other jurisdictions, . . . . .	40,000
" " Indian Interpreters and their subsistence, . . . . .	15,000
Fuel and candles for the guard-houses, . . . . .	10,000
Keep and subsistence of 150 chasseurs commanded by 12 officers, . . . . .	48,000
Idem for 150 seamen commanded by 12 naval officers, . . . . .	45,000
Subsistence of 200 gunners for one year, @ 8 <sup>s</sup> per day, . . . . .	29,200
Subsistence of 400 master or journeymen mechanics, for one year, . . . . .	58,400
Pay of 400 masters or journeymen, @ 30 <sup>s</sup> , one with another, for 130 days, . . . .	78,000
Subsistence of 1,200 country workmen for 150 days, . . . . .	72,000
Subsistence of 1,500 soldiers of the battalions for a year, . . . . .	219,000
Subsistence of the remaining 4,800 soldiers for 150 days, whilst in camp, . . . .	288,000
Pay of 1,200 country workmen, @ 10 <sup>s</sup> for 130 days, . . . . .	78,000
Pay of 2,500 working soldiers at 12 <sup>s</sup> for 130 days, . . . . .	195,000
48 Sergeants, @ 30 <sup>s</sup> for 130 days, . . . . .	9,360
Supplement for the pay of 200 master or journeymen mechanics who may be employed the year round, . . . . .	54,000
Supplement for the pay and food of 400 country workmen who may work at the forges and on building timber the whole year, . . . . .	69,400
Expense of horses and extraordinary expenses for the fortifications and artillery, .	120,000
Indian expenses, . . . . .	200,000
Expenses of management and transport and pay of the clerks and commissaries, .	200,000
Extraordinary expenses, . . . . .	150,000
	<hr/> 2,420,960
Deduct for retaining 3 <sup>s</sup> 6 <sup>d</sup> from the pay of 6,500 soldiers or gunners, . . . . .	415,187
Remains, for the total expense of each year, . . . . .	<hr/> <u>" 2,005,773</u>

From this is still to be deducted what the King will annually derive from Canada in import duties, &c., which we have estimated at 500,000<sup>li</sup>.

Recapitulation of the subjects treated of in the preceding Memoir.

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*Abstract of a Plan to Excite a Rebellion in Canada. 1763.*

In consequence of the indifference, incapacity or private interest of those who have almost at all times administered its affairs, the importance of Canada has never been presented before the eyes of the Court in a true point of view. Besides the loss of that beautiful and vast country, France has lost 70 @ 80 thousand inhabitants, the species of which is so much the more rare as there never has been a people so docile, so brave and so strongly attached to their Prince. The vexations they have suffered for several years, and particularly during the five immediately preceding the surrender of Quebec, without murmuring or daring to transmit their just complaints to the foot of the Throne, afford sufficient proofs of their docility. I have related to two striking instances in the Memoir I have addressed to the Minister in the month of March last, whereof this is merely an abstract.

The severe laws imposed on them were always justified and covered by the respectable cloak of the King's authority. Their love and submission for their Prince, made them sacrifice everything rather than wish to be suspected of the slightest disobedience to his Majesty's orders. This is so true, that not a single one made the slightest complaint, even when their grain, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c., were carried off, notwithstanding they were obliged to purchase for their support the same things at double what had been paid them.

'Tis to be feared that this bad treatment will have caused them to receive with too much readiness the mild regime of the English, the latter in their policy having neglected nothing to expedite the return of that comfort and liberty which they enjoyed before Sieur Bigot's advent into the Colony, nevertheless, I do not doubt but they would still prefer the domination of France, were they certain of finding the same advantages and same tranquility that they enjoyed up to 1750.

'Tis not for me, simply a private individual, to penetrate the wise views of the Ministry, but 'tis permitted me, as a good citizen, ardently to wish that the State do not ever lose sight of Canada. Events sufficiently propitious may intervene, as well from the constitution of the government of England, the aversion the Indians entertain towards the English, as through the friendship all the Nations feel for the French, to restore to the latter the possession of that country. In this idea, it were well to find means to prevent the extinction of that love which



the inhabitants of the Colony may still feel in their hearts for the domination of France. These are the means I propose :

There is remaining in Canada a pretty considerable sum in notes, the circulating medium before its invasion. I calculate that  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths at least are in the hands of the farmers who are persuaded, for the English never cease to insinuate, that France will never pay them.

The King will have to determine the question of those notes by finding some means of withdrawing them. This means would serve as a pretext for sounding the farmers as to how they are disposed. But two or three persons, well known to them, must be found, for whom they entertained some respect, persons both of discretion and intelligence.

These would be invested with orders from his Majesty to pass, with the approval of the Court of London, to Canada to take up those notes and to conclude with the farmers such settlement as would be determined on; pretexting, apparently, some expenses of the Colony the amount whereof it is desirable to ignore in consequence of the want of order in the administration. The pretext will appear, unfortunately, sufficiently specious.

'Twould not be necessary to have the farmers brought into the towns; on the contrary, 'twould be better for the object of the operation, to go from parish to parish, in order to be more at liberty to converse with them, on pretence of unwillingness to divert them from their work.

Perhaps I shall be told that the proper persons for the execution of this project would be hard to find. I believe there are plenty sufficiently disinterested to abandon their personal interest in order to concur with that of the State, and the delicacy of whose mission is not liable to suspicion. But in that there could not be too much caution and discretion.

What I have stated above is the abstract of the Memoir I have furnished last March, the object of the amount of the notes then remaining in the hands of the farmers being more considerable, the pretext to retire them might be more specious; but the operation would not have produced such important effects as it might do now in regard to the open war which the Indians are waging against the English; besides, the latter having somewhat abandoned the lenity with which they treated the farmers from the time Quebec was surrendered until they were sure of the cession which France made to them, it will be easier to persuade the Canadians to shake off the yoke, especially when certain of being sustained by the Indians with whom they would reunite. I understand the Canadian; he is sometimes extravagant and enterprising; two wise heads are only required to excite among them that fermentation; the Indians even might be excited to pretend to force the Canadians to revolt; threatening to wage war against them the same as against the English. The latter would, then, have less reproach to make them if this project and that of the Missicipi should fail.

Should the fermentation commence whilst the persons charged with this mission would be in the Colony, and should the English-suspect them, there is no doubt of their running some risks; but they can adopt some precaution to get clear by means of the Indians. Here is the way I shall manage :

I shall go, first, to Montreal to commence operations respecting the notes; I shall proceed at once to The Lake of The Two Mountains for pleasure; I shall not fail to meet Nepissings and Algonquins there, who have begun to bestir themselves in order to reunite the other Indians; I shall advise some chiefs of the object of my mission and dispose them to stand ready to facilitate my escape through the Upper country and conduct me to New Orleans.

I shall return from the Lake of The Two Mountains to Montreal without making any beginning; I shall have myself conveyed to the South shore to commence operations from parish to parish as far as Cap Moraska; return thence to Berthier<sup>1</sup> in order to cross over to St. Joachim and return by the North shore as far as St. Anne on the Island of Montreal, within 3 leagues of the Lake of the Two Mountains, the last parish, which would terminate my operation. And for more assured safety, under all circumstances, I believe it would be prudent for me to return by New Orleans.

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*M. de St. Ange to M. d'Abbadie.*

Extract of the letter from M. de St. Ange, Commandant at the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie, 9<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1764.

[ Inclosed in M. Dabbadie's letter of the 29th January, 1765. ]

The peace which the English reported to have made with the Indian Nations has not been so stable and general as they might suppose. One party only of what are called the Five Nations, had accepted the propositions, and through the lure of plunder had promised to escort all the detachments the English might turn out for Detroit. In fact, I did hear from Frenchmen and Indians that 500 men of that party had accompanied M<sup>r</sup> Bradcheet, who commands 1,200 men and 300 Canadians as far as Detroit, where, after a conference with Pondiak, they had returned to their first resolution and assured that chief that they would do all in their power to persuade the English of their fidelity, so as to betray them at the proper time. I annex hereunto a letter that Commandant writes me, which will inform you nearly of the course he was to pursue. This letter has been handed me by some Indians sent express here.

Captain Maurice<sup>2</sup> has been arrested by Pondiak, who has sent me word that he should forward him to me this spring. This officer was bearer of Instructions which Pondiak has kept.

M<sup>r</sup> Bradcheet has written me from Cedar Point,<sup>3</sup> near the Miamis river, 18 leagues from Detroit. I do not know what has become of him and his army; I have had no news of them since.

Pondiak, far from making the peace which that officer was instructed to negotiate with all the Nations, got angry and furious when 'twas proposed to him, and as a token of his never having had any such idea, sent at once, through all the Nations, a Belt at least 6 feet long and 4 inches wide, on which are marked all the Nations in his interest. He invites, first, all the Red men to help him, and next threatens them with his hatred and that of all his people, if they will not consent. He describes the English as the most cruel of enemies, with whom there is no guarantee for any conventions they might enter into as to what regards their country, and who would conceal their resentment until they would have an opportunity to satisfy it.

<sup>1</sup> Below Quebec.

<sup>2</sup> See VII., 863.

<sup>3</sup> The east point of Maumee bay, near Toledo, Ohio. — Ed.



The Chaouanons, whom I have had the honor to announce to you in my letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> of August, have arrived here on the 27<sup>th</sup> of that month, to the number of 60, to demand of me their most urgent necessities, which I could not supply; in view of the circumstances and their dispositions to continue the war against the English, however, I could not refuse giving them something, so as not to drive them against us. I had the message explained to them which you convey to them, in answer to the one they had sent you. They appeared to me satisfied with it.

The chief of that Nation has decided on going to see you, to explain to you the wretched condition to which it is reduced, his resolution, ~~his~~ attachment to the French, and finally, its hope that they would relieve it. He goes down in this bateau with his wife.

You can appreciate, Sir, the embarrassment I labor under with those people, who were every day making demands on me which tended only to vast expense and are contrary to the King's intentions and the orders you have given me on this head. On the other hand, the fear of driving them against us, by rejecting all their demands; of their accusing the French of abandoning them entirely, and finally, that they should be driven to despair, has caused me to pass very uncomfortable moments. Their sojourn here has not failed to occasion heavy expense for their subsistence alone.

An Iroquois chief came here some twenty-five days ago. After having held such conversation as is usual among Indian Nations, he asked me for some assistance which I could not give him, having neither the right nor the ability to do so. He decided on going down with some hunters. It is twelve days since he left with a Frenchman who accompanied him from the Chouanons.

I cannot express to you, Sir, the uneasiness present circumstances give me; I should have to respond to all the Nations, and I am unable to do so. To speak to them of peace, that's all; nothing can afford them less satisfaction. There are at least fifty Red men here every day who must be fed, and who no longer recognizing but this post where they have a father, most frequently leave very much dissatisfied and afterwards return under the impression that they will meet with more favor.

This, Sir, is my present condition. Circumstances and your orders permit me only to talk to them of peace, which they will not listen to, and the total want I am in of goods puts it out of my power to give any mark of benevolence to these unfortunate people.

I have had the honor to request you, Sir, to have regard to my situation. If the English do not take possession of this country, in a short time, I shall be overpowered this spring by all Pondiak's partizans, who are increasing daily. So much for the Indians, &c.

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*Colonel Bradstreet to M. de St. Ange.*

Sir,

I have been informed of the pains taken by M. de Neyon, before leaving the Illinois country, to remove all suspicion and to put a stop to false reports that were disseminated among the settlers and Indians dwelling there, which would tend only to render them unfortunate and are very disadvantageous to the English troops sent to take possession of that post.

I doubt not, Sir, that you have followed such a good example, and that you will afford all the protection in your power to Captain Morris, of the English troops, who will hand you this letter, to enable him to execute the orders he has received from me.

Camp at Cedar Point,  
26<sup>th</sup> August, 1761.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

JH. BRADSTREET.

*M. de St. Ange to M. d'Abbadie.*

Extract of a letter from M. de St. Ange, Commandant of the Illinois, to M. Dabbadie, of the 2<sup>nd</sup> X<sup>ber</sup>, 1764.

Since my last, which I had the honor to write you by Mr Datchurrut's bateau, nothing new has transpired here. I have had no news of Pondiak nor from Detroit, where he continues to be. I am also ignorant of what has become of Mr Bradstreet and his detachment, but I know that all the Nations continue their enterprise and that neither the English nor French could, by any means, turn them from their purpose. Their principal object at present is, to have their Father back. In fine, Sir, there is always some one of these poor wretches on the King's bounty, and who announce to me the visit of their people this spring.

All the Lake and most distant Nations have sent to tell me the same thing, and knowing them to be in want of everything, I doubt not that they will keep their word, and with so much the more reason, as they are almost all wintering at the Illinois river and at that of St. Jerome.<sup>1</sup> Being, thus, near here, their first movement this spring will be to come hither.

Their ordinary harangues are, to see their Father, and to be assured that the English will never come here.

*Conference between M. d'Abbadie and the Indians.*

Speech of the Chouanon Indian Charlot Kaské to M. Dabbadie.

I come from a great distance ; the Master of Life has vouchsafed my coming here and my heart is pleased with beholding you. Though I have no retinue, I am no less a man of influence of the Chouanon Nation, deputed by the Grand Chief to visit and to talk with you. Here's a Belt of five rows which he has instructed me to present to you ; it contains the names of 47 villages who are willing to die in alliance with the French, defending their lands to the last drop of their blood. They hope that you will succor them and never abandon them. I came here formerly ; all the world appeared gay and happy ; now, everything is sad. I see a great many people whom I do not know ; I am sad myself, yet, since I behold you my heart is

<sup>1</sup> Now, the River Wabash. *De l'Isle's Carte de la Louisiane.* — Ed.



content, and my eyes are getting clear. I shall tell my Nation how I saw you and how you received me.

Father, I ask you to relieve your children, the Chouanons, who have always held the French by the hand. Our warriors, our old men, our women and our children are sad at not seeing the French any more among us. The English are coming there and saying, that the land is theirs and that it is the French who have sold it to them. You know well that our fathers have always told us that the land was ours, that we were free on it, that the French did come to settle there only for our protection and defence, as a good father protects and defends his children. You placed the tomahawk in our hands to strike the English, which we did; we will keep it eternally, and we will repeat unceasingly to our children, that they must retain it also for the defence of their land.

I am deputed by all the chiefs to demand aid from you to continue the war, and to know from you what you wish us to do. We have adopted you as our Father and will never hearken save to your word. Send us traders; we shall pay them well; we are rich in furs; our women and children are all naked since the French have ceased coming to trade with our Nation. If the French do not abandon us, the English will never take our lands, and if we behold the French among us, our hearts will be glad.

#### M. d'Abbadie's Answer.

M. de St. Ange,<sup>1</sup> your Father, has advised me of your visit. The chiefs who are here and know you, have long ago told me who you are. I thank the Great Spirit for having conducted you to your Father. He receives you as a dear child and will provide for your wants. What you tell me of the Chaowanons and other Nations who wish to die attached to the French, affects my heart. But if they are sad because they will behold the French no more, the French and your Father are sad also, at seeing the earth always stained with the blood of the Red and of the White man.

Has not M. de Neyon,<sup>2</sup> your Father, announced to you, on the part of the Great Chief, that the Great Emperors of France and of England had made peace? That by this arrangement the English and French were friends and that the Red men, who are partisans of the one and the other, should look on each other as brothers? Why, children, do you continue the war? And what will it avail you thus to redden the earth with your blood? It is repugnant to Nature and the Great Spirit forbids it. When Nations make peace, they forget whatever was done during the war and bury their hatchets. If the French retire to their lands, you are free on yours, and wherever the French chiefs and their warriors will be, they will always

<sup>1</sup> Captain LOUIS ST. ANGE DE BELRIVE was a veteran officer. He commanded the escort which accompanied Father Charlevoix, the celebrated historian and traveler, through the country in 1721, and distinguished himself against the Outagamis in 1728. He was one of the principal officers in Louisiana in 1730; succeeded Nyon de Villiers in June, 1764, in the command of Fort Chartres, which he surrendered to the English on the 14th October, 1765, and retired to St. Louis. It is said, however, that he afterwards returned and resumed the command at Fort Chartres for a brief period. He was on the Mississippi as late as 1772. *Charlevoix, Journal Historique; Lettre XXVII; Gayarré, I, 440; II, 114; Monette, I, 411; Johnson to Dartmouth, 4th November, 1772.*

<sup>2</sup> NYON DE VILLIERS was the youngest of seven brothers, six of whom, 'tis said, lost their lives in the wars in Canada. He succeeded Captain Macarty in the command of Fort Chartres, which he held until the 15th of June, 1764, when he received the Cross of St. Louis as a reward for his fidelity and services. M. Gayarré confounds him with his brother, Coulon-Villiers, called the Great Villiers, to whom Washington surrendered in 1754. *History of Louisiana, II, 100, 110, 114; Bossu's Travels, I, 185. — Ed.*

bear you in their hearts, and with pleasure provide for your wants through their traders. You know that they are settled on the right bank of the Great River Mississippi, but the powder and ball they will carry you are to be used only in hunting, so as to feed and clothe your old men, yourselves, your women and children. Give up, then, waging war, my children, and reject, as evil counsel, whatever is told you of the English. Peace will bring back plenty to your villages, and the English themselves will hasten with goods to supply your wants.

Attend well to this word Charlot Kaské; let it have weight among the Nations and assure them that the Great Emperors of France and England have made peace only for the happiness of the Red men and of the Whites.

March, 1765.

Copy.

(Signed), D'ABBADIE.<sup>1</sup>

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*Surrender of Fort Chartres to the English.*

LOUISIANNA.

Minute of the Surrender of Fort Chartre to M. Sterling, appointed by M. Degage, Governor of New-York, Commander of His Britannic Majesty's troops in America.

This day, the tenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, we, Louis Saint Ange de Belrive, Captain of Infantry, Commandant for his Most Christian Majesty at the said Fort Chartre, and Joseph Lefebvre, King's storekeeper and acting Commissary at said fort, pursuant to orders we have received from Mess<sup>rs</sup> Aubry, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of Saint Louis, Commander of the Province of Louisiana and Foucault,<sup>2</sup> Commissary Controller of the Marine, *Ordonnateur* in the said Province, surrender said Fort Chartre to M<sup>r</sup> Sterling,<sup>3</sup> deputed by M<sup>r</sup> Degage, Governor of New-York and Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's troops in America and in all the left portion of the Province of Louisianna, according to the Seventeenth Article of the definitive Treaty of Peace concluded at Versailles

<sup>1</sup> M. d'ABBADIE succeeded M. de Kerlerec (*supra*, p. 281) in the government of Louisiana, or of so much of it as remained to the French after the peace of 1763, and arrived, on the 29th of June, of that year, at New Orleans where the King kept a factory, of which M. d'Abbadie was commissioned Director-General, with the powers of a Military commandant. In 1764 he received orders to surrender the country to Spain; he was profoundly distressed by the duty he was instructed to perform, and the grief which it occasioned caused the death of this worthy man on the 4th of February, 1765. He was a disinterested ruler, just towards all, and inflexibly firm in causing the laws to be respected; he severely repressed the excesses of masters towards their slaves, and protected the Indians from every kind of repression. By his example, he caused religion and morality to be honored, and left a memory dear to all the Louisianians. *French's Historical Memoirs of Louisiana*, V., 142; (*Gayarré's Louisiana French Domination*,) II., 96-116. M. d'Abbadie was succeeded by Captain Aubry (*supra*, p. 901).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. FOUCAULT succeeded M. Rochemore as Intendant of Louisiana, where he arrived in June, 1761, and was appointed Comptroller on the 10th February, 1763. He was the very personification of treachery. In 1768 he was one of the principal conspirators against the Spanish Governor, Ulloa. He had always kept up a scandalous connection with a widow Pradel, and at her house it was supposed that conspiracy was concocted. He afterwards turned informer against his colleagues, but was arrested by order of Governor O'Reilly, in August, 1769, deprived of his office and sent a prisoner to France 14th of October following, where he was thrown, on his arrival, into the Bastille. He was a conceited and narrow minded man, and cheated a host of people in Louisiana. *Gayarré's History of Louisiana*, II., 88, 91, 93, 166, 232, 273, 306, 307, 310. — Ed.

<sup>3</sup> See VII., 786.



the 10<sup>th</sup> of February, 1763, between His Most Christian Majesty of France and Navarre, and His Britannic Majesty.

We have proceeded to the said surrender as follows;

To wit :

Fort Chartre, situate fronting the river to the south, about four hundred leagues from New Orleans.

#### Fort Chartre.

The southeast bastion, as far as that of the southwest inclusive—eighty and one-half toises and two feet.

The west face, with its bastions—nineteen toises and a half.

The flank of the bastion—five and one-half toises.

The privies—three toises, one foot.

The curtain between the two bastions, some privies inclusive—fifty-five toises.

The north face—twenty-four toises.

The face of a curtain on the north—fifty-nine and one-half toises.

East face, commencing at the northeast sentry-box—twenty-six toises.

Northeast curtain—sixty-one and a half toises.

#### Gate at the main entrance.

Height of the south gate to the arch—ten feet.

Arch over the gate—five feet high, ten feet wide.

Depth, two toises, furnished with a sentry-box on each side, a cut stone platform above the gate, three toises long and two wide, with two leaden gutters furnished with a wooden gallery; the wicket of the gate of cut stone, two embrasures on the open platform; one stair of nineteen steps of stone and plank with a stone balustrade, to ascend the said platform; a *vent fort* on both sides with four cut stone buttresses, two within and two without.

Body of the building, which serves for a store and quarters for the store-keeper.

South side—Fourteen toises long, four toises on the west and four on the east; five windows on the south in cut stone, furnished with their iron shutters, hinges and sashes; in the garret, two windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and hinges; in the west gable, one window of cut stone, furnished with its shutters and hinges.

North side—Two rooms, one closet for lodging the store-keeper, two ditto, serving as a store, with one stair, three doors<sup>1</sup> in cut stone, furnished with their outside shutters, sashes and hinges; in the garret, three windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; one double chimney.

#### Guard-House.

South side—Fourteen toises long, four toises on the west and four toises on the east; five windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the eastern gable, two windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the garret, two windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the west gable, a door in cut stone as an entrance to the guard-house, and furnished with its iron work.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*—Ed.

North façade—A room for the guard; a room for the officer; a room for the gunner, with a stair to ascend to the garret; two rooms and one closet for the chapel and Missionary's quarters; a screen above that of the chapel; four windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the garret, three windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; one double and one single chimney.

#### Government House.

South face—Thirteen and a half toises and five toises on the west; four windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; two doors in cut stone, one a screen, furnished with their iron work; one porch with a stair inside to go up to the garret; two rooms, three closets, furnished with their doors and iron work; one kitchen with an oven in it; a closet, furnished with doors and iron work; a cellar; in the garret, three windows in wood, furnished.

North face—One door in cut stone, furnished with its iron work; five windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; a bull's eye; in the garret, two windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the west gable, one room, one closet, one window in cut stone, furnished with its shutters and iron work; walls two toises high, two double chimneys, a coach-house to the west, a pigeon house, two toises, cellar three toises high, with a large stone well inside.

#### Intendant's House.

South face—Three and a half toises, and five toises on the west, two doors in cut stone, one a screen, furnished with their iron work; four windows in cut stone, furnished with shutters and iron work; in the upper rooms, three windows in wood, with their iron work and shutters; a portico, with a stairs to go up to the garret, two rooms and three closets furnished with their iron work; one kitchen containing an oven, and a pantry, furnished with their doors and iron work; a cellar, to the east two windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work, one chamber and a closet.

North face—One door in cut stone, furnished with its iron; five windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; two double chimneys; one oven for the troops.

#### 1st Barrack.

East front—Twenty toises and two feet; at the north, two toises and two feet; three doors in cut stone, furnished with their iron work; two corridors, in one of them a stair to go up to the garret; three barrack rooms, two rooms and two closets for the officers' quarters, furnished with their shutters and iron work; nine windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and trimmings; in the upper story, six windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work.

West front—Two doors in cut stone, furnished with their iron work, and five windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the upper story, three windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; at the north, an out-house with a door in wood, furnished with its iron work, and three windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; at the south, one window in cut stone, furnished with its shutter and iron work; three double chimneys.



## 2d Barrack

West front—Twenty toises and two feet, and five toises at the south, three doors in cut stone, furnished with their iron work, two corridors, in one of them a stair to go up to the garret, three barrack rooms and two rooms and two closets for officers' quarters, furnished with their doors and iron work; nine windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the upper story, six windows of wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work.

East front—Two doors in cut stone, furnished with their iron work; five windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and iron work; in the upper story, three windows in wood, furnished with their shutters and iron work; at the south, one window in cut stone, furnished with its shutter and iron work; three double chimneys, one oven for the troops.

## Powder House.

Four toises in front, with its gate in cut stone, furnished with two doors, one of sheet iron and the other of wood, furnished with their ironwork, five toises and a half wide, six toises long; one building two toises high, one window above, in cut stone, furnished with its shutters in wood, and one of iron.

## Bake House.

Seven toises on the north, eleven feet high, two gables each two toises, four windows in cut stone, furnished with their shutters and ironwork; two rooms and one closet, furnished with their doors and ironwork; two ovens in them; one stair with its balustrade of wood to go up to the garret; two single chimneys, one stone well in front of the bake house.

## Prison.

South front six toises, four cells of cut stone furnished with their doors and ironwork; two doors in cut stone furnished with their ironwork, one at the west and the other at the east; four windows in cut stone, furnished with the iron bars and shutters and ironwork; two at the south and two at the north, with two double stairs of wood, with a small gallery to each, a double chimney.

One large relief gate to the north, similar to that at the south.

Two wooden privies at the north and two of stone at the west, furnished with their doors and ironwork.

## The Fort.

The height of the walls is eighteen feet; south curtain, on the river side, has eight buttresses and forty-seven loop-holes; the north curtain has eight buttresses and forty-seven loop-holes; east ditto, ten buttresses and fifty-five loop-holes; west ditto, ten buttresses and fifty-five loop-holes.

The bake-house bastion, at the southeast, has eight buttresses and fifty loop-holes, and eight embrasures; Prison ditto, at the southwest, eight buttresses and forty-nine loop-holes, and eight embrasures; northwest ditto, eight buttresses, forty-eight loop-holes, and eight embrasures; Powder house ditto, at the northeast, eight buttresses, fifty loop holes, and eight embrasures; the whole in cut stone; one cut stone sentry box in each bastion, overhanging the walls *à cul de lampe* with a cornice above, and vaulted, seven cut stone steps to get to it.

## Store.

Of posts in the ground, forty toises from the fort, three toises wide at the gable end, ten toises long, covered with shingle; a large stone chimney in the centre, supported by four wooden pillars; a large double gate, five windows furnished with their shutters and ironwork; all the buildings, above enumerated, are covered with shingles,

Which buildings and fortifications mentioned in the present minute, We, the officer above named, have this day surrendered to M<sup>r</sup> Sterling, deputed by M<sup>r</sup> Degage, Commander-in-Chief of his Britannic Majesty's troops in North America, and in the entire Left of Louisiana.

Fort Chartres this 10<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>ber</sup>, 1765.

We, the Commandant of his Britannic Majesty's troops at Fort Chartre, and we, the Commissioner named by his Britannic Majesty, do certify that the two copies which M<sup>r</sup> de St. Ange and M<sup>r</sup> Lefebvre have signed, though written in English, are conformable to the present.

(Signed), HUMSEY.

(Signed), THO<sup>s</sup>. STERLING.

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*Count D'Estaing's Proclamation to the People of Canada, &c.*

A Declaration addressed in the name of the King of France to all the ancient French of North America.

The undersigned, authorized by his Majesty, and thereby clothed with the noblest title, with that which effaces all others, charged in the name of the Father of his country, and the beneficent protector of his subjects, to offer a support to those who were born to enjoy the blessings of his government—

To all his Countrymen in North America :

You were born French; you never could cease to be French. A war, which was declared against us only by seizing nearly all our seamen, and the principal advantages of which our common enemies entirely owed to the courage, the talents and the numbers of the brave Americans, who are now fighting against them, has wrested from you that which is most dear to all men; even the name of your country. To compel you, in spite of yourselves, to bear the arms of parricides against it, must complete the measure of misfortune: with this you are now threatened: a new war may justly make you dread being obliged to submit to this most intolerable law of slavery. It has commenced, like the last, by depredations upon the most valuable part of our trade. Too long already have a great number of unfortunate Frenchmen been confined in American prisons. You hear their groans. The present war was declared by a Message in March last, from the King of Great Britain to both Houses of Parliament, the most authentic act of the British Sovereignty, announcing to all orders of the State, that to trade [with America] though without excluding others from the same right was an offence; that frankly



to avow such intention, was to defy this Sovereignty ; that she should revenge it, and deferred this only to a more advantageous opportunity, when she might do it with more appearance of legality than in the last war ; for she declared that she had the right, the will, and the ability to revenge, and accordingly demanded of Parliament the supplies.

The calamities of a war thus proclaimed, have been restrained and retarded as much as was possible, by a monarch whose pacific and disinterested views now reclaim the marks of your former attachment, only for your own happiness. Constrained to repel force by force, and multiplied hostilities by reprisals which he has at last authorized, if necessity should carry his arms, or those of his allies, into a country always dear to him, you have not to fear either burnings or devastations : and if gratitude, if the view of a Flag always revered by those who have followed it, should recall to the banners of France, or of the United States, the Indians who loved us, and have been loaded with presents by him whom they also call their father ; never, no never shall they employ against you their too cruel methods of war. These they shall renounce, or they will cease to be our friends.

It will not be by menaces against our countrymen that we shall endeavor to avoid combating them ; nor shall we weaken this Declaration by invectives against a great and brave nation, which we know how to respect, and hope to vanquish.

As a French gentleman, I need not mention to those among you who were born such, like myself, that there is but one august House in the universe under which the Frenchman can be happy, and serve with pleasure ; since its head, and those who are nearly allied to him by blood, have been at all times, through a long line of Monarchs, and are at this day more than ever delighted with bearing that very title which Henry IV. regarded as the first of his own. I shall not excite any regrets for those qualifications, those marks of distinction, those decorations, which, in our manner of thinking are precious treasures, but from which, by our common misfortunes, the French Americans, who have known so well how to deserve them, are now precluded. These, I am bold to hope and to promise, their zeal will soon make them recover. They will merit them, when they dare to become the friends of our allies.

I shall not ask the companions in arms of the Marquis de Levi, those who shared his glory, who admired his talents and military tact, who have cherished his cordiality and frankness, the principal characteristics of our *Noblesse*, whether there be other names in other nations, among which they would be better pleased to place their own. Can the Canadians who saw the brave Montcalm fall in their defence, can they become the enemies of his nephews ? Can they fight against their former leaders, and arm themselves against their kinsmen, at the bare mention of whose names, the weapons would fall from their hands ?

I shall not observe to the Ministers of the altars that their evangelic efforts will require a special protection of Providence to prevent the faith being diminished by example ; to prevent worldly interest getting the better, and the political indulgence of Sovereigns, whom force has imposed upon them, becoming less proportionably as those Sovereigns shall have less to fear ; that it is necessary for religion, that those who preach it should form a body in the State ; and in Canada, that no other body would be more considered, or have more power to do good than that of the Priests taking a part in the government, because their respectable conduct has merited the confidence of the people.

I shall not represent to that people, nor to all my countrymen in general, that a vast monarchy having the same religion, the same manners, the same language, where they find kinsmen, old friends and brethren, must be an inexhaustible source of commerce and wealth,

more easily acquired and better secured, by a reunion with powerful neighbors, than with strangers of another hemisphere, among whom everything is different, and who, being jealous and despotic Sovereigns, will, sooner or later, treat them as a conquered people, and doubtless much worse than they treated their late countrymen [the Americans] who made those Sovereigns victorious. I shall not urge, to a whole people, that to join with the United States is to secure their own happiness; for, a whole people, when they acquire the right of thinking and acting for themselves, must know their own interest; but I will declare, and I now do formally declare in the name of his Majesty, who has authorized and so commanded me, that all his former subjects in North America, who will not acknowledge, any longer, the supremacy of Great Britain may depend upon his protection and support.

Done on board his Majesty's ship the *Languedoc*, in the harbor of Boston, the 25<sup>th</sup> day of October, 1778.

ESTAING.<sup>1</sup>

BIGREL DE GRANCLOS, Secretary,  
appointed by the King, to the squadron  
commanded by the Count D'Estaing-

On board the *Languedoc*;  
From the Printing office of F. P. Demauge,  
Printer to the King and the Fleet.

<sup>1</sup> CHARLES HECTOR, Count D'ESTAING, was born at the Chateau of Ruvel, in Auvergne, in 1729. He commenced the military career as Colonel of an Infantry regiment; soon became Brigadier; served as such in India under Count Lally and was taken prisoner at the siege of Madras in 1759. He was released on parole which he afterwards broke; was a second time taken and then sent to England where he was thrown into prison at Portsmouth. He finally returned home vowing eternal hatred to everything English. At the peace of 1763 he was promoted to be Lieutenant-General of the navy and to be Vice-Admiral in 1778, when he was sent, with twelve ships of the Line, to aid the cause of American Independence. He made an attack on Savannah in October, 1779, and afterward reduced the Islands of St. Vincent and Grenada, and defeated Admiral Byron. He returned to France in 1780, and continued to serve until the peace of 1783, when he was at the head of the combined fleets of France and Spain. In the course of the French revolution he took sides with the movement; was appointed Commandant of the National guard of Versailles, where he connived at the outrages committed at the Palace by the populace on the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, on which occasion he seemed to have lost that daring spirit which he had formerly evinced. He next removed to Paris and enrolled himself as a private in the National guard of that city. He soon became suspected and was thrown into the prison of St. Pelagie. He was afterwards called on to testify against the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, but though the Queen had been his political opponent, he had too high a sense of honor to tell anything but the truth, and spoke only of her heroism and her noble resolution, expressed in his presence, to die with her husband. He was dragged, himself, soon after, before the Revolutionary tribunal and guillotined 28th April, 1794, at the age of 65 years. He met his fate with his characteristic bravery. *Biographie Universelle*; *Alison's History of Europe* (Harpers' ed.), I., 86, 222. — Ed.



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